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OF

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To the Right Honourable

JOHN, LORD ROMILLY,

Master of the Rolls, &c. &c.

THIS

LIFE OF RALEGH

IS (BY HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION)

gratefully dedicated.

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ARMORIAL BEARINGS and PEDIGREE of SIR WALTER RALEGH; as entered in the *Visitation of Devon* (MS. HARL. No. 1080), A.D. 1620 . *To face page* 8

GENEALOGICAL TABLE, showing the Descent, from King HENRY III., of the several Persons alleged (1602–1603) to have Claim of some sort to the Regal Succession, and referred to in '*the Book against the King's Title*,' charged, at his Trial, to have been circulated by SIR WALTER RALEGH . . . . . *To face page* 290

"When I was young,
Ambition of Court-preferment fired me;
And—as there were no happiness beyond it—
I labour'd for 't, and got it. No man stood
In greater favour with his Prince. I had
Honours and Offices. Wealth flow'd in to me.
And, for my Service both in Peace and War,
The general voice gives out I did deserve them.

But—O vain confidence in subordinate greatness!—
When I was most secure it was not in
The power of Fortune to remove me from
The flat I firmly stood on; in a moment
. . . . . .
My Offices were ta'en from me; my estate seized on;
With forfeiture of my head."

PHILIP MASSINGER.

INTRODUCTION.

READERS of this *Life of Ralegh* will find in it a twofold departure from methods which, of late years, have become very common in English biography. RALEGH'S career abounds in points of contact with great national transactions, but his present biographer has refrained from all attempt to delineate them, even by way of giving an historical background to his own humbler theme. And, though the *Letters of Ralegh* constantly illustrate, and occasionally describe, important events in his Life; in these volumes, the text of the Letters is severed from the narrative.

If, in the first-named departure from usual practice, there has lain a saving of labour to the writer; in the second assuredly, it is the reader's labour,—not the writer's,—which is thus abridged.

As regards the biographer's individual part in the matter, he has found that the *Life* he has undertaken to narrate presents disputed questions enough, and problems—hard, if not indeterminable—much more than enough, to overcome any

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temptation there may have been to even occasional ambitious divergences from the strait path of Biography into the adjacent fields of History. The *Life and Times of Ralegh* would, for him, have been a theme much too broad, and too arduous, howsoever otherwise inviting. Happily, too, the 'spacious times of great ELIZABETH' have long been under treatment by abler hands than his.

Some momentary glances into that broad expanse which spreads beyond it have, of course, been indispensable to the task in hand. Sir WALTER RALEGH'S career was marked alike by marvellous energy, and by wide versatility. He could at will concentrate his faculties on one great effort; or he could carry on half a dozen enterprises abreast. He was able to turn, with like vigour, from feats of warlike daring to the quiet labours of the council board, the laboratory, or the study. And he was wont to deal with the matter presently before him as though it were the one thing which he had been born into the world to do. While his name stands out saliently in several events which serve to mark epochs, not alone in English history, but in the annals of the world; it has also come to pass that some apparently casual and trivial incidents in his life have had far-reaching consequences. Some glances at the state of public matters both abroad and at home during an eventful half-century have, therefore, been plainly necessary. Especially has this

been so with the great Elizabethan question of the Succession of the Crown. But they are glances only. INTRODUCTION.

Ralegh's active career spread itself over exactly fifty years. It began in 1569; to close in 1618. In 1569, a chance conjunction of family circumstances in Devonshire with a turn in the foreign policy of the English Government suddenly transformed an immature student at Oriel into a hardy, restless, and, as it seems, not very scrupulous, adventurer in the Huguenot Wars of France.

THE PARENTS OF RALEGH.

Of the parents of this early wanderer into almost savage scenes, I have been able to recover only two anecdotes. But both of them are such anecdotes as will suggest to the reader that Walter Ralegh must have been,—to use a very homely but expressive phrase,—the 'child of many prayers.' Nearly all that is known of his father is the one fact that an earnest wayside remonstrance with the Romanist rioters of the West, in 1549, caused him to be locked up for two or three days in a church-tower, with a fair chance of being liberated only to be hanged from its battlements. Nothing is known of the life of Ralegh's mother, but the bare incident that when one of the Marian martyrs lay in Exeter, sick and in prison, she visited her, with Christian help and consolation.

All readers of history can at will call to mind

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what the France of 1570, 1571, 1572, and 1573, was. They can picture to themselves the work of fire and sword; the scenes of plunder and massacre; the incidents of still more bitter human suffering, and of almost devilish human rage, the cry of which rose heavenward, during these four years, from the fairest provinces of France. Those were the four years, and those the scenes, of Ralegh's real education. When he left Oriel, he was probably little more than sixteen years of age. When he saw *the* Romish 'Festival of St. Bartholomew,' he was barely twenty. It was a grand school for the rapid hardening of a youth, who had the soldierly stuff in him, into a veteran, inured to strife, and ready sternly to hold his own—and to augment it—against all comers and all gainsayers. It was, probably, the worst school then kept anywhere in the world, in which to learn the wise forbearance, the self-mastery, and the self-denying charity, which must needs be acquired—sooner or later—by the soldier of Christ. Who can wonder that in the course of those French wars and French massacres of 1570-73, the half-trained and exiled stripling took a ply, which no later acquirements, no happier influences, or brighter scenes of effort, were ever quite strong enough to efface?

RALEGH AS A SOLDIER.

Meanwhile, to those terrible youthful experiences in Anjou, Picardy, Champagne, and Languedoc, there came, in very quick succession,

other experiences of a worse than civil war in Ireland. There, the strife was not only between the Irish of one sept and the Irish of another sept, or between Englishmen and Irishmen;—a new element was brought into it by the importation into Munster of the offscourings of Spanish and Italian gaols. That Irish war was Ralegh's finishing school. And the reader will, in the course of the succeeding pages, find only too many proofs that a reckless spirit of adventure; a passionateness of self-assertion; an eager thirst for pleasure and for immediate gains; even a strong spice of personal vanity; showed themselves, at intervals, throughout Ralegh's life,—even at its most fruitful periods of service to England, and to the world. At last, in 1618, a death on the scaffold put a close—hardly less sudden than had been the breaking off of the period of youthful training—to the earthly activities of a mind which, when the body had reached the age of sixty-six, was still teeming with projects for a good time to come.

Out of those fifty years, just thirty-four were spent in toils and duties the most diversified, perhaps, that ever lay open to an English gentleman. In the Elizabethan days more truly, it may be, than before or after them, one man, in his time, was often able to play many parts. But, even in those days, no career was run which, in versatility, was quite a parallel to his.

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WHAT RALEGH DID IN IRELAND.

Under the Queen, Ralegh was not only a soldier of Protestantism in France and in Ireland. For a brief interval, he served the same cause in the Netherlands. And, in Ireland, he was not merely a soldier. He was a planter of colonies; a captain of industry, both in agriculture and in handicrafts. He was the bringer-in of new kinds of food, as well as of new employments. In small fields of labour, as in large, many of his doings —his mere by-blows, as it were—have, as I have said, had, now and then, conspicuous and far-stretching results. To take but one familiar example: It is asserted (with fair probability of truth, though without conclusive proof) that by Ralegh the potato was first introduced into Munster. If that be really so, out of a casual endeavour to introduce a new culture on the forfeited estates of the Desmonds came, in course of time, a revolution in some of the life-habits of a people, salient for constancy to habit. Potato culture led, in Irish hands, to an Irish exodus. That exodus is notoriously, at this moment, sowing the seeds of political change in far-severed countries. Happily, whilst in one country it is seen to spread, as if by wildfire, a mad spirit of resistance to authority the most legitimate; in another, it is no less visibly deepening and strengthening the love of social order, and of a wise, moderate, and firm conservatism.

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In England, as in Ireland,—under ELIZABETH,—RALEGH was at the same time soldier and admiral; statesman and engineer. He found time and energy enough to fill at once the office of Lord Lieutenant of a county in the remote West, and that of licencer and regulator of all the traffic in wines that was carried on throughout England and Wales. At Westminster, and upon royal progresses, he often kept the door of the Queen's presence-chamber; and he rode,—resplendent in silver armour and with a few thousand pounds' worth of jewels on cap, sleeve, and shoes,—at the head of her guard. In Devon, he sat, occasionally—clad in some antique garb or other, rustic and weatherproof—on a rude bench of granite, placed upon a wild and secluded tor, as Speaker of a 'Stannary Parliament,' composed of Devonshire and Cornish miners. Those Stannary Courts were held in a place so high and so lonely, that both chairman and members were not unfrequently immersed in cloud-drift. Had any other scholarly courtier from Whitehall dared in those days to venture his person upon the solitary heights of Dartmoor, and within sight of Crockern Tor, it is probable that the place of meeting, the methods of procedure, and the whole aspect of that Parliament of Tinners, would have suggested to him ideas of some remote Icelandic gathering, or of a still more remote and prehistoric assembly of ancient Britons in their goat-

RALEGH AS CAPTAIN OF THE GUARD.

RALEGH AS WARDEN OF THE STANNARIES.

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skins and war-paint, rather than of an English tribunal subsisting in full vitality under Queen Elizabeth. Meanwhile, in some half a dozen ports scattered along our coast, between the Thames and the Hayle, the Queen's Lieutenant of Cornwall and Warden of the Stannaries had his own little fleets of privateers, building, repairing, or in course of re-equipment and victualling, that they might be constantly at hand for any openings of money-bringing enterprise which should offer,—whether on the coasts of Spain, in the Indies, or in the far Pacific.

RALEGH AS MARINER.

Perhaps, it was after all in these sea adventures that Ralegh's genius breathed most freely, though in his own person he was never—to his dying day—free from occasional sea-qualms, when fairly under weigh. Yet no writer has ever been able to tell us where or when it was that he got his elementary education as a mariner. Nor is it, at this moment,—after the overhauling of heaps of contemporary papers,—easy to conjecture what were the exact circumstances of Ralegh's first self-planned adventure at sea. When we get fairly upon his maritime track, we do not follow the novice, but the master. He already speaks of naval affairs with a voice of authority. Ralegh not only made great and enduring improvements in ship-building, and wrought changes in naval tactics; but he is the first man of any nation who is known to have set his pen at work upon

a complete, practical, and systematic treatise of naval service and naval architecture, ancient and modern. In 1588, he led, as a Rear-Admiral, a squadron against the 'Invincible' Armada of Spain; but in that famous piece of service he carried out plans other than his own. In 1596, we find him in possession of such reputation for knowledge of sea affairs that his advice overrules a scheme of operations drawn by the Lord High Admiral of England sitting in council with other veterans of the navy. Having thus changed the plans of enterprise and the order of battle, he leads in person the van of the English fleet against the new Armada of Spain, and the Fortifications of Cadiz. It was to RALEGH's flag-ship that the only two 'great galleons' which were brought in triumph into an English port struck their sails. From the ultimate results of that attack on Cadiz the vast power of Spain never quite recovered itself. And it was RALEGH who —in the teeth of Spain, when at her prime—laid the first foundation of the British Colonies in North America.

In colonization, as in sea service, his faculties had genial and happy scope. Enterprise of both sorts gave a field to his inordinate love of gain, as well as of country. The future destinies of America, as well as the profits of a new trade, were with him themes of thought, of conversation, and of active effort, from the age of

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thirty-two (when he first joined in the enterprise of his half-brother, Sir HUMPHREY GILBERT) to his latest hour of life. He was destined only barely to realize—even in the narrowest and merely potential sense of the words—his own anticipation, uttered at a time which otherwise was to him one of deep dejection, when he said of Virginia, '*I shall yet live to see it an English Nation.*' But he saw the germ of the future empire. By RALEGH the way was also pointed, though in vain, to yet another great American colony. Whether Guiana had gold-mines or not, it had in it the possibility—and the bright promise—of an empire to come, though by England Guiana was let slip.

RALEGH AS COLONIZER.

RALEGH AS MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT.

During just seventeen of the thirty-four Elizabethan years of RALEGH'S active career he was also a member of the English House of Commons. In Parliament, he struck out for himself an original path. He became—if we have regard to the character and the relative amplitude of the parliamentary life of that day—scarcely less conspicuous in 'the House,' than he was at Court, in the Stannary Parliament on Crockern Tor, or at sea. He even became an authority on small points of order and precedent. He could vouch records, as well as make speeches. Whilst to ELIZABETH herself he was at once courtier, counsellor, lover, and poet-laureat extraordinary. Of one of his hitherto lost productions in this last-

named capacity, I have the satisfaction to print a portion (by the kind permission of the Marquess of SALISBURY), at the end of this volume, though, unfortunately, RALEGH'S '*Cynthia*' is still only a fragment. It tells, to quote EDMUND SPENSER'S words about it,—when speaking in '*Colin Clout*' of his early friend as being already a poet, 'himself as skilful in that art as any,'—

RALEGH AS POET.

> "A lamentable lay
> Of great unkindness and of usage hard
> Of CYNTHIA, the Lady of the Sea,
> Which from her presence faultless him debarred."

Of this unweariable man the hours of mere recreation and of comparative idleness seem to have continued, throughout life, hardly less fruitful in results of some sort than the hours of deliberate and strenuous labour. In some such recreative moments, he showed the way by which the delusive toils of the alchemist at his crucible might be turned to the profit of productive chemistry; in others, he caused the introduction into England, as well as into Ireland, of exotic trees and shrubs, which at this day add beauty to some landscapes that had been already adorned by Nature when in her happiest and most liberal moods. In other such hours, again, he sketched out plans of improvement in political and social economy, some of which have had to wait for their realization until the nineteenth century was

RALEGH'S OCCASIONAL AMUSEMENTS.

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far advanced. In a moment of leisurely converse, when upon a journey with that early friend whose name has just been mentioned, he spoke some wise and timely words of counsel, which had, as their issue, the securing for Englishmen of '*The Faery Queen*,' as a joy for ever.

Those thirty-four years, from 1569 to 1603, rank among the proudest years of our annals, whether we look at the individual productiveness of Englishmen, or at the *relative* power and influence of England. The other sixteen, from 1603 to 1618, which made up the term of RALEGH'S career, mark the poorest and most degraded epoch in our long island story. Those last sixteen years began with one of the most auspicious events which that whole story has to tell. The union of the two Crowns as notoriously doubled English strength, as it opened new and wider spheres to Scottish energy and fervour. The turning of England and Scotland into 'Britain' much more than doubled the potential greatness and ultimate influence of the united nation. No one recognised the new fact more heartily, or saw —in anticipation—its wide-stretching results more clearly, than did RALEGH. On that point he has left no uncertain sound. Yet to him the happy event closed in deep gloom the most brilliant career which had been run by any Englishman, even of the Elizabethan age. The man who had

been the lifelong enemy of Spain was, within a month or two of the Scottish accession, accused, and was by a jury of his countrymen presently convicted, of selling himself to Spain as a spy. The man who had, in his measure, striven to smooth the way for JAMES' accession, and had joyfully hailed it as converting enemies into brethren, was accused, and was convicted, of plotting to put on the English throne an empty-headed girl whom he had never seen, save as a child-guest in the house of an early patron, or as a sort of animated and over-dressed doll in an occasional Court pageant.

RALEGH AS AUTHOR AND PUBLICIST.

But to RALEGH, in 1603, although one career had ended, another was to begin. After the door that shut, came the open door. His pregnant career of authorship dates, substantially, from 1604. The outward activities of soldier, administrator, and colonizer had then ceased for him; but to those of the statesman authorship opened a sphere, wider than they had ever had under ELIZABETH; wider than, by possibility, they could otherwise have had under JAMES. Several of the twelve years of imprisonment in the Tower were years of sickness; but they, too, proved to be, in the sequel, among the most productive years of RALEGH'S life. They helped, powerfully, to shape our English polity for generations to come. Four men, in particular, have left on record—in one way or other—their sense of obligation to RALEGH'S

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prison writings, as well to his *History of the World* as to his political tracts, and have by various methods commended his writings to posterity for their special value in the training of English statesmen. The names of those four students of RALEGH'S prison labours are JOHN ELIOT, JOHN HAMPDEN, OLIVER CROMWELL, and JOHN MILTON.

THE NEW SCHEMES OF 1616.

And that busy life of authorship passed in the Tower was, in its turn, to come to an end otherwise than by sickness, though—more than once—Death had there seemed to draw very near. There was to be yet one year of freedom. It was filled with almost as many schemes of distant enterprise and adventure as if the schemer had been, as in 1569, an eager stripling. Before the expedition to Guiana was fully determined upon, France, Denmark, and even Savoy, were by turns regarded as the possible scenes of revived ambition and new effort. Then came the fatal attempt at gold-hunting in Guiana, followed by the long death-struggle against the whole influence exerted by Spain over the counsels, the fears, and the favourites of JAMES. There came, finally, the execution in Old Palace Yard, at the urgent instance of the King of Spain, of that same sentence of death which had passed on RALEGH, fifteen years before, for conspiring, with Spain against England, to sell intelligence; to land Spaniards at Milford;

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and to put ARABELLA, as a Spanish puppet, on the English throne. At that execution men were to look on who, from that time forward, were destined to be foremost and unrelenting, both in hatred to Spain and in hostility to the House of Stuart. Not a few of them fought against CHARLES, either in Parliament or in the streets and houses of London, or on the fields of Newbury or Naseby, Kineton or Marston Moor. Some of them lived long enough to stand, hard by the same spot, on another winter morning, yet some thirty years distant, as witnesses of another political execution. Nor is it at all needful to link, in one's fancy, the scaffold of October 1618, in Old Palace Yard, with that which was hastily built up in January 1649, over against the Banqueting House, in order to see that in a special and pregnant sense it was true of RALEGH, as of the Hebrew of old : '*The enemies which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life.*'

IMPEDIMENTS TO RALEGH'S BIOGRAPHY.

It can assuredly be no cause for surprise to any thoughtful reader, either that events and contrasts in one man's career, of which these are but a sample, should many times have stirred the ambition of biographers, or that sometimes, on riper reflection, they should have turned ambition into despair. Several eminent writers have pondered long over a new *Life of Ralegh*, and have, at length, shrunk from encountering its difficulties and

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its controverted questions. Many of them, very probably—some of them, undoubtedly—were far better fitted to grapple with the task than any that have ever buckled to its accomplishment. When (to take but one example) such a writer as GIBBON, after much consideration, drew back in face of the tough problems of the theme, writers who have had before them that additional fact, as well as a very clear consciousness that they are no Gibbons, either in power or in acquirements, might very fairly have arrived at a like diffidence. There is, however, one new fact, which has a vital bearing on the matter, and which has come into existence long since GIBBON'S time. It has altered all the conditions of the task.

GIBBON, as we all know, was a Member of Parliament, and he had been, as a 'Lord of Trade and Plantations,' a member of the Government. He stood, therefore, in a fair position, it might well be thought—by those who do not know what our Public Record system used to be—to get easy access to the national archives. But had he been (instead of a member of the Board of Trade) Secretary of State or First Lord of the Treasury, and—whilst holding the authority of one of those high offices—could have got an interregnum of a year or two in which to study RALEGH'S life from the original documents, he must still, with his views about the necessity of new and authentic

data, have thrown up the task in despair. After months of preliminary inquiry, and months of struggle with the vested privileges of record-keepers, and yet other months consumed in searches after calendars and indexes, he would have found that, in order to see the few documents of the existence of which he had laboriously gathered a doubtful indication or two, he must travel from the Rolls Chapel to the Crown Office; then from the 'Hanaper' to the 'Petty Bag' Office; from the Treasury of the King's Bench to the Exchequer of Pleas; from the Chapter House, at Westminster, to the Tower; and from thence to the 'Six Clerks' Office,' hard by Bloomsbury. Of the mere records of RALEGH'S appointments to office, or of his royal gifts and emoluments, he would learn, in short, in the course of his researches, that some must be sought at one extremity of London, and others at an opposite extremity; while to get a sight of only that part of RALEGH'S surviving correspondence which was strictly official (and had escaped alienation into private hands) at least a dozen public repositories must be searched in turn. That done, GIBBON would but have stood, as it were, upon the threshold of his inquiry.

Thanks to the late Lord LANGDALE; to his successor, Lord ROMILLY; and to those who have liberally carried out their liberal instructions, all that is now changed. The humblest historical inquirer is, in 1868, in a better position as a searcher

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into records than a retired Prime Minister, with a literary ambition, would have been in 1768, or indeed, for some two generations later. The concentration of the national records into a single repository at the new Rolls House, with open doors and rapidly accumulating calendars, does more than alter the mere conditions of such a task as that which EDMUND GIBBON abandoned, about a hundred years ago, for want of trustworthy materials. That concentration of the public archives renders it certain that honest, continued, and painstaking labour will be able to make useful additions to previous knowledge on many a theme of national interest, howsoever modest the amount of literary skill with which the new materials may be handled. Of my individual and special obligations in this quarter, I have gratefully given an account in the *Introduction to the Letters of Ralegh*, printed at the beginning of Volume II.

The want of such facilities as these has, at various times, deterred from the task now immediately under view several well-known writers besides GIBBON. But though many have been so deterred, Sir WALTER RALEGH had already been made the subject of seven or eight distinct biographies before the close of the last century. The first of them has been variously ascribed—sometimes to a writer named BENJAMIN SHIRLEY, of whom nothing is distinctly known; and sometimes

to JAMES SHIRLEY, the dramatist; but, if it be really his, it was not given to the public until 1677, more than ten years after the author's death. SHIRLEY may be called a contemporary, in some degree, of his hero; for he had nearly attained the age of twenty-five before RALEGH'S execution. Nevertheless, his narrative is slight and perfunctory. It contains little that might not have been gathered by the most ordinary penman from letters already known, and from current and common books. Afterwards came a new *Life*, but with no new value, from the pen of another dramatist, LEWIS THEOBALD.

Between the respective dates of the Lives by SHIRLEY and by THEOBALD, a shorter but much better Memoir of RALEGH was written (about 1690) by a fellow-Devonian, the Reverend JOHN PRINCE, and was published in his *Worthies of Devon* (1701). PRINCE was the first of RALEGH'S biographers who brought local knowledge to bear upon the treatment of the obscurer portions of his career. His use of authorities for the other portions is sometimes far from being either critical or careful. But, until OLDYS wrote, his brief memoir was by far the best account of its subject, and it is still worthy of perusal.

No really persevering labour was bestowed on the task until more than sixty years had passed, from the time of the first attempt by SHIRLEY. Towards 1730, WILLIAM OLDYS took it in hand, under

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all the difficulties which have just been indicated. If access to important records and correspondence was almost entirely denied him, he examined very thoroughly all printed and otherwise accessible sources of information, and obtained not a little collateral knowledge from descendants, either of RALEGH himself, or of those of his contemporaries with whose career his own had blended. Up to the date of the present volumes, it is believed, no one has given an amount of time, labour, and perseverance to the biography of RALEGH equal to that which OLDYS bestowed on it, almost a hundred and thirty years ago. His own life was not a prosperous one, and it would be pleasant to think that the story told by ALEXANDER CHALMERS about one of the incidental consequences, to OLDYS himself, of his *Life of Ralegh* was a true story. According to CHALMERS, EDWARD HOWARD, fourteenth Duke of Norfolk—known in literary history for many liberal acts of encouragement to authors—made OLDYS '*Norroy, King-at-Arms*,' in testimony of the pleasure with which he had read the book on RALEGH. But unfortunately for the credit of the story (which otherwise was probable enough), the book first appeared in 1733, and the office of Norroy, according to the records of the Heralds' College, was given to its writer in 1755. But if OLDYS got no Kingship-at-Arms for his long and honest labour, it has won for him the literary honour of being, for almost a

century, the one unfailing reservoir out of whose store subsequent biographers of RALEGH have drawn their best and purest supplies. Half a dozen new books have been, in large measure, made out of OLDYS' old book. As the poet says :—

> "Out of the old fields cometh all this new corn from year to year,
> And out of the old books cometh this new learning that men lere."

Between the publication of the *Life* by OLDYS (1733) and that of the *Life* by ARTHUR CAYLEY (1805), more than seventy years elapsed. During that period, there came out, in one shape or other, at least half a dozen memoirs of RALEGH; but CAYLEY'S book was the first that made any real addition to the knowledge about him which OLDYS had so laboriously gathered. No less than three of the intermediate *Lives of Ralegh* were written, at various periods, by Dr. THOMAS BIRCH. That facile writer was contemplating (as I infer from the MS. materials he has left behind him, and which are now to be seen amongst the ADDITIONAL MSS. at the British Museum) a *fourth* Memoir at the time of his death. BIRCH, in his turn, had carried on a correspondence with the then representatives of the RALEGH family,—or of some branches of it,—and he had the advantage of access to various anecdotes of RALEGH'S life, which

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are preserved in the letters of ROWLAND WHYTE to Sir HENRY SYDNEY, at Penshurst; and in the letters and other extant papers of ANTHONY BACON, at Lambeth. Yet BIRCH made no important contribution of new matter. His first Life was written about the year 1737, and was published in the *General Dictionary, Historical and Critical.* He then rewrote it (about 1746) for publication in the well-known pictorial work of Houbraken and Vertue, entitled *Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain.* In 1751, he prefixed a third *Life of Ralegh* to his edition of the *Miscellaneous Works.* It is from his still unused MS. materials that I have printed, in the *Introduction to the Letters of Ralegh* (Vol. II. of this work), a very curious Elizabethan narrative, which was sent to Dr. BIRCH as being a letter written by RALEGH himself. It had been long preserved by the GILBERT family, at Plymouth, as a RALEGH relic.

The third and latest of those biographies by BIRCH has, by a most whimsical piece of editorial caprice, been made widely known, from the fact that it stands prefixed to the Oxford edition of RALEGH'S *Works* (printed about the year 1826, but bearing the imprint '1829'). It there appears by way of supplement to the *Life* by OLDYS, of which it is, substantially, a mere abridgment.

Of CAYLEY'S literary merits as a biographer, or of those of any of his successors in the same often-

tilled field of labour, it does not become the present writer to speak. What will here be referred to is the raw material; not the literary treatment of the theme. CAYLEY made some sort of struggle with his contemporary Record gentlemen of the old school—in spite of the hardships and perils which I have glanced at above—and he brought together, at length, several new and valuable documents. But the obstacles were, in the main,—and must have been to any man, at that time,—insuperable. Twenty-five years afterwards, Mr. PATRICK FRASER TYTLER added half a dozen others. There is now no impropriety in saying of his book (*Life of Ralegh. . . . With a Vindication of his Character from the Attacks of Hume and other Writers;* 1833) that it displayed, in dealing with the evidence, a narrow, unfair, and uncritical spirit, surprising in a writer so eminent, and so accustomed to historical inquiries, as the author of the *History of Scotland;* still more surprising in a man so thoroughly estimable as Mr. TYTLER was. GIBBON'S words—first applied to the *Life of Ralegh* by OLDYS—"It is a servile panegyric, or a flat apology," are more truly applicable to TYTLER'S book than to that of his far-off predecessor. SOUTHEY'S book, in this point of view, is greatly the superior of both; and it added some new matter on the Guiana business, derived from Spanish sources. But nothing else in it is new. SOUTHEY'S first reviewer (Mr. MACVEY NAPIER)

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said of the book and its author, in 1840: "He has contented himself with the materials nearest at hand, and made no attempt whatever either to correct or to amplify the existing stock of information by any researches amongst unpublished documents. . . . As it stands, it is a piece of mere task-work, executed by a practised and skilful artist, no doubt, but with that economy of labour and thought which may generally be expected to characterise such undertakings." (*Edinburgh Review*, vol. lxxi. p. 5.) SOUTHEY'S *Life of Ralegh* forms the fourth volume of the series of *Lives of British Admirals*, and was published in 1837.

Subsequent *Lives of Ralegh* have uniformly, it is believed, been abridgments of one or other of those which have been enumerated. As the Edinburgh Reviewer wrote, in 1840: "Lives so executed leave the subject just as open as before to farther competition."

After what has been already said about materials, it will, perhaps, seem almost superfluous to add that no biographer of RALEGH has hitherto used—or had ever seen—the priceless collection of Elizabethan and Jacobean MSS. at Hatfield. In another place, I have gratefully recorded my obligation to Lord SALISBURY for the access which (at the kind request of Lord STANLEY) he has now permitted, for the purposes of these volumes.

'*Introduction to the Letters of Ralegh*;' prefixed to Vol. II.

Much other and heretofore unused material I have derived from the Register Books, preserved in the Council Office. For that advantage my best thanks are due to the Registrar of the Privy Council, Mr. HENRY REEVE. To the Right Hon. the Trustees under the Will of the late Lord ROLLE; to the Hon. MARK ROLLE, of Stevenstone and Bicton; and to their Solicitors, Messrs. FRERE, CHOLMELEY, and FORSTER, I am indebted for various facilities afforded me in the examination of deeds connected with Hayes Barton, RALEGH'S birthplace,—and of others relating to various RALEGH manors in Devonshire,—preserved at Bicton House. To the Rev. GEORGE DACRES ADAMS, Vicar of East Budleigh, in Devon, and to the Rev. EDWARD HARSTON, Vicar of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, I am indebted for access to the registers of their respective parishes. Obligations incurred at Lambeth Palace, in the Collegiate Libraries at Oxford, in the University Registry at Cambridge, and much more largely in the Bodleian, are elsewhere specified and gratefully acknowledged. But I have here to thank the Rev. HENRY OCTAVIUS COXE, Bodley's Librarian, for permission to make *facsimiles* of letters preserved amongst the WHARTON and TANNER MSS. Like grateful thanks are due to the Marquess of BATH, for permission to engrave the fine portrait of RALEGH which adorns his Lordship's gallery at Longleat; and to Sir FREDERICK MADDEN, late

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Keeper of the Department of MSS. in the British Museum, for permission to copy in lithography the Pedigree and Quarterings of RALEGH, as entered by Sir HENRY ST. GEORGE, in the 1620 *Visitation of Devon*, now 'HARLEIAN MS. No. 1080.'

When a considerable portion of this book was already in type, I was favoured, through its Publishers, with a most obliging proffer from Mr. NAPIER, of the India Office, to put at my disposal some papers collected by his late eminent father, with a view to an intended new *Life of Ralegh*. Partly through those difficulties at Record Offices, the removal of which has cost Lords LANGDALE and ROMILLY so many years of continuous effort and battle, and partly by the pressure of labours connected with his editorship of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and the *Edinburgh Review*, Mr. MACVEY NAPIER'S intended *Life* remained a project only. My book, at the date when the proffer reached me, had advanced so far that I was already in possession, by my personal labours, of most of the documents so kindly tendered me. But to Mr. NAPIER'S courtesy I owe a valuable series of extracts, made in Paris (many years ago), from the despatches sent from London to the French Government by its ambassadors, the Counts of BEAUMONT and DES MARÊTS. These extracts have done me yeoman service in the

later chapters of this volume, and for them I gratefully thank the friendly donor.

But those French despatches of 1603-4 and of 1616-17 are—it must needs be borne in mind—pieces of evidence volunteered by foreign witnesses, on questions mainly English. They have, therefore, been cautiously collated with other and nearer testimony, whenever that has been accessible to me. Above and before all things else, I have endeavoured assiduously to collate the foreign testimony with that of RALEGH himself. There is no evidence on such topics which is so certain to be listened to with untiring patience, and with earnest attention, as his own. Whatever the extent of his shortcomings in any point, he is, and he will remain, to English-speaking men, one of their chiefest Worthies.

The severance of the *Letters* from the *Life* has necessitated some small amount of repetition,—here and there, in the course of the narrative,—of certain portions of the Letters. I trust the reader will find that, on the whole, the disadvantage is more than compensated by contingent gains. Those many problems that occur in the career and character which I have attempted to delineate—and of which so much has been said, here and elsewhere—seemed to render a *complete* publication of the text of every accessible letter known to have been written by RALEGH advisable and

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useful. Had that full text been blended with the narrative, the *Life* must needs have reached an unwieldy size. As it is, a large addition to my own pains will, I venture to believe, have had the effect which has been indicated above. It has shortened the reader's pains. It may, therefore, be fair to hope that the reader will not—on that head—be the complainant.

SYCAMORES, WIMBLEDON COMMON,
25th January, 1868.

CORRIGENDA TO VOL. I.

Page 7, line 13, *for* 'Cornwall,' *read* 'Cornwood.'
,, 156, footnote, *for* 'Egerton,' *read* 'Fortescue.'
,, 361, line 4, *for* 'Lincolnshire,' *read* 'Northamptonshire.'
,, 497, line 12, *after the words* 'son of,' *insert* 'the Duke of Savoy (the prince who afterwards became).'
,, 575, line 2, *for* 'an important bearing,' *read* 'some bearing.'
,, ,, line 3, *for* 'their negotiation,' *read* 'his present negotiation.'
,, ,, lines 5 and 6, *for* 'Victor Amadeus,' *read* 'Charles Emanuel.'
,, 579, line 25, *for* '1615–1617,' *read* '1617.'
,, 706, line 20, *omit the words* 'as will be seen hereafter.'
,, 719, lines 17 and 27, *for* 'Jewell,' *read* 'Sewell.'

LIFE OF
SIR WALTER RALEGH.

CHAPTER I.

PARENTAGE AND ANCESTRY.

Genealogy and its Influences.—Ralegh's early Researches about his Pedigree.—Conflicts of Genealogists: Hooker of Exeter, and Sir William Pole.—The Raleghs of Devon, Glamorgan, Somerset, and Warwick.—Rival Birthplaces.—Fardell, in Cornwood, and its Traditions.—Power's or Poer's Hayes, in East Budleigh.—Walter Ralegh, of Fardell, and Katherine Champernoun.—The Ralegh Cousinage: Champernouns, Gilberts, and Carews.—Walter Ralegh, of Fardell, and the Rising of the West.—Katherine Ralegh's Visit to the Marian Martyr in the Gaol of Exeter.—The Devonshire Coast and the Devonshire People of 1552—1567.

WHATEVER may be the triumphs which the Future keeps in store for Democracy, there seems to be a fair probability that the pedigree of a famous man will never quite lose its interest. The mere tradition of a great ancestry has sometimes helped, visibly, to mould the characters of men who were intrinsically strong enough to stand alone. Reveries about historic birth and the doings of historic foregoers have frequently given colour to a lifetime, even when the man who has indulged in them bore Nature's own stamp that he was one of the chosen few who are to hand down greatness rather than to derive it. Some men, plainly of that sort, have striven to clothe themselves with the prestige of old descent on very flimsy pretexts.

CHAP. I. 1200 1567.

The biographer, were it only on this ground, can scarcely afford to pass over inquiries of a genealogical sort. But he may, perhaps, allege another reason for giving them some attention and care.

GENEALOGY.

It is a trite remark that, in looking at a long series of family portraits, the observer will sometimes see a strongly-marked face repeating itself, at intervals. Occasionally, father and son will have hardly a feature in common, while a grandfather or a great-grandfather will be startlingly reproduced in his second or third descendant. What thus strikes the eye in outward feature would, it is likely, have its counterpart in as visible a resemblance of tastes and temperament, were the means at hand for tracing a descent of character as easily as we can trace a descent of lineaments. At all events, it must be worth while to ascertain something about the extraction, as well as the immediate parentage, of a conspicuous man, were it only for the chance that incidental light may so be thrown on some dark problem or other in his own career. And the influence, upon the ordinary events of life, of blood-alliance and family connection, is one of too obvious a sort to need insisting on.

Sir Walter Ralegh had scarcely emerged from obscurity into the Court of Elizabeth, when we find him in busy communion both with Devonshire antiquaries and with the College of Heralds. He desires not only that his own pedigree may be fully established, but that his collateral and even his remote relationships may be put safely on record in the books of *Garter* and *Clarencieux*. Doubtless, part of the secret of a more than usual anxiety of this kind lay in his own quick observation of men, and in his shrewd estimate of the new world into which he had entered. He soon saw that, in Queen

Elizabeth's eyes, to be a well-descended gentleman was an additional grace, even for a very comely man. And the Queen's eyes had not long been turned favourably upon him, when there reached his own ears some uncourtly words (prompted of course by mere jealousy), about "Jacks" and "upstarts." When the genealogists told him that he, like his royal mistress, was descended from the Plantagenets, he may well be imagined to have carried his head more statelily than usual. And humility of any kind seems to have been little observable in him, in the days of youth and glory.

HOOKER ON TRUE NOBILITY.

His "næve of pride," indeed, — as old gossiping Aubrey calls it,—had been as early noted with regret by his true friends, as it had been watched with satisfaction by his ill-willers. His fellow-Devonian and relative John Hooker, Chamberlain of Exeter, and its representative in Parliament (well known, too, as one of the continuators of Holinshed), used the story of the genealogists as the text of an hortatory discourse to Ralegh, on the obligations of nobility. If great prosperity, he tells the rising favourite, is about to revisit a family once famous but long decayed, it is so permitted, for great and unselfish ends:—"Your ancestor, Sir John de Ralegh, married the daughter of D'Amerie, D'Amerie of Clare, Clare of King Edward the First; which Clare, by his father, descended of King Henry the First. In like manner, by your mother you may be derived out of the same house. These all were men of great honour and nobility, whose virtues are highly recorded, *sparsim*, in the Chronicles of England." And then he points his moral: "But yet, as nothing is permanent in this life, and all things variable under the sun, and Time hath devoured and consumed greatest men and mightiest monarchies, and most noble

CHAP. I.
1200-1567.

communities in the world,—according to the old country saying, *Be the day never so long, yet at length it will ring to even-song*,—so this honourable race, though for so many descents . . . it continued in great honour, nobility, and reputation, yet in process of time . . . seemed at length to be buried in oblivion. . . . *Now*, it hath pleased God to raise the same, even from the dead. . . . And whereof cometh this that the Lord hath thus blessed you, but only that you should be beneficial and profitable to all men? . . . As the bee is no longer suffered to have a place in the hive than whiles he worketh, no more is that man to have place in the public weal than whiles he doth some good therein." When these pregnant sentences were written, Ralegh stood before the world mainly as the prosperous courtier. Under their breath, some of his contemporaries would venture to speak of him as the Queen's favourite, in a more emphatic sense; and those of them who hated the established order of things, would call him her "minion." He had, indeed, already crowded into few years much varied and distinguished service, both by sea and land. But his service, as we shall see by and by, was as yet, from the scenes and special circumstances of it, almost wholly unknown. Most of its details are unknown still. Of the achievements which have made him famous for all time, only the attempted Colonization of Virginia was even fairly begun, when (in October 1586) Hooker published his exhortation that the ancient greatness of the Raleghs should become to their descendant a stimulus to public spirit, rather than to personal ambition. Hooker probably saw already, with the insight of true friendship, that there were dangers in Ralegh's path much more to be dreaded, by those who loved him, than any animosities growing out of court

Holinshed, *Chron. of Ireland.*

rivalry;—that the perils within were of far graver account than the perils from false brethren.

POLE'S CRITICISM OF HOOKER.

Hooker's dedication made the lofty genealogical pretensions of his friend to be widely known and keenly criticised. Another Devonshire antiquary, Sir William Pole, who, like Hooker, was Sir Walter's contemporary and acquaintance, has controverted part of the genealogy thus blazoned abroad, by observing that "Master Hooker hath so sophisticated his [Ralegh's] pedigree, by . . . deducing this family from the match of Damorye (or Damarell) with the House of Clare and with King Edward the First's daughter, that, where he attempteth to ennoble it, in my opinion he doth much deface it. . . . It is, no doubt, a very ancient family of itself, and needs no other father than such as begat them, and no other mother than such as bare them." "I do not deny," he adds, "that Ralegh matched with Damorye's daughter by Elizabeth de Clare. . . . But I affirm that this is another House of Ralegh."

Pole, *Antiq. of Devon.*

DIVERSITY OF RALEGH'S PEDIGREES.

Proof on this point is now scarcely attainable. The numerous Ralegh pedigrees preserved at the Heralds' College, and in the various Manuscript Visitations and genealogical collections which have been brought together in the British Museum, disagree amongst themselves. But, leaving the Plantagenet marriage apart, as still matter of doubt, and treating another statement of Hooker's (not intrinsically improbable) respecting the chapel at Smallridge as legendary, not historical, there still remains evidence that the Ralegh descent can be conclusively traced from the reign of King John.

Hooker's legendary anecdote, however, merits quotation on account of an incident personal to Sir Walter himself. In the MS. *Discourse of Devonshire and Cornwall* it is told thus:—"Adjoining to Axminster standeth

CHAP. I. 1200 1567.

Smallrige, sometime the land of the Raleghs, in which there is a chapel dedicated to Saint Leonard, built by the ancestor of Sir Walter Ralegh, who having been taken prisoner by the French, before the Conquest, was put into a vessel without sails or oars, and cast ashore in the valley of Axminster. For a remembrance and thanksgiving to God, he built the chapel aforesaid, and there hung up the fetters in which he was fastened; which fetters, together with a narrow steel target, *were given to Sir Walter Ralegh, now living, for a monument.*" Whatever the logical pertinency of the "monument," the anecdote of the gift has its enduring interest.

THE RALEGHS OF NETTLECOMBE.

Tradition set aside—not as necessarily untrue, but simply as wanting proof—we start from Wimund de Ralegh, who lived in the reign of King John, and was father (first) of the famous churchman and lawyer, William de Ralegh, who was Justiciary of King Henry the Third, and afterwards Bishop of Winchester; and (secondly) of Wimund (II.), who was seated at Bolleham in Devonshire, and at Nettlecombe in Somersetshire; and who appears also to have possessed considerable lands at and near Great Llantwit (Llan-Illtyd-Vawr), in the Vale of Neath and county of Glamorgan. In the seventeenth century ancient monuments were still visible in Llantwit Church, on which the armorial bearings of Clare, Damorye, Marshal, Fitz-Hamon, and Ferrers appeared with those of Ralegh.[1] From Wimund (II.)'s second son, Sir Hugh de Ralegh, who succeeded his father at Bolleham, Sir Walter Ralegh was lineally descended. From his eldest son, Simon de Ralegh, descends the Somersetshire branch, long seated at Nettlecombe and in Wales, which ended in an heiress,

1 These insignia are now, as I learn from the Rector there, either defaced or concealed. They are not now (July, 1866) discoverable, he tells me.

Johanna or Joan Ralegh, who married John Whalesborough, of Whalesborough in Cornwall, and by him was the mother of five daughters and co-heiresses, of whom the eldest, Elizabeth Whalesborough, married John Trevelyan, of Trevelyan in Cornwall; of whose descendants Nettlecombe is still the seat. In Joan Ralegh's father, Sir John de Ralegh, who sat in Parliament for Somersetshire, the estates of his uncle, Sir Simon, Lieutenant of Glamorganshire, as well as those of his brothers, Warin de Ralegh and Andrew de Ralegh, had centred.

John de Ralegh, son of Sir Hugh de Ralegh of Bolleham, acquired the estate of Fardell in Cornwall, by his marriage, in the year 1303, with Johanna de Newton, daughter and heiress of William de Newton, Lord of Fardell. This acquisition was made in the reign of Edward the First.

In the next reign, another Devonshire descendant of Wimund (I.) de Ralegh acquired lands in Farnborough, in the county of Warwick (8 Edw. II.); purchased the advowson of the parish church there (11 Edw. II.), and ultimately (15 Edw. II.) acquired the whole manor. He became the ancestor of the Warwickshire Raleghs; and, in the reign of Edward the Third, is described as "Sir John de Ralegh of Charles in Devonshire, and of Farnborough in Warwickshire." This branch of the Raleghs intermarried with the families of Grey of Ruthyn, Astley, Braybrooke, and Verney, and was seated at Farnborough until the reign of Charles the Second.

Dugdale, *Antiq. of Warw.* i. 528—530.

FIVE DEVONSHIRE BRANCHES OF RALEGH.

Before the reign of Edward the Third was over, the Devonshire Raleghs had branched off into five distinct families, seated at five several places in that county, the contemporary representatives of which were all knights,

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and several of them eminent for public service, warlike or peaceful. The descent of Walter Ralegh of Fardell, father of Sir Walter, will be seen by a glance at the fac-simile of a pedigree in the Devonshire *Visitation* of 1620, which faces this page. This pedigree, it will be observed, is unfinished (so far as respects the filling up of several blanks which had been left after some of the earlier names), but it may be valuable, as an illustration, on two accounts: first, because it contains two names not to be found in the elaborate (but also unfinished) Pedigree drawn by Joseph Holland, in the year 1601, and preserved in the Harleian MS. 1500 (for which additional names and alliances there is, I believe, other evidence); and, secondly, because it was drawn two years after the death of the statesman whose descent it traces, and can incur no suspicion of partaking in the putative heraldic flattery of living greatness. Nor were such researches at that time matters of merely family interest. Ralegh, in his grave, was still hated and still dreaded at Court; but he was rapidly becoming to the nation one of the very few worthies who had redeemed the vileness of a reign which stood in such degrading contrast to the reign of Elizabeth. His extraction and alliances were already matter of history.

BIRTH-PLACE.

As there are conflicting pedigrees, so are there also rival claimants to the honour of being the birthplace of Ralegh. Such claims have been advanced in favour both of an old house near the Palace in Exeter, and of the venerable manor-house of Fardell, on the skirts of Dartmoor. But the pretensions of the Exeter house have ceased to be put forward: they have, in truth, no claim to a moment's attention. Fardell is still occasionally visited by the devout tourist, under the influence of tra-

Izacke, *Antiq. of Exeter.*

ditions which are resolutely—not to say stubbornly—upheld by the inhabitants of the village.

CLAIMS OF FARDELL.

Fardell lies in the hundred of Ermington and deanery of Plympton, at a distance of about two miles from Ivybridge. You pass along a true Devonian lane, and on reaching its end, turning suddenly to the left, you have, in a few moments, before you—on the one hand, an ancient chapel (in style, half Decorated, half transitional to Perpendicular; with a gabled porch, and a large three-light Eastern window), and, on the other, a time-greyed and lichen-covered manor-house, with a stone terrace and a brawling brook in its front. The good people of Fardell honour the memory of their great countryman; but if they had, to a man, come from Glamorganshire, they could not be more keen in turning a penny. They have bricked up the lower part of the fine three-light window of the Ralegh Chapel, and have thrown a floor across the chapel itself at mid-height. The lower story, thus formed, they have turned into a cider-cellar, and the upper one into a hay-loft. And they have suffered the old Ralegh house to fall into a condition scarcely less deplorable. But they will be very angry if you tell them that although Sir Walter Ralegh's forefathers lived in the house and worshipped in the chapel, for very many generations, the great man himself was born, not at Fardell, but at Hayes, far away in the eastern corner of South Devon. Hayes is in the hundred of Budleigh and deanery of Aylesbere, and is about three miles from the village of Otterton, and but little more from the well-known watering-place of Budleigh Salterton.

CLAIMS OF POER'S HAYES.

There is indeed small room for controversy about these conflicting claims, since Sir Walter has put the fact out of doubt by a letter of his own, which for a long

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time was preserved at Otterton House, the seat of the Duke family, and was shown freely to visitors. It was written in the early days of courtly prosperity, to induce the then owner to listen to a negotiation for the purchase of the old manor-house of Hayes, that the writer might make it his Devonshire seat. "I have," he says, "a natural disposition to the place, being born in that house."[1]

What the tourist now sees there is but a portion of the old building. It is of the plainest sort of Tudor architecture; with three gables, heavily-mullioned windows, a thatched roof, and a somewhat picturesque porch. The long occupation of the place as a farm-house, and the appurtenances which hence have naturally gathered about it, combine with other changes to lessen, in appearance, its real antiquity. The interior is also much altered, but the room in which, according to an old and probable tradition, Sir Walter was born, carries the aspect of its age. When the visitor goes to the window and looks out on Hayes Wood, the view is very much what must have met Ralegh's youthful eyes. In his days, the situation can have been scarcely more rustic or more secluded than it is in 1866. Years ago it was the frequent practice to show the visitor a copy of the old folio edition of the *History of the World*, perhaps as a proof that Sir Walter's literary fame, as well as his great deeds, was kept in mind at Hayes. The old book is not now visible. But the house is shown with great courtesy.

In Plantagenet times, Hayes had belonged to the family of Poer, and it was long afterwards called Poer's

[1] This letter has been more than once printed. But it would have in vain been looked for in the Oxford Edition of the *Works*. See hereafter, among the *Letters*.

or Power's Hayes. On the marriage of Cecily Poer, daughter and heiress of Roger Poer, with Richard Duke of Otterton, it came to the Duke family,—descended from a wealthy London tradesman, and further enriched by a gentleman who, at the creation of the "Court of Augmentations," for dealing with the property of the dissolved monasteries, had the good fortune to be made its Clerk. The office of "Clerk of Augmentations" was filled by Mr. Duke with the greatest possible efficiency. He acquired for himself the lordship of five thousand four hundred acres of monastic and South Devonshire land,—including four manors and three parish churches. On one of the four manor-houses, so acquired, Walter Ralegh was, in due time, to be born.[1]

WALTER RALEGH OF FARDELL.

Walter Ralegh, father of Sir Walter, was the son of Wimund Ralegh, of Smallridge and of Fardel by Elizabeth Edgecombe, daughter of Sir Richard Edgecombe of Cothele. Wimund Ralegh, like several hundred others of his countrymen, fell under the grip of the Empsons and the Dudleys of King Henry the Seventh, and was forced to make a very handsome contribution to the royal Exchequer, by way of ransom money for the penalty of sundry "misprisions and other offences." The scanty notices that may yet be found of him amongst musty old records are such as suggest that, like his great descendant, he was also somewhat too open-handed and profuse in his ordinary expenditure. Walter, son of Wimund, succeeded his father in the manors of Fardell in Cornwood, and of Colaton Ralegh, which latter had belonged to his ancestors from the days of King Henry the Third. But he succeeded to

MS. Lansdowne, clx. fol. 311.

1 MS. Evidences at Bicton House, § *Otterton*. Also, *Decrees of the Court of Augm.* 31 Hen. VIII., and 35 Hen. VIII. MS. (R. H.)

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an impoverished estate. Wimund Ralegh had found himself obliged to sell Smallridge in his lifetime. In the fourth and fifth year of Philip and Mary, his son executed a feoffment of "Colaton Moor and the Waterleazes" to Sir Robert Dennys of Bicton.[1] Nor were these the only alienations of the patrimonial lands. Of Hayes he had only a long lease from the Dukes of Otterton. From a comparison of incidental passages in various contemporary documents I have been led to the belief that Walter Ralegh of Fardell was, in some way or other, interested in the commerce of Exeter and Exmouth; and that the proximity of Hayes to the city and port led to his selection of Hayes manor-house as his frequent abode. But, at present, I offer this suggestion as merely a probable conjecture, conclusive evidence of which has yet to be found.

MS. Evidences at Bicton, § *Colaton Ralegh.*

MS. Lansdowne, clx. fol. 311.

Walter, of Fardell and of Hayes, was thrice married. His first wife was Joan, daughter of John Drake, of Exmouth. His second wife was Isabel or Elizabeth de Ponte,[2]

[1] The Devonshire topographers, following the lead of Sir William Pole, concur in stating that this manor of Colaton Ralegh was ultimately sold by Sir Walter Ralegh. But this statement is unfounded. After 1603, Sir Walter could make no assurance in law. And, in July 1604, Colaton Ralegh is enumerated in records, along with eight other manors, all of which were granted by King James the First (as part of the estates forfeited to the Crown by Sir Walter's attainder), "for the term of sixty years, if Sir Walter Ralegh shall so long live," to Sir Alexander Brett and others, in trust for Lady Ralegh and her children. Eventually this manor passed to the family of Duke of Otterton, and with the other Duke estates was acquired by Dennys Rolle, father of the late Lord Rolle, in 1780.—*Docquet bks.* of James I., 1604, July 30 (MS. Rolls House). *Survey and Particulars of Duke Manors*, 1779 (Bicton Munt. Room).

[2] "The foresaid Walter married to his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter to Jamekyn de Pant of the town of Jenua, father to divers merchants of those parts of Jenua, and had issue by her, Mary."—Benolt, *Visitation of Devon*, &c. 22 Hen. VIII. (Transcript in MS. Additional 14,315, fol. 35, verso. B. M.) The common statement has been that Walter's second wife was named Darell, as in the fac-simile.

daughter of Giacomo de Ponte, a merchant of Genoa, who had Letters Patent of denization from King Henry the Seventh in 1508. His third wife was Katherine Champernoun, daughter of Sir Philip Champernoun of Modbury. The children of the first marriage were two sons: George, who succeeded him at Fardell, and John; of the second marriage, the only issue was a daughter, Mary, who married Hugh Snedale, of Exeter and of Hilling in Cornwall, Esquire. By his last wife, who was the widow of Otho Gilbert of Compton, Walter Ralegh had two sons, Carew and Walter; and a daughter, Margaret, who was twice married,—first, to John Radford, of Mount Radford near Exeter; and, secondly, to Mr. Hull of Larkebere.

Patent Roll, 23. Hen. VII. p. 1. m. 10.

Joan Ralegh, the first wife of Sir Walter Ralegh's father, is buried very near to the ancient pew in East Budleigh Church which she was wont to occupy in her lifetime, and a monumental slab of dark grey slate, covering her tomb, bears an inscription in reversed letters (from right to left), now fast becoming illegible, which may yet, however, by patient scrutiny, be made out thus: "*Orate pro anima Johannæ Ralegh, quæ obiit x. die mensis Augusti, Anno Domini . . . .*" The *year* cannot now be read, nor is any copy of the inscription, whilst yet perfect, known to have been made. The Ralegh pew, hard by, bears the date "1537," and, like its immediate neighbours, is carved with the armorial bearings of its ancient owners. The Budleigh registers give no help towards supplying either the blank on the slab, or any information whatever about the Raleghs. That of births is the earliest, but it commences only in April 1555. The Register of Marriages begins one year later, and that of deaths seven years later. There is no other Ralegh monument at Budleigh.

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By his last alliance, Walter Ralegh, of Fardell and of Hayes, became linked not only with the ancient knightly family of Champernoun, many members of which had won great distinction at various periods of our history, from the Norman wars down to the reign of Henry the Eighth, who increased their already broad lands by an act of whimsical bounty, in which (says Fuller, in his *Worthies*) "a dumb beggar met with a blind giver, the one as little knowing what he asked, as the other what he granted;"[1] but also (amongst others) with two Devonshire families of great contemporary fame,—the Gilberts and the Carews. In consequence of the early intimacies and the mutual interests which grew out of this alliance, we shall find hereafter that Sir Walter himself, at almost every stage of his career, has Champernouns, Gilberts, and Carews, in close connection with his fortunes and achievements. There are probably

THE RALEGH COUSINAGE.

[1] The story is a curious one. Richard Carew, of Antony, tells it thus:—"John Champernowne, son and heir apparent of Sir Philip Champernowne of Devon, in Henry the Eighth's time, followed the Court, and through his pleasant conceits, of which much might be spoken, won some good grace with the King. Now, when the golden showers of the dissolved Abbey Lands rained well near into every gaper's mouth, some two or three gentlemen (the King's servants and master Champernowne's acquaintance) waited at a door where the King was to pass forth, with purpose to beg such a matter at his hands. Our gentleman became inquisitive to know their suit; they made strange to impart it. This while, out comes the King; they kneel down; so doth master Champernowne; they prefer their petition; the King grants it. They render humble thanks; so doth master Champernowne. Afterward, he requireth his share; they deny it. He appeals to the King, who avoweth his equal meaning of the largess; whereon the overtaken companions were fain to allot him this Priory [of St. Germans in Cornwall] for his partage."—Carew, *Survey of Cornwall*, f. 109, verso. John Champernoun was the brother of Ralegh's mother. He had a lease of St. Germans Priory in 1535, and died soon afterwards. Henry the Eighth granted the Priory, in fee, to Katherine Champernoun, his widow; and by her representatives it was conveyed to Richard Eliot of Coteland in Devon, father of Sir John Eliot, and ancestor of the Eliots of Port Eliot and St. Germans.

few instances in history in which a family relationship of this sort is so strongly marked by the contemporaneous existence of a group of men, possessed of great parts, and all, so to speak, included within the pale of brotherhood and "cousinage." Sir Walter's own fame, indeed, may have thrown somewhat into the shade the fame of his half-brothers and cousins, but, intrinsically, they are all men of note. And without knowing, by and by, something of them, we shall not know Ralegh.

Sir Walter's father and his mother are buried in Exeter Cathedral. His biographers have hitherto echoed the assertion, that of his father nothing whatever is known, save that he was "the husband of three wives;" thus conspiring together, as it would seem, to overlook a most interesting anecdote, full of evidence to character, which is nevertheless to be found in the well-known Continuation of Holinshed's *Chronicles of England*, by John Hooker, of Exeter, who describes himself as an eye-witness of the incidents, or part of them, about to be narrated.

THE RISING OF THE WEST.

That famous "Rising of the West," which, at one moment, seemed not unlikely to turn the tide of the English Reformation, threatened also to preclude the entrance into the world of Sir Walter Ralegh. Beginning on the Whit-Sunday of 1549, in the village church of Sampford Courtenay,—more than twenty miles away from Hayes,—it spread rapidly through the whole country-side, until a crowd of the malcontents of Devon and Cornwall thronged towards the walls of Exeter, and sent off detachments to excite the people of the neighbouring villages to make such barricades and rude entrenchments as might impede the approach of any troops that should be levied against them. Sir Gawen Carew, and his nephew Sir Peter, were sent down in

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haste to Exeter by the Lords of the Council, to use their local influence in putting down the insurrection by persuasion, if that were found possible; and, if otherwise, to gather such forces as they could, wherewith to make head against it. Sir Peter and Sir Gawen, after a visit to Exeter, hastened on to Crediton, where the ferment was at its height. Meanwhile the rage for making barricades spread to Bishop's Court and to other places in that neighbourhood.

WALTER RALEGH AND THE INSURGENTS.

Just at the crisis, Walter Ralegh chanced to be riding from his house at Hayes to Exeter, in company, as it seems, "with certain mariners of Exmouth;" and he overtook on the road an old woman, who, beads in hand, was on her way to the parish church of Clyst St. Mary. Ralegh stopped his horse, and accosted her:—"What," said he, "is the good of your beads?" And he went on to tell her of the stringent laws which had been made in London for the Reformation of Religion and the abolition of superstitious practices, and of the certainty that sooner or later they would be enforced. Then, it seems, he tried his powers of religious argument, by way of impressing her, if possible, with the truth of the reformed doctrines; as well as with the wisdom of a timely obedience to authority. But he made no way. The poor woman was proof, both against argument and against warning. She grew angry, and anger (perhaps with some admixture of fear) made her a liar. Bursting into Clyst St. Mary Church, she vehemently cried out that poor people were now threatened,—"except they would leave their beads, and give over holy bread and holy water, *the gentlemen would burn their houses over their heads;*" "with other like speeches," adds the narrator, "very false and untrue," which made the people "fling out of church, like a sort of wasps." Fresh

intrenchments and rustic fortifications were now constructed in hot haste; great trees were laid athwart Clyst bridge, at the end next Exeter; and guns were obtained from Topsham. Meanwhile, a body of rioters overtook Ralegh, who had ridden on towards Exeter, "and fell into such rages with him, that, if he had not shifted himself into a chapel," by the roadside, "whence he was rescued by the mariners of Exmouth, . . . he had been like to have been murdered." But, presently, he fell into the hands of another band of rioters, by whom he was taken to Saint Sidwell's—then an outlying suburb of Exeter, of which the rebels had possession—and was imprisoned there, in the tower of the church, during the whole duration of the rebellion; "being many times threatened to be put to death."

Holinshed's *Chron. of England*, A.D. 1549.

The siege of Exeter—the sixth siege that city had sustained since the Conquest by the Normans—was a desperate one, and was well-nigh successful. For the numerous rebels without were seconded by not a few malcontents within. The Council in London was the prey of faction. Its General in Devonshire, Lord Russell, was, at one critical moment, almost paralysed for want of reinforcements. But, when at length strengthened by the arrival of Lord Grey of Wilton, the royal army eventually defeated the rebels, in the bloody battle of Clyst Heath. From first to last, 4,000 lives, it was estimated, were sacrificed in the struggle. Walter Ralegh was kept a prisoner in St. Sidwell's tower, until after the midnight which followed the battle. Then, the remnant of the besiegers fled in confusion and panic; and the citizens, somewhat doubtingly, opened their gates in the early morning to Ralegh and his fellow-prisoners. The royal "dragon" was set up with great pomp on the city walls. The Lord

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Grey, whose victory on Clyst Heath delivered the elder Walter Ralegh from his great peril, was the general under whom the younger Walter, as yet unborn, was destined to distinguish himself by his soldiership in Ireland, and in controversy with whom—if the old story is to be trusted—he was first to win the marked favour of Queen Elizabeth. Grey's success at Clyst was undoubtedly stained with barbarous severity, whether it be or be not true that his subsequent victories in Ireland were so stained, as the Irish historians have repeatedly alleged.

See hereafter, Chap. III.

Some seven or eight years after the suppression of this formidable "Rising of the West," the ecclesiastical aspects of things were wholly changed. Some of those who had helped to besiege Exeter, and had escaped the penalties of the law, were now clothed with authority. Those who had looked on at the struggle with ill-concealed sympathy, and had secretly mourned over its failure, were now jubilant in their turn. The sturdy Romanist priests of Devonshire, instead of incurring the peril of being drawn, in cope and stole, to the tops of their own churches, there to hang in chains (like the unhappy Vicar of St. Thomas, at Exeter, in 1549), were now themselves potent to imprison and to kill. Amongst the Protestants who were confined in Exeter Castle, and afterwards burned at the stake on Southernhay (a stake, by the way, which is still shown to visitors in the grounds of Bicton House, near Otterton, the manor of which was long held by the tenure of the Castle-ward of Exeter), was a poor and uneducated but strong-brained woman, named Agnes Prest. The news of her deportment in prison, and before the justices, reached Hayes; and was evidently regarded there with feelings, the nature of which, though there is no record of their expression, we

MARTYRDOM OF AGNES PREST.

may well infer from Walter Ralegh's conversation with the poor woman of Clyst St. Mary. His wife went to Exeter to visit Agnes Prest in the gaol. "There resorted to her," says worthy John Foxe, "the wife of Walter Raleigh, a woman of noble wit and of good and godly opinions, who coming to the prison and talking with her, she said her *Creed* to the gentlewoman. When she came to the Article, *He ascended*, there she stayed, and bade the gentlewoman to seek his blessed body in Heaven, not on Earth; and told her plainly that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands; and that Sacrament to be nothing else but a remembrance of His blessed Passion. And yet," said she, "as they now use it, it is but an idol, and far wide from any remembrance of Christ's body; which [use] will not long continue, and so take it, good Mistress." Then the narrator goes on to add that, as soon as Mrs. Ralegh "came home to her husband, she declared to him that in her life she never heard any woman, of such simplicity to see to, talk so godly and so earnestly; insomuch, that if God were not with her, she could not speak such things.—*I was not able to answer her; I, who can read, and she cannot.*"[1] Such a conversation as this must needs have borne fruit. When told to Walter Ralegh, it may well have brought

[1] Ralegh has had already some eight or nine biographers—counting lives in collections as well as separate lives—at the least. Not one of them has given us any indication of the characters of his father or of his mother. Tytler (*Life of Ralegh*, p. 18) tells us by implication, that of the latter nothing is known, but that she was the mother of the Gilberts—Humphrey, John, and Adrian,—as well as of Ralegh. Yet, as the anecdote of the conversation at Clyst St. Mary, and of the imprisonment in St. Sidwell's tower, is to be found in a book not more recondite than the *Chronicles* of Holinshed and his coadjutors; so that of Katherine Ralegh's visit to Exeter gaol, still more deeply interesting to all who honour Ralegh's memory, is to be found in the well-known *Acts and Monuments* of John Foxe (Townsend's Edit. vol. viii. pp. 500, 501).

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vividly to his recollection what he had seen in his ride between Hayes and Exeter in 1549, and what he must have meditated not a little upon, during his perilous confinement at St. Sidwell's. Topics such as these would long form part of the fireside-talk in the old manor-house at Hayes.

When Agnes Prest was put to death, at Southernhay, the young Walter was between five and six years of age. Philip II. occupied, at this time, the English as well as the Spanish throne; and many Englishmen, as we know, tried to keep something of their loyal feeling towards Queen Mary, by laying on him and his agents the odium of the burning of so many English Protestants.

DEVONSHIRE IN MARY'S TIME.

Already, in the reign of Queen Mary, and the early days of Elizabeth, Eastern South Devon, as well as Western, had its busy and important sea-towns.[1] But the great and ancient Fisheries had much decayed, or had passed into foreign hands. "England was besieged round about by foreigners, and deprived of the substance of the sea-fishing, [although], ... by God's ordinance, peculiarly given to the same," wrote Cecil in 1563. Vast opportunities of discovery and colonization, which had offered themselves in the days of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., had been let slip. We find Ralegh himself (when glancing retrospectively at such lost opportunities) writing thus:—"The English, who might have

Domestic Corresp. Eliz. vol. xli. (R.H.)

[1] Channels which are now wholly silted up, or greatly obstructed by sand-banks, although their deterioration was already in progress, were still available for commerce. The altered appearance of this part of the coast of Devon is curiously shown by a rude chart or bird's-eye view, preserved among the Cottonian MSS. (Augustus, I. vol. i. No. 39), which seems to have been drawn towards the end of the reign of Henry VIII. But great allowance must be made, in drawing inferences from it, for the vagueness of the draughtsman's ideas of proportion.

mastered the world by sea, have lost that advantage by their negligence, ignorance, and covetousness." The true spirit of English enterprise, indeed, was as yet altogether in its infancy. But, of such enterprise as there was, Devonshire, and especially the towns and villages of its southern coast, contributed far more than a proportionate share relatively to its seaboard and to its population. It was becoming a great seat of the staple trade of the kingdom. In those days, the West of England held, in miniature, the relative commercial position which the North holds now. It had already an immigrant foreign population, who had brought from Flanders, and from other parts of Europe, their special industries and their ancestral skill. Thriving manufactures had been transplanted from famous continental towns to obscure Devonshire villages, which were rapidly acquiring wealth and influence, while some of the ancient seats of those manufactures were sinking into poverty. The household memories of the aliens, and the newly-acquired prosperity, or germ of prosperity, which was developing itself amongst those who had (at first, not very willingly) given them hospitality, all told the same tale. And its moral was precisely the moral of those events of 1549 and 1557 which had become so interesting to the domestic circle at Hayes, whilst young Ralegh was growing up towards manhood, and observing, with the quick ears and the keen eyes of youth, the sayings and doings of his elders.

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Disc. of Naval Affairs. Cott. MS. Titus, B. viii. f. 228.

THE NAVAL POPULATION OF DEVON.

The coast, too, hard by which he then lived, was already the home of a multitude of Devonshire sailors, who had roamed about in all parts of the world, and could tell thrilling tales of suffering, for religion's sake, either endured by themselves at the hands of the Spanish Inquisitors, under whose grip they had fallen (whether

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by fortune of war or by shipwreck), or heard of, as among the familiar incidents of life, in the countries they had visited. They could tell of deeds of daring—and, unhappily, of deeds of barbarity—by which, now and again, they had signally avenged themselves. Some of them could also tell of the marvels seen in those new-found lands of America and the Indies, which had excited universal curiosity and wonder.

Influences such as these will go far towards explaining the passion for maritime adventure, and the early growth and intensity of that hatred of Spain and Spanish policy, which alike coloured the whole of Ralegh's life. The dazzling achievements of Spaniards, both in Europe and America, were now beginning to stir English rivalry to the core. The memory of some of their greatest conquests was still fresh. English discoverers had already marked out new paths. When Ralegh was born, Hawkins had made several voyages; Cortez was still alive. As he grew to be a reader, books about Spanish voyages and Spanish conquests came in aid of the sailors' tales about Spanish cruelties to excite youthful emulation and youthful anger. On him, both the emulation and the anger seem to have become operative, in a degree of which there is no other example. To Ralegh, the Spanish empire and polity became the very types and embodiments of evil. But no man was ever more ready than was Ralegh to avow his admiration of the great deeds of Spaniards, just as no man was more eager to vie with them on the scene of their chief triumphs. His career is probably the most diversified career ever run by an Englishman. And, despite its variety, every epoch of it will be found to be, in some degree or other, strangely mingled with the affairs of Spain or the doings of Spaniards.

CHAPTER II.

THE STUDENT.—THE SOLDIER OF THE HUGUENOTS.

1567—1576.

Why is so little known of Ralegh's Youth, or of his Six Years' Service in the Civil Wars of France?—Ralegh at Oriel.—Lord Bacon's Anecdote.—The Relations of Ralegh with the Champernouns.—The Huguenot Expeditions and Queen Elizabeth.—The English Volunteers of 1569.—Moncontour.—The Champernouns and the Count of Montgomery.—The Return from France.

THE biography of Ralegh opens—as it closes—with an enigma. Almost the whole record of his education is comprised in the meagre account that, at an early age, he became a Commoner of Oriel; that his Oxford career was a distinguished one; that whilst yet at the University he was esteemed a wit as well as a scholar; and that, notwithstanding his collegiate distinction, his residence at the University must have fallen short, and probably fell much short, of three years. Before he was eighteen, we find him in active service as a soldier in the Civil Wars of France, and there he is said to have remained for more than six years. But of the details of that service little more (in proportion) is known, than of the details of his University career, and the dates both of its beginning and its end are alike open to doubt. The man, it is to be remembered, of the first twenty-five years of whose life so little is discoverable even by keen research, is not only a famous man, but he is a man of good family, and at his outset counted—as has been

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seen already—among his closest connections, men of name, office, and rank. How, under such conditions, is this early obscurity to be explained?

COLLEGE LIFE OF RALEGH.

As to the period of early education, no explanation, probably, is now attainable. It is quite otherwise with the six years' service in France. The obscurity which hangs over that, indeed, is explicable only upon grounds which it can give no satisfaction to an English writer to suggest. But the explanation, how distasteful soever, seems to be the only adequate one. Before touching on that, we have to glance at the College days.

Our meagre information about Ralegh at Oriel is due mainly to Anthony Wood, who tells us that Sir Walter "became a Commoner of Oriel College, in or about the year 1568, when his kinsman, C. Champernoun, studied there; and, his natural parts being strangely advanced by academical learning, under the care of an excellent tutor, he became the ornament of the juniors, and was worthily esteemed a proficient in Oratory and Philosophy." Wood's further and confident statement that Ralegh stayed at Oriel "three years," is irreconcilable, not only with his own date,—"about the year 1568,"—avowedly a doubtful date, but with all reasonable probability as to the earliest conjecturable matriculation. That he was in France in Sept. 1569, at latest, is an established fact. That he was at Oriel at some time in the year 1567 is without proof, yet not unlikely. But that he was there during the whole of that year is obviously unlikely. In 1568, he was still a very young student, even for Elizabethan days.

Athenæ Oxonienses, ii. 235.

"Whilst Ralegh was a scholar at Oxford," writes Lord Bacon, "there was a cowardly fellow, who happened to be a very good archer; but, having been grossly abused by another, he bemoaned himself to Ralegh, and asked

his advice what he should do to repair the wrong that had been offered him. *Why, challenge him*, answered Ralegh, *to a match of shooting.*"

CHAP. II.
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Bacon, *Apoph.* lxvi.

For the statement that Ralegh, on leaving Oxford, entered himself as a student of the Middle Temple, there is not an atom of evidence. And we have his own asseveration that he read "not a word" of law or statutes, until the time of his imprisonment in the Tower.

It is probable that Ralegh went from the University to France, in the autumn of 1569. That he went thither as one of a body of gentlemen-volunteers, raised (chiefly among West-countrymen) by his near relative, Henry Champernoun, is the express assertion of Camden. And the arrival of Champernoun's contingent in the French Huguenot camp, is as expressly dated by De Thou as occurring on the "third day before the Nones of October," *i.e.* October 5th, 1569. Here we are met by the difficulty that Ralegh speaks of himself, most distinctly, as sharing in "the retreat at Moncontour," under Count Lewis of Nassau. That famous battle was fought on the *third* of October.

RALEGH IN FRANCE.
Oct. 1569.

Annales.

Hist. sui Temp. xlvi. c. 2.

It has been, indeed, inferred from another passage in the *History of the World*, that Ralegh was present at the battle of Jarnac, which occurred more than six months prior to the junction of Champernoun's volunteers with the Huguenots of La Rochelle. But this inference is not warranted by the writer's words:— "I remember it well," he says, "that when the Prince of Condé was slain, after the battle of Jarnac, . . . the Protestants did greatly bewail the loss, . . . in respect of his religion, person, and birth; yet, comforting themselves, they thought it rather an advancement than a

March 13, 1569.

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hindrance to their affairs; for so much did the valour of the one [*i.e.* Condé] outreach the advisedness of the other [*i.e.* Coligni], as whatsoever the Admiral intended to win by attending the advantage, the Prince adventured to lose by being over-confident in his own courage." Very little reflection will make it obvious that the state of things here spoken of would as naturally fall under Ralegh's observation in the October, as in the March or April, of 1569. But the difficulty in reconciling De Thou's statement with Ralegh's own reference to the battle of Moncontour is of a more stubborn sort. After noticing an assertion of Lanouë, as to a retreat of the Huguenot forces made shortly before that battle, as illustrating "a sure rule" in war,—namely, that "it is less dishonour to dislodge in the dark than to be beaten in the light,"—he goes on to say: "And yet that worthy gentleman, Count Ludowick of Nassau, brother to the late famous Prince of Orange, made the retreat at Moncontour with so great resolution as he saved the one-half of the Protestant army, then broken and disbanded, *of which myself was an eye-witness*, and was one of them that had cause to thank him for it." It seems hardly possible that Ralegh could have shared in the retreat exactly at its critical moment, unless he had been also present at the battle.

Hist. of World, ii 419.

Be that as it may, it is of interest to note that the leader of the band in which Ralegh served was the son of his mother's eldest brother, John Champernoun, of Modbury; and has often been confounded with Gawen Champernoun, a son of her younger brother, Sir Arthur, of Dartington. Gawen also served in the Huguenot wars, but probably at a different period; and it was he who married a daughter of the famous Huguenot leader, the Count of Montgomery. Which, if either, of these

cousins it was who was keeping his terms at Oriel at the time of Ralegh's arrival there, is uncertain. Henry Champernoun must, one is led to think, have left College long before Ralegh, as we find him engaged in tedious negotiations at Court for the assistance of the French Protestants many months before the actual outset of the expedition. Very characteristic are those negotiations of the tricky and tortuous policy of Elizabeth's government towards the conflicting parties in France. The fullest account of them seems to be that contained in the despatches of the French ambassador, Salignac de la Mothe Fenelon, and it is in substantial harmony with the correspondence, at earlier stages of the Huguenot business, between the English ambassadors (Smith and Throgmorton) at Paris, and Elizabeth and her ministers at home.

DIPLOMACY OF ELIZABETH'S MINISTERS.

At the time of the battle of Jarnac, a long course of double-dealing in which the English ministers, whilst keeping the Huguenot agents in play with fair words and promises of help, were equally anxious to amuse and pacify the royal ambassador with assurances of true alliance and friendship, had almost issued in open rupture with both. The Huguenots were again getting weary of fine words, diversified by pieces of service which looked more likely to help English ambition than to secure Protestant liberties in France.[1] Only the knowledge that his master's hands were full at home kept the anger of Charles the Ninth's envoy from boiling

1 Six years earlier, Condé and Coligni had spoken pretty openly on this head:—"They say," wrote Throgmorton to Elizabeth, "'it will be a great note of infamy in us thus to have introduced the English into Normandy only to hold certain towns which they may detain at their pleasure.' *They would have your Majesty serve their turn, as well as your own.*"—Despatch of 24th September, 1562, written immediately after the mission of the Vidame de Chartres with the keys of Havre and Dieppe.

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over, when he found that a large armament was almost ready to sail for La Rochelle, under the guise of a private and merely mercantile enterprise. "I have been in great doubt," he wrote to the Queen Mother, on the 25th of March, "how I should deport myself towards this Queen . . . fearing that if I went to her with hard words about it [the armament], she might possibly be provoked to make some more frank declaration than would admit any other course on your part and the King's than open war, consistently with your . . . reputation." When the news of the royal success reached London, Chatillon, the chief agent of the Huguenots, "returned into the country," we are told, "sorrowful and grieved beyond measure." Salignac renewed his efforts; had long conferences with Leicester and other Lords of the Council. Presently, it was doubted whether victory and defeat had been so decisive as was alleged. The preparations in the river were resumed. Salignac now went to the Queen herself with his remonstrances. "She answered me," he says, "with asseverations, as before God, that she did not know that anything was carried in that fleet which could give your Majesty offence; that those of La Rochelle could not boast to have obtained of her any help whatsoever, either in money, ammunitions, or provisions, unless they had taken them, on the word of Elijah, from the bottle of the Widow of Sarepta; for, assuredly, her purse was none the less full for what they obtained from it. Since then, Sire," he continues, "I have been assured that Henry Chambernant and others, who had sought leave to pass into France, had been dissuaded from prosecuting their enterprise. Nevertheless, the Protestants secretly prepare all they can." Shortly afterwards, he tells his master that he has heard that Champernoun is getting ready "of his own accord"

Salignac de la Mothe Fenelon to Charles IX. July 19, 1569. (*Cor. Dipl.* vol. ii. 93.)

to accompany the Huguenot agents, Dudoict and St. Simon, to La Rochelle; that strenuous efforts are being made to raise a considerable sum of money on pledge of the Queen of Navarre's jewels; and that two of the agents—the Cardinal de Chatillon and the Vidame de Chartres—have solemnly pledged themselves to remain in England until the jewels should be redeemed.

This affair of the Navarre jewels becomes a somewhat amusing episode in the drearily iterative despatches about English aid to the Huguenots. Elizabeth, with her more than hereditary love of fine adornments and splendid chattels, was sorely tempted by the hope of getting some great bargains. A certain agate vase in particular, shown to her by Sir Thomas Gresham, was much coveted. "But knowing whence it came," she told Salignac, "I refused to hear a word more about it." At length, the jewels were sent, colourably, he says, to Germany, and English money, to be lent upon them, sent thither also.

"Champernoun," he goes on to report on the 27th July, "has been suffered to join those of La Rochelle without express licence, but nevertheless,—under semblance of acting for himself,—to be as the Queen's agent in their camp; and to give her in writing a true account of things as they pass; since the news hitherto sent begins to be distrusted." Early in the following month, Salignac obtained the stay of four vessels in the Thames, just on the point of departure for La Rochelle, but in September the arrest was taken off, on the allegation that they were intended for service in the Netherlands. Fully armed, they now proceeded to their real destination. Whether or not it was in this little fleet that Ralegh sailed can only be matter of probable conjecture. Anyhow, it is plain that the volunteers could scarcely

Corresp. Diplomatique, pub. by Cooper, ii. 143.

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have reached the camp before they found themselves engaged with the enemy.

Ralegh has not left us a word of his own which indicates the duration of his stay in France. But there is contemporary testimony which makes it probable that he continued there more than six years after his speedy initiation at Moncontour into the perils and the hard problems of war. Of that long experience in an eventful struggle, only one incident is distinctly recorded. It cannot even be determined whether or not he was one of the many Englishmen who found refuge with Walsingham at the house of the English embassy at Paris during the Bartholomew Massacre.

See hereafter, p. 33.

At that period Gawen Champernoun had already become the son-in-law of the Huguenot chief Montgomery, whose desperate efforts to rally the remnant of the Protestants were at last attended by some measure of success. Early in the following year Montgomery went into England, where he raised a considerable flotilla, and manned it,—chiefly, it seems, in Devon and Cornwall,—with nearly 2,000 soldiers and sailors, part of whom he placed under Champernoun's orders. Montgomery succeeded, too, in raising a loan of 40,000 livres in England; and he effected a landing, with his followers, at La Rochelle in April. That the government in England winked at the equipment of ships and enlisting of men for this expedition is plain. The preparations once effected, an official disavowal followed in due course. But, if Salignac's subsequent despatches may be trusted, a much darker stain than that of diplomatic falsehood lies on Elizabeth and her advisers in connexion with the struggles and fate of the gallant Montgomery.

1573.

When the Huguenot leader was again driven from La

Rochelle, he retreated first to London and then to Jersey, where he organized a new expedition; apparently with the same surreptitious countenance which had been shown to him in the Thames and in Devonshire. His force, however, was completely overmatched, and the entire ruin of the enterprise followed. Montgomery was forced to capitulate, and was beheaded on the 26th June, 1574. A week later, we find Salignac expressly asserting that it was by Elizabeth's machinations that the expedition had failed. "*Elle a tenu la main*," he says, "*que l'entreprise de Montgomery n'a point eu de suitte.*" It had had, in truth, a terrible and ever memorable result, but that was yet unknown to the ambassador. His testimony as to Elizabeth's treachery is, of course, by itself inconclusive. But it is a link the more in a long chain of like evidences, illustrative of the English policy towards the French Protestants at this time.

Whilst the net was being gathered round the Count of Montgomery, property belonging, either absolutely or in reversion, to his connections, the Champernouns, had fallen under the gripe of the French government, and claims for restitution were continually urged by the English ambassador at Paris. There are many allusions to these claims in the correspondence between Charles the Ninth and the Queen Mother on the one hand, and their ambassador in London on the other. Sir Arthur Champernoun (Katherine Ralegh's brother) was, it appears, on the point of proceeding himself to Paris, and for some reason or other his presence there was dreaded. "As to the interests [in the Montgomery estates] of the son of Sir Arthur Champernoun, . . . I will do what is right," wrote the King in May 1574, "but you must dexterously prevent his [Sir Arthur's] coming hither." After the King's death, Salignac writes to the Queen

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Regent that Sir Arthur Champernoun had given him formal intimation that "he had assigned that debt to his son, *who will now take the best measures he can to levy payment on the French.*"[1]

Of any enterprises of the Champernouns, after the final defeat of Montgomery, there is no account. Ralegh's name never occurs at all in the known and accessible documents. All his own allusions to the period of his service in France are merely incidental and anecdotical. The explanation, I venture to suggest, must lie in the diplomatic treachery, and the consequent perils of that service. Many bands of Englishmen were sent to fight in France, and were sent thither by their Queen and her ministers. But they fought nevertheless under a liability, if captured, to be hung by their enemies, with a scroll on their breasts explaining that they had met their fate, —"For having come, against the will of the Queen of England, to the help of the Huguenots." A liability like this, and what was involved in it, at home, may, perhaps, be thought to go far towards explaining why it is that so little is discoverable of the doings of these English auxiliaries in France; and why, in particular, Ralegh is so little communicative either as to his own share in those doings, or as to the principles of policy which underlay them. Such reticence is unusual with him. As historian, he delights in illuminating remote facts with the glow derivable from the parallelisms of personal experience. As statesman, he is wont to dwell with special zest, both in speech and in writing, on the obscurer influences which have impelled the action of governments on great occasions. But in respect of this English participation in the religious wars in France he

Foreign Corresp. France, 1562. (R. II.)

[1] *Correspondance Diplomatique*, as above, vi. 170; vii. 466. Comp. Arcère, *Histoire de La Rochelle*, i. 483, *seqq.*

rarely, if ever, touches on any principle at stake in it. And if by chance he does venture on a personal anecdote of that period, he is anecdotical only. As, for example, when he tells us:—"I saw in the third Civil War of France, certain caves in Languedoc which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the midway of high rocks which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine; till, at last, by certain bundles of straw, let down by an iron chain, and a weighty stone in the midst, those that defended it were so smothered as they rendered themselves, with their plate, money, and other goods therein hidden." In these rare instances of allusion of any sort to the Civil Wars in France, he seems always to have present to his mind, a maxim which, long afterwards, he put into pregnant words:—"Whosoever in writing a modern history shall follow Truth too near the heels, it may haply strike out his teeth."

Hist of World, Bk. iv. c. 2, vol. ii. p. 197.

Ibid. Preface[p. 39].

RALEGH'S RETURN FROM THE CONTINENT.

That it was in 1575, at earliest,—but, more probably, in 1576,—that Ralegh returned to England, is the obvious inference from a statement made by Richard Hakluyt, and addressed, in a dedication, to Ralegh himself:—"Calling to mind," says Hakluyt, "that you had spent more years in France than I." Incidentally, in the same book, the writer had already stated that he had been himself five years in France. With the computation hence to be inferred, the assertion of another contemporary, John Hooker, agrees. After a momentary glimpse of Ralegh as having, possibly, engaged himself under Sir John Norreys, in the service of the States of Holland—an engagement, which is at best a probable tradition, not an established fact,—we next find him taking a prominent part in the wars of Ireland. At Moncontour,

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he was a raw stripling. In Munster, he is an accomplished captain. But he is also something more. He is familiar with sea-service. The experiences which had ripened the boyish recruit of 1569 into the veteran, on land and water, of 1576, must be, for the most part, imagined. There are no means, as we have seen, of narrating them in detail.

It is, however, manifest enough that the civil conflicts of France must needs have been, for such a pupil, a good school. He had amongst his companions in arms, some of the best soldiers of that age. Some of these were, of course, mere mercenaries. Others were fighting for great aims, as well as in what, taken broadly, was a good cause. They had to deal with enemies who were troubled with few scruples. Each man's "expectation of life"—as the actuaries call it—depended, humanly speaking, upon his own readiness at his weapon;—his unlapsing presence of mind, and steadiness of nerve. A man who had successfully gone through six years of such a struggle, with a Bartholomew Massacre in the midst of it, could have lacked small preparedness either for the fierce guerilla warfare of the "Commonwoe" (to use Ralegh's own word) "of Ireland," or for those daring maritime adventures which have helped so largely to win for the Elizabethan era its historic fame. Nor could he well have failed to make some acquisitions which were likely to assist him in holding his own amid the sharp contests and bitter rivalries of the Queen's Court. With the Irish campaigns, the biographer of Ralegh begins first to tread on somewhat firm ground. For the obscurity which hangs over the early stages of his subject extends over the entire interval between the close of the service in France and the commencement of the service in Ireland. Exact dates are still wholly unattainable.

CHAPTER III.

SOLDIER IN IRELAND.

1576—1582.

The Interval between the French and the Irish Campaigns.—The alleged Service in the Netherlands.—Was Ralegh the Author of the Stanzas prefixed to Gascoigne's *Steele Glass*?—Campaigns in Ireland.—Ralegh and Lord Grey of Wilton.—An Irish Ambush and its Results.—The Massacre of the foreign Auxiliaries at Fort-del-Ore.—Recruiting in England for the Irish Wars.—The Command at Cork, and the Governorship of Munster.—Correspondence with Leicester.—Seizure of Lord Roche at Bally.—Return to England.

IT has been asserted, by several authors, that in this interval between Ralegh's return from France and his first campaign in Ireland he served as a volunteer under Sir John Norreys, in the wars of the Netherlands. The evidence which has been adduced in support of this assertion is very inconclusive. It is certain that many of the English auxiliaries of the Huguenots served afterwards under William of Orange; and it is not intrinsically improbable that Ralegh may have been one of the number. It is known that his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, with whose undertakings and interests we shall find him so closely bound up, led an English regiment to that Prince's aid in his conflict with Philip of Spain. The almost entire absence of any traces of Ralegh's employments or pursuits in England, during the interval referred to, obviously strengthens the

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probability. But proof of Ralegh's presence in the Netherlands, at an earlier date than the spring of 1582, cannot, I think, be found. And if Sir Walter was really the "Walter Rawely, of the Middle Temple," whose commendatory verses were prefixed to *The Steel Glasse* of George Gascoigne, published in 1576, a difficulty as to the alleged service under Norreys intervenes out of the one trace we have of his pursuits at home. The writer of those verses had evidently formed an intimate friendship with the poet in whose praise they are written. Gascoigne was a Cambridge man, and his early life had been passed in Essex. He had been, indeed, for a considerable time a soldier in the Netherlands, but that was during Ralegh's service in France which, as it seems, was not yet over when Gascoigne finally came home. If their friendship was formed in England, Ralegh must have been there at the time to which his Low Country campaign is commonly assigned. There is no evidence that Gascoigne was ever in France. And he died, in Lincolnshire, in October 1577. The verses, it is obvious, have much of the savour of Ralegh's mind and diction. And it is curious to note—as Oldys long since noted—that Gascoigne's motto, "*Tam Marti quam Mercurio*," was subsequently used by Ralegh, whom it so admirably fitted. The Registers of the Middle Temple afford no help towards the solution of this little problem; which must therefore stand as one obscurity more in a career soon to come into full light.

Be this Temple episode as it may, the rich variety of Ralegh's pursuits, even at this early stage, is otherwise shown. Before we can conclusively ascertain his presence in Ireland, we find him engaged in an enterprise at sea with Sir Humphrey Gilbert. But the fortunes of that

enterprise form part of the momentous history of the Colonization of Virginia, and will be better understood when we reach a later period. The loose threads of small disjoined beginnings will then come together. It may now suffice to remark that it is in connexion with this ineffectual voyage of 1579—ineffectual, yet big with vast results,—that Ralegh's name first appears on the Council-Book. He and his brother are straightly charged by the Lords of the Council "in her Majesty's name, to remain on land and to surcease proceeding in their enterprize."[1] This order bears date on the 28th May, 1579. Ralegh was then at Dartmouth. His proceedings, as we shall see hereafter, had attracted considerable attention from the Queen's government, and had given occasion to an active correspondence between the Court at Whitehall and the local authorities on the coast. Spaniards were complaining of him almost as loudly in 1579, as afterwards in 1617.

RALEGH'S CAMPAIGN IN IRELAND. Ralegh to Leicester, MS. Harl. 6933, No. 3.

Walter Ralegh spent little time on vain regrets, but bent his full energies to a service of which he has himself said, "I should disdain it, as much as to keep sheep," had he not looked upon it as the stepping-stone to something worthier. He now took the charge of a company of English soldiers, employed against a mongrel force of Spaniards, Italians, and Irishmen who had raised, under the lead of the Earl of Desmond, an insurrection in Munster. Ralegh's Irish service appears[2] to have commenced under the Lord Justice Pelham. It continued under the Lord Deputy, Arthur, Lord Grey

[1] *Register Book of the Privy Council:* Elizabeth, vol. iv. pp. 492, 493.

[2] Compare Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia*, in the *Harleian Miscellany*, with Hooker's Supplement to Holinshed, vol. ii. ff. 168, *seqq.* Ralegh's "Reckonings," as an Irish Captain, extend from 13 July, 1580, to 20 Feb. 1583.—*Irish Corresp.* Elizabeth, vol. xcix. Nos. 83, 84 (R.H.).

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of Wilton, who succeeded Pelham in September 1580. This was Lord Grey's second period of rule in Ireland, where he continued as Deputy until August 1582. The lieutenancy of Munster was committed to the Earl of Ormond.

RALEGH IN MUNSTER.

In August 1580, Ralegh was joined in commission with Sir Warham St. Leger, Provost-marshal of Munster, for the trial of James of Desmond, a brother of the Earl and one of the heads of the Anglo-Irish rebels, who had been captured by a local force under the command of the Sheriff of Cork. James was executed as a traitor at Cork, and his fate appears to have helped materially in checking the rebellion. Shortly afterwards, when stationed (under the Lord Deputy in person) at Rakele with a troop of cavalry, Ralegh observed that it was a practice among the rebels to swarm into an encampment, in very disorderly fashion, as soon as it was vacated by the English forces; and he lay in ambush for them. A large body of them were in this way made prisoners; one of whom was seen to have a large bundle of withies on his shoulder. Ralegh asked this man what the withies were meant for. "To hang up the English churls with," was the reply. "Is it so?" rejoined Ralegh; "they shall now serve for an Irish kerne;" and he straightway caused the too candid rebel to be hung with his own willow. Stern retaliation of this sort was probably seen to be needful. It is certain that it had been terribly provoked. What Ralegh saw personally in the course of the rebellion led him to form and to express a strong conviction that leniency to malefactors, whose own outrages were sometimes of a most desperate kind, and who had brought into Ireland allies worse than themselves, was cruelty to the good and peaceable subjects. But his indignation seems to have waxed strongest

against certain feeders of the rebellion who had taken only a covert part in it, and had hitherto, though believed to be amongst the most formidable enemies of the Queen's Government, kept themselves out of harm's way. Lord Grey was very rarely open to the imputation of over-mildness, in temper or in rule; but, on one occasion at least, we find Ralegh riding from the camp into Dublin to remonstrate with the Deputy on his leniency towards a certain Lord Barry, of Barry Court in the county of Cork, who had fomented, or was charged with fomenting, the insurrection, without, as it seems, himself taking the field. Ralegh, no doubt, looked upon evidence in such cases from the soldier's, not the lawyer's, point of view. But he prevailed on the Deputy and Council to adopt his conclusions, and returned to Cork with full power to enter on the Castle and lands of Barry Court, and to reduce their owner to the condition of a quiet subject. On the road, he found an ambush very skilfully laid for him at a ford between Youghal and Cork. His escort was small, and, on approaching the ford, was not in the soldierly order needed in such circumstances. But he broke the much more numerous and well-prepared enemy in very gallant fashion. In the medley, an unfortunate fellow-Devonian, one Henry Moyle, who served under him, twice foundered in a bog, and was twice saved by Ralegh's exposure of his own life, against great odds, for the rescue of his friend. At one moment he was unhorsed, and stood, with his pistol and quarter-staff, one man against twenty. But he extricated all his band without further loss than that of his horse. The exploit made his name speedily notable in Ireland.

RALEGH RESCUES MOYLE, IN AN AMBUSH.

Hooker, *Suppl. to Holinshed.*

The most famous incident in his Irish career is one which has exposed him to censure, not unmerited.

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Ralegh took a prominent part in that disgraceful massacre of the Spanish and Italian garrison of the "Fort-del-Ore," in the bay of Smerwick in Kerry, which was expressly commanded by the Lord Deputy.

FORT-DEL-ORE BESIEGED. 1580. Nov.

The fort was besieged both by land and sea. The English troops were under the command-in-chief of the Deputy in person. The ships were commanded by Sir William Winter, with Vice-Admiral (afterwards Sir Richard) Bingham as his second. The garrison, according to the contemporary and elaborate account preserved in Hooker's Supplement to the *Chronicle* of Holinshed, was twice summoned to yield to mercy, but in vain. Ralegh commanded during the first three days of the assault, and again on the final day, when, says Hooker, "Captain Ralegh, together with Captain Mackworth, entered into the Castle and made a great slaughter." At the last moment, the rebels and their foreign auxiliaries had hung out a white flag, uttering the cry, "*Misericordia, Misericordia.*" But the Lord Deputy, adds the historian, "would not now listen to any treaty with the confederates of traitors and rebels." He would have nothing but an absolute surrender. Some of the Spaniards were sent as prisoners into England, and were held to ransom. It is certain that a very large number were put to the sword. That a considerable proportion of those who met this fate were brigands and other criminals who had been liberated from Italian prisons by Papal order, expressly that they might "serve" in Ireland, is, in itself, an instructive fact, but in no wise diminishes the cruelty of the slaughter, which the Irish historians agree in branding as a massacre; whilst one of the biographers of Ralegh calls it a "weeding-out of noxious foreigners," and an illustrious poet—himself, if not present at the scene, at least very near to

Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland.*

it—apologises for it as an act of unavoidable severity. The official despatches which were sent home are, in their accounts of the fall of Smerwick, strangely conflicting. A report addressed to the Earl of Leicester, by Vice-Admiral Bingham, second in command of the fleet engaged, so far modifies the story as it has been hitherto narrated, that it puts a massacre by drunken sailors and soldiers, mad with anger and with revelling, in the place of a massacre deliberately commanded by the Lord Deputy. Bingham writes thus:—"The garrison surrendered to my Lord's will, to have mercy or no mercy, as he should think good. . . . *But, in the meantime, were entered a number of mariners, upon the part next the sea,* who, with the soldiers aforesaid, having possessed the place, fell to revelling and spoiling, and withal to killing, in which they never ceased while there lived one. . . . As some do judge, between five and six hundred [were thus slain]." Lord Grey's own despatch, on the other hand, is very far either from softening the details of the slaughter, or from shifting the responsibility. He avows the act, and deems it quite superfluous to offer excuses for it. After reciting a proffer of the enemy to yield upon conditions, he proceeds thus: "I informed them that at my hands no conditions of composition were they to expect, other than that simply they should render me the Fort, and yield themselves to my will for life or death." The envoy pressed to have at least a "surcease of arms." "I definitely answered," continues the Deputy, "that I would not grant it. . . Either presently he must take my offer, or else return, and I would fall to my business. He then embraced my knees, simply putting himself to my mercy; only he prayed that for that night he might abide in the Fort, and that in the morning all should be put into my hands. I asked hostages for the

THE GARRISON SURRENDERS.

MS. Cott. Titus, B. xiii. ff. 313—317. (B. M.)

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performance. . . Morning came; I presented my companies in battle before the Fort. . . . I sent straight certain gentlemen to see weapons and ammunition laid down. . . . *Then put I in certain bands, who straight fell to execution.* There were six hundred slain. . . . Those that I gave life unto, I have bestowed upon the captains and gentlemen whose service hath well deserved." Presently, we find a special commendation of that very Bingham whose conflicting account of the slaughter has just been cited. "I had in this journey," says Lord Grey, "a great jewel of Captain Bingham." The Lord Deputy's despatch is dated on the 12th of November. He makes no mention of Ralegh. How the news was received by the Queen and Government in England there is no satisfactory evidence. No allusion to the event is to be found in the English Council-Book, other than this brief reference to a letter not now, I believe, discoverable :—"A letter to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, in answer to his letter of the *fourteenth* of November, certifying the manner of the overthrow of the Spaniards; according to the Minute in the Council chest."

Irish Cor. ELIZ. vol. lxxviii. § 29. (R. II.)

Regist. of the Privy Council, ELIZ. vol. v. 256 (MS. Coun. ff.).

In the course of this service in Munster, under the Earl of Ormond, several points of disagreement arose between the officer and the chief, which form the principal subject of several letters written in 1581. Whatever the substantial merits of the questions in dispute, the tone of these letters appears to be ungenerous. Presently, Ormond was recalled. The government of Munster was then put in commission to Ralegh, Sir William Morgan, and another, as joint governors. Ralegh established his head-quarters, first, at Lismore; and afterwards at Cork. It was from Lismore that he wrote that letter of August 1581 which indicates that he had previously

See, in Vol. II., Letters II., III., IV., Feb.-May 1581.

attached himself in some way to the service of the Earl of Leicester, and that he was already publicly known as one of the Earl's adherents. "I may not forget," he writes, "continually to put your Honour in mind of my affection unto your Lordship; having to the world both professed and protested the same." And then he goes on to complain, that "Your Honour, having no use of such poor followers, hath utterly forgotten me." "Yet," he adds, "I will be found as ready, *and* [to] *dare as much in your service*, as any man you may command; and do, neither, so much despair of myself, but that I may be seen very able to perform as much." Presently, we shall find him—perhaps, in consequence of this appeal—forming one of the magnificent suite of attendants who followed in Leicester's train to the Netherlands (February 1582), when he escorted his apparently prosperous rival, the Duke of Anjou, to Antwerp, on his "joyful entrance" as Duke of Brabant and chosen sovereign of the United Provinces. Ralegh—yet under thirty years of age, and already well acquainted with some of the greatest Englishmen of the Elizabethan group—who had served under Coligny and with Henry of Navarre, was then to hold familiar conference with William of Orange. Meanwhile, he continued to throw all his energy into the distasteful duty which kept him in Ireland.

After his removal from Lismore to Cork, Ralegh had a desperate fight with a body of the rebels near the small town of Clove. Here he had again a horse mortally wounded beneath him, and owed his own life mainly to the gallantry of one of his men, named Nicholas Wright. Other like incidents do not need to be detailed. They are elaborately chronicled by Hooker in the Supplement to Holinshed already and

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repeatedly quoted above. They are notable, not alone as feats of soldiership, but for the proofs they afford of the devoted attachment borne to Ralegh by the men who served under his command.

One adventure more, however, with the rebels of Munster must be briefly told. It occurred prior to the departure of the Earl of Ormond from Cork. The Lord Roche was one of those influential and popular Anglo-Irish chieftains ("more Irish than the Irish themselves") who, as has been said, were charged by the English soldiers with feeding the rebellion, without openly facing its perils. He had a very large body of adherents around him, and was not easily to be surprised. Ralegh, at this juncture, had only a small body of men at command. But he undertook to bring Lord Roche and his family in custody to Cork; and kept his word.

RALEGH'S ADVENTURE AT BALLY.

Bally, the seat of this chieftain, was about twenty miles from Cork. That some attempt against it was intended became known to the rebel leaders in the vicinity, and notably to an old opponent of Ralegh's, Fitz-Edmonds, "seneschal of Imokelly," who had acquired some fame in these wars, though he was a soldier of the sort whose bravery is little observable save with considerable odds on his side. This man, at the head of some 800 rebels, waylaid Ralegh's small force on the road. Ralegh, however, pressed on with unusual speed, and escaped the ambuscade. With equal skill, on finding himself met at Bally by a body of nearly 500 townsmen and tenantry, he so bestowed his little band of soldiers as to hold the enemy in check, without actual conflict. Then, with but half-a-dozen followers, he hastened to the Castle; giving direction that another small party should presently come after him. When

Ralegh asked at the gate to be permitted to speak with Lord Roche, he was told that he must not enter with more than two attendants. But, during parley, the six got deftly within doors, and contrived, whilst their captain obtained his audience and engrossed the watchfulness of the retainers, to secure facile admission for the succeeding band. Before the Irishmen were thoroughly aware of their danger, they found their court-yard in soldierly possession of a band of English musketeers, armed at all points. Lord Roche dissembled his alarm; directed a plentiful table to be spread for his unwelcome visitors; professed his loyalty to the Queen, but stoutly refused to attend on her lieutenant at Cork, as he was now urgently invited to do. Ralegh, who had already produced his formal commission for the arrest, found means to convince his lordship that he was inflexibly resolved to execute it. Roche, together with the principal members of his family, were taken to the Earl of Ormond, by another forced march at night. The difficulties of the mountainous road and of tempestuous weather, and those arising from repeated ambuscades of the enemy, were alike overcome, though not without loss. The fame of the exploit spread far and near. Ralegh's prisoner, from being a dreaded opponent, became a serviceable subject. The chronicler of the Irish wars has recorded that no less than three of his sons fell eventually, in the defence of the Queen's authority.

THE RETURN FROM IRELAND.

As there are no means of dating, accurately, the commencement of Ralegh's Irish career, so, likewise, is its termination somewhat uncertain. There is, in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber, an entry which ascertains that he was in England in December 1581. I have had occasion to mention already

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that he went with Leicester to Antwerp in February 1582. But, in the following April, he had the Queen's warrant for a new appointment as a Captain in Ireland. This warrant runs thus:—"Where We be given to understand that Captain Appesley is not long since deceased, and the band of footmen, which he had, committed now to James Fenton:—For that, as We are informed, the said Fenton hath otherwise an entertainment by a certain ward under his charge; but *chiefly that Our pleasure is to have Our servant Walter Rawley trained some time longer in that Our realm for his better experience in martial affairs*, and for the especial care that We have to do him good, in respect of his kindred that have served Us, some of them (as you know) near about Our person; these are to require you that the leading of the said band may be committed to the said Rawley; *and for that he is, for some considerations, by Us excused to stay here*, Our pleasure is that the said band be, in the meantime, till he repair into that Our realm, delivered to some such as he shall depute to be his lieutenant there." This warrant is dated at Greenwich in April 1582, but the day of the month is not mentioned. As the powerful "considerations" which induced her Majesty "to excuse his stay" in England, may well have retained their validity long enough to preclude altogether Ralegh's return to Ireland for active military service, it is probable (but only probable) that such service terminated when he started from Cork with the Lord Deputy's despatches, in December 1581.[1] On the 1st of the following February, the Minutes of Council in England

[1] "31 Dec. 1581. Paid to Walter Rawley, Gent., upon a Warrant signed by Mr. Secretary Walsingham, . . . for bringing letters in post, for Her Majesty's affairs, from Cork in Ireland, 20*l*."—*Accounts of Sir Thomas Heneage, Treasurer of Her Majesty's Chamber*, in MS. Harleian 1644, fol. 77. (British Museum.)

record that a letter was addressed, in Council, to the Lord Treasurer, requiring him "to pay unto Edward Denny and Walter Rawley, two hundred pounds ... upon the entertainment due unto them in that realm [*i.e.* the realm of Ireland], which said sum his Lordship is to pay out of the Privy Seal for five thousand pounds, appointed lately to be sent into that realm, and to signify so much by his Lordship's letter to the Treasurer at the Wars in the said realm, to the intent that he may charge the same upon his account, and defalke so much upon the several entertainments due unto them in that realm." This seems to be the latest notice of Ralegh's soldiership in Ireland which is to be found upon the Records.

Reg. of Priv. Coun. Eliz. v. 616 (MS. Coun. Off.).

NOTE ON RALEGH'S SERVICE IN IRELAND.

Since this Chapter was written, some additional notices of the service in Ireland have been found among the Irish correspondence at the Rolls House, heretofore uncalendared. These are described in a note to Ralegh's letters of February and May, 1581, written from Cork, which are printed in the present volume for the first time.

CHAPTER IV.

COURTIER AND SUITOR.

1582—1587.

Fuller's Traditional Stories.—What was the Incident which first brought Ralegh under the favourable notice of Elizabeth?—Ralegh before the Council for an Affray with Sir Thomas Perrot.—Personal Appearance of Ralegh and that of the Queen.—Timias and Belphœbe.—The Gallantries and Pageantries of the Court.—Devotion and its Rewards.—Traffic in Wool.—The Tonnage and Poundage of Wines, and Licensing of Taverns.—Babington's Conspiracy, and its Forfeitures.—Sir Walter Ralegh a landed man in five Counties.—The Rivalries of courtly Love.

THE stories of the rich velvet cloak, spread on the plashy shore at Greenwich, and of the diamond-scratched

"Fain would I climb, but that I fear to fall,"

on the palace window, are both too well known, and too apocryphal, to need repetition. Both traditions seem to have been first put in print by Fuller, in his *Worthies;* and Fuller was still a schoolboy at the time of Ralegh's death. The other and seemingly better-vouched story that ascribes the first favour of Elizabeth to the ready wit and the manly bearing with which Ralegh played his part before the Queen in Council, when summoned before the Lords in a cause arising out of some dispute between him and the Lord Deputy Grey, rests, mainly, on the authority of Sir Robert Naunton, who was personally acquainted with Ralegh, and came to be Secretary of State in the reign of King James the First. But

Naunton, who was some seventeen or eighteen years Ralegh's junior, could have had no personal knowledge of the matter, and the Council Books contain not a trace of it. A formal hearing on such a subject could scarcely have occurred without some record in the Register, the entries of which on Irish affairs at this period I have found to be conspicuously elaborate and minute. Still more difficult is it to believe that the appearance of a late Lord Deputy of Ireland in person at the Council Board in England could pass unnoticed. Naunton's story, however, has claim to insertion in any *Life of Ralegh*, in the form in which he tells it. It runs thus:—"Among the second causes of Ralegh's growth .... that variance between him and the Lord Grey in his descent into Ireland was a principal, *for it drew them both over to the Council-table;* where ... he had much the better in telling of his tale; and so much that the Queen and the Lords took no small mark of the man and his parts." Afterwards, he adds that "Ralegh had gotten the Queen's ear at a trice; and she began to be taken with his elocution, and loved to hear his reasons to her demands; and the truth is, she took him for a kind of *oracle*, which nettled them all!" A minute examination of this story, in relation to those small particulars which are often such cogent tests of credibility, would tend, I think, still further to shake its authority. But there is no need to dwell upon them. It is necessary to observe that the Lord Deputy Grey did not return from Ireland until the August of 1582. The reader will not have forgotten that Ralegh obtained a very striking mark of royal and personal favour in the preceding April.

Frag. Reg. in the *Harl. Misc.*

It is curious to notice—and it is, I believe, now for the first time noticed—that whilst the Registers of the Privy Council are absolutely silent as to any such dispute

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as that related by Naunton, and so carefully repeated ever since, they do record an affray which took place between Ralegh, then still in the hot blood of an ardent youth, and Sir Thomas Perrot, the son of a future Lord Deputy of Ireland, and himself, as his knighthood evinces, already a man of some mark. Sir John Perrot, the Deputy,—famous alike for his abilities, his misfortunes, and for the rooted belief, by his contemporaries as well as by himself, that he was the Queen's natural brother, —was at this period living in retirement in England. Between his son and Ralegh some quarrel arose, the cause of which is now undiscoverable. In the Council Book, under the date 7th Feb. 1579 [1580 N.S.] it is recorded that "Sir Thomas Parrott and Walter Rawley, Gentleman, being called before their Lordships for a fray made betwixt them, were, by their Lordships' order, committed prisoners to the Fleet;" and again, six days later: "This day, Sir Thos. Perrott, Knight, and Walter Rawley, Gentleman, being called before their Lordships, and commanded to bring in sureties the day following, to enter into bonds with them for keeping of Her Majesty's peace the one towards the other, and in the mean season to demean themselves quietly, were released of their imprisonment in the Fleet." Thus, as the first entry on the Council Register in which Ralegh's name occurs is an order to restrain him from further proceeding in an enterprise distasteful at Court, on which he was sturdily bent; so the second entry records his imprisonment, by their Lordships' order, in the Fleet, for a brawl occurring, probably, within the precincts of the Palace. We shall hereafter find him making a longer acquaintance with the same prison, and under far more perilous circumstances. Perrot had the like misfortune, for a like cause, and at an earlier period. He was again

Regist. of the Privy Coun. Eliz. vol. iv. 726. (MS. Coun. Off.)

Ibid. p. 731.

lying in the Fleet in 1583, having provoked the Queen's anger by his marriage with a sister of Essex, the Lady Dorothy Devereux, one of whose letters to Lord Burghley, beseeching his intercession with the Queen, is preserved amongst the Lansdowne MSS.

MS. Lansd. xxxix. fol. 172.

RALEGH AT COURT.

Whatever may really have been the incident which first drew the Queen's eyes upon Ralegh, we are under no more uncertainty as to the personal attractions on which they would complacently rest, than as to the fine parts which would speedily add respect to favour. Besides the testimony of his portraits, we have the description of contemporaries. Naunton's evidence, for example, is, on such a point, free from exception. Sir Walter, he says, "had a good presence, in a handsome and well-compacted person; a strong natural wit, and a better judgment; with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he could set out his parts to the best advantage." His stature was about six feet; his hair dark and full; his visage, in early years at least, bright and clear. He was already noted for that splendour in dress and equipment of which Elizabeth was herself so fond, and which at a later date, when the means of large expenditure had come, he carried to a pitch almost unexampled, even in her brilliant Court. How he appears in the fine portrait of him by Zucchero, which now belongs to the Marquis of Bath, many readers will have had the opportunity of seeing in the recent exhibition. In another full-length, which long remained in the possession of his descendants, he is apparelled in a white satin pinked vest, close-sleeved to the wrist, with a brown doublet finely flowered and embroidered with pearls, and a sword-belt, also brown and similarly decorated. Over the right hip is seen the jewelled pommel of his dagger. He wears his hat, in which is a black feather with a ruby and

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pearl-drop. His trunk-hose and fringed garters appear to be of white satin. His buff-coloured shoes are tied with white ribbons. In a third portrait, long known to the frequenters of the gallery at Knowle, and lately, like Zucchero's, to the multitudinous visitors of that deeply-instructive collection of national portraits which was due to the public spirit of Lord Derby, he wears a suit of silver armour, and is richly adorned with diamonds, rubies, and pearls. Several of his portraits were early, and have been repeatedly engraved. Drexelius, the Flemish Jesuit, was so impressed by those he saw, and by the current accounts of Ralegh's magnificence of attire, that in his curious treatise, "*Trismegistus Christianus; seu triplex cultus, conscientiæ, cœlitum, corporis*," he chooses him—"the darling of the English Cleopatra"—as a modern pendant to certain Roman emperors famous in that way. Ralegh's very shoes, he says, were so bedecked with jewels, "that they were computed to be worth more than six thousand six hundred gold pieces."[1] This was the full flower of the gorgeous tastes which already, in 1582, had burgeoned with luxuriance enough to fix upon him many eyes little gifted with the power of discerning what sort of inner man it was that lay beneath the gilding.

Of the person of the royal mistress, to win whose favour much of this outward bravery—how congenial soever—was doubtless worn, the current accounts are in some points curiously discordant; yet far less discordant than are the portraits. Indeed, had we no portraits of her, few would doubt that Elizabeth must have been a

[1] "Gualterus Raiolæus, ille apud Anglicanam Cleopatram nimis gratiosus homo, visus est in aula crepidas gestare ita gemmis distinctas, ut 6600, hoc est, sex millium sexcentorum aureorum, et amplius, æstimarentur."—*Trismegistus*, &c. p. 469.

beauty. All the word-pictures dwell strongly on some charm or other. We find the Venetian ambassador thus describing her in 1557, when she was in her twenty-second year :—"Her face may rather be called pleasing than beautiful. She is tall and well made. Her complexion is fine, although somewhat tawny (*di bella carne, anchorche olivastria*). Her eyes, and still more her hands—which she takes care not to hide—are of special beauty." It is said, he adds, that she resembles her father "more than the Queen [Mary] does." Many years later, Sir Robert Naunton says of her :—"She is of personage tall; of hair and complexion fair; and therewithal well-favoured, but high-nosed; of limbs and feature neat; of a stately and majestic comportment." And he, too, adds that she participates "more of her father than her mother." Bacon characterises her as "tall in stature; becomingly compact in body; with great dignity of countenance, softened with sweetness." De Maurier records in her maturity the same trait which struck Michele in the young princess of 1557 :—"I heard from my father that at every audience he had with her, she pulled off her gloves more than a hundred times, to display her hands, which were, indeed, very beautiful and very white." Even when fast approaching seventy years of age, she is described by Hentzner (when on his well-known travels through England) as "very majestic: her face oblong, fair but wrinkled; her eyes small [a feature, this, in which the portraits usually agree] yet black and pleasant; her nose a little hooked; her lips narrow, and her teeth black—a defect the English seem subject to from their too liberal use of sugar; her hair amber-coloured but false (*fulvum sed factitium*), her hands slender; her fingers long; her stature neither tall nor short . . . her gait stately; her manner of speech

Itiner. Ger. Gal. Angl. &c.

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engaging." Many of the observers remark on the Queen's love of rich attire, and of jewelry;—the last-named taste so notably an hereditary one. But no anecdote of Henry's love of jewels is so curious as what Cecil once said of Elizabeth's:—"I have seen her Majesty wear at her girdle, *the price of her blood;* I mean jewels which had been given to Her physicians to have done that unto Her which, I hope, God will ever keep from Her. *But She hath worn them rather in triumph, than for the price, which hath not been greatly valuable.*"[1] On the whole, it may suffice to note that an impartial observer, under none of the temptations of courtiership, mentions, even in 1598, more points of praise than of dispraise. When Ralegh first "insinuated himself into the Queen's favour," (as an adherent of the Cecils phrases it,) whether in 1581 or 1582, his royal mistress was still the proverbially dangerous "*femme de quarante ans;*" fair, forty,—and frail.

Cert. Obs. &c., in Sloane MS. dccxviii. f. 28, vers. (B.M.)

RALEGH AND THE QUEEN.

To speak "no scandal of Queen Elizabeth" is possible, to the truthful biographer of Sir Walter Ralegh, only within limitations. On this delicate point Ralegh's own letters are throughout, and at all periods, marked by the strictest reticence of the high-bred gentleman. The raptures and paroxysms of such a letter as that to Sir Robert Cecil in the summer of 1592, are to be reckoned among the Court fashions of the day. In many points touching the Queen, Ralegh's letters are in striking contrast to those of Essex. But the correspondence of several of his contemporaries, and especially that of his most brilliant rival, attest convincingly the contemporary belief that the relations between favourite and Queen, in

[1] Townshend, *Account of the Proceedings of the Four last Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 183.

this instance, were the same which were believed to have subsisted in the case of Leicester, in earlier years; and in that of Essex himself, in later years. Any explanation of those relations which shall shut out passion and its possible consequences, is not so much an exculpation of Elizabeth's fame as it is a new assault upon it. The "virtue" which is compounded, in whatever proportions, of heartless coquetry and of politic cruelty, will not go far towards salving a wounded reputation. Lord Bacon was charitable as well as discreet, when he remarked that we may exaggerate Queen Elizabeth's lighter qualities, "because she suffered herself to be honoured, and caressed, and celebrated, and extolled, with the name of Love; and wished it and continued it, beyond the suitability of her age. If you take these things more softly, they may not even be without some admiration, because such things are commonly found in our fabulous narratives, of a Queen in the Islands of Bliss, with her hall and her institutes, who receives the administrations of Love, but prohibits its licentiousness. If you judge them more severely, still they have this admirable circumstance, that gratifications of this sort did not much hurt her reputation, and not at all her majesty; nor ever relaxed her government; nor were any notable impediment to her State affairs."[1]

On the fortunate Memory, &c. (*Works*, vol. vi. p. 302).

To pursue so ungrateful a subject is happily needless. It will be more agreeable, both to reader and writer, to

1 "Quod si quis ex tristibus leviora illa exaggeret, quod coli, ambiri, quin et amoris nomine se celebrari, extolli, sinebat, volebat, eaque ultra sortem ætatis continuabat: hæc tamen, si mollius accipias, admiratione et ipsa carere non possunt; cum talia sint fere, qualia in fabulosis narrationibus inveniantur, de regina quadam in insulis beatis ejusque aula atque institutis, quæ amorum admirationem recipiat, lasciviam prohibeat," &c. The text is from a contemporary translation.

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glance for a moment at this chapter of our story as we have it, chastened and spiritualised into immortal verse, at the hand of Spenser. If authority were lacking for the identification of Ralegh with "Timias" and of Elizabeth with "Belphœbe," the poet has supplied it in his expository letter concerning *The Faerie Queen*, addressed personally to Sir Walter himself.

In the course of his labours in the service of Prince Arthur, Timias has more than once come to grief. But after his severance from the Prince, and his encounter with the three

> "Ungracious children of one graceless sire,"

he is in sore plight indeed. He comes off from the fight with bare life; falls from his horse in a swoon, and lies blood-stained and motionless in the forest. Belphœbe passes by—

> "And with stern horror backward gan to start,
> But, when she better him beheld, she grew
> Full of soft passion, and unwonted smart;
> The point of pity pierced through her tender heart."

She is skilled in simples, and, in the forest, soon

> "Some panacæa or polygony
> She found, and brought it to her patient dear,
> Who all this while lay bleeding out his heart-blood near."

Timias recovers from his swoon; his horse is found hard by, and Belphœbe, with the aid of her attendant damsels, takes him in charge.—

> "Into that forest far they thence him led
> Where was their dwelling; in a pleasant glade
> With mountains round about environed,
> And mighty woods, which did the valley shade,
> And like a stately theatre it made. . . .
> In which the birds sung many a lovely lay
> Of God's high praise, and of their love's sweet teen,
> As it an earthly Paradise had been." . . .

What could he—

> "But love so fair a lady that his life releast?
> * * * * * *
> She, gracious lady, yet no pains did spare
> To do him ease, or give him remedy;
> Many restoratives of virtues rare,
> And costly cordials, she did apply
> To mitigate his stubborn malady:
> But that sweet cordial which can
> Restore a love-sick heart, she did to him envy;
> To him and all the unworthy world forlore
> She did envy that sovereign salve in secret store."

Faerie Queen, Bk. iii. c. 5.

But, as time wore on, even that sweetest cordial was to be given; and not by Belphœbe alone. In the poem, as in prosaic truth, the story is by and by complicated by the appearance of Amoret, and by the fierce wrath of Belphœbe; fierce, but far less outspoken in verse than it proved to be in the homely prose of fact:—

> "'*Is this the faith?*' she said, and said no more;
> But turned her face, and fled away for evermore."

Ibid. Bk. iv. c. 7.

PAGEANTS AT COURT.

Elizabeth's court, when Ralegh made his first appearance in it, was a stage pre-eminently fitted to display the accomplishments of the new actor. Its pageantries were as conspicuous and almost as frequent as its gallantries. Tournaments, indeed, were on the way to become things of the Past, but they were not yet extinct. They gave good occasion both for variety of splendour in attire, and for the full display of those graces of person and of bearing which were so attractive to the Queen. Ralegh was not slow to profit by them. The famous jousting in which a band of cavaliers with orange-tawny plumes was unexpectedly confronted at the entrance of the barriers by another and larger band, with decorations precisely similar, belongs to a later

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period, when the rivalry of Ralegh and Essex was unmistakeably shown in public as well as in private. But displays of a like kind were very frequent at all times. The royal progresses from seat to seat, so amusing to the sovereign and so costly to her entertainers, were themselves pageants of no small sumptuousness; while the poetical masques, with their mingled charms for the mind as well as for the eye, enlivened the Court, whether held in town or country.—

> "Music and poetry were her delight,
> Therefore she had Italian masques by night,
> Sweet speeches, comedies, and pleasing shows;
> And, in the day, when she did walk abroad,
> Like sylvan nymphs her pages oft were clad.
> Her men, like satyrs gazing on the lawns,
> Did with their goat-feet dance the antic hay."

In such scenes, Ralegh was as much at home as in the glitter of a tournament, or in the conflict of tongues at the Mermaid, or the House of Commons. And if, perchance, some of the "sweet speeches" had been lost, or forgotten by the way, it would have cost him no great effort to have supplied them off-hand. His powers in that kind had been tested, although not as a masque-writer. A courtier whose resources were so varied could hardly fail to thrive.

How fast Sir Walter Ralegh throve is shown not merely by his appointments and his royal grants, but by acts of invited intervention in the affairs of much older and more highly-placed courtiers than himself. It will suffice to give two examples. In the first of them we find his good services solicited by the Lord Treasurer Burghley. In the other, we find the Queen herself testifying to their value, when tendered on behalf of the Earl of Leicester.

Burghley's long-descended son-in-law, the Earl of

Oxford, was, in many points, but little worthy of his ancestry. He was a prodigal son, who had not repented. He had some readiness of tongue, which found more frequent exercise in offensive than in useful speech. He was fond of brawls, and chose his antagonists imprudently. In the March of 1582, we find Nicholas Fant writing to Anthony Bacon of "a fray between my Lord of Oxford and Master Thomas Knevett of the Privy Chamber; who are both hurt, but my Lord of Oxford more dangerously." "You know," he adds, [that] "Master Knevett is not meanly beloved in Court; and therefore is not likely to speed ill, whatsoever the quarrel be." The writer's augury was a just one. The Earl fell more seriously than before under the Queen's anger. His father-in-law asked Ralegh to intercede with Her Majesty on his behalf. On the 12th May, 1583, the favourite wrote to the Treasurer an account of his intercession and how it was received:—"The evening after I received your Lordship's letter, I spake with Her Majesty, and ministering some occasion touching the Earl of Oxford, . . . I told Her Majesty how grievously your Lordship received her late discomfortable answer. Her Majesty, as your Lordship had written (I know not by whom lately and strangely persuaded), purposed to have new repartition between the Lords Howard, Arundel and others, and the Earl; and said it was a matter not slightly to be passed over." He then narrates the arguments he used to persuade Her Majesty to pardon the Earl's offences, and also "how honourable and profitable it would be for Her Majesty to have regard to your Lordship's [Burghley's] health and quiet." The Queen would, at that time, give none but an indecisive and hesitating answer. Ralegh adds:—"I am content, for your sake, to lay the serpent

Bacon Papers, vol. i. No. 58. (MSS. Lambeth Palace, vol. 647.)

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Dom. Cor. Elizabeth, May 1583 (R. H.).

before the fire, as much as in me lieth, that, having recovered strength, myself may be most in danger of his poison and sting." This would seem to show that, at some time or other, Lord Oxford had done him worse disservice than that of mere rudeness of speech.

How and when it was that Ralegh's acquaintance with Leicester began, I have sought in vain to learn. It seems probable that it began in France. Leicester's embassy to Blois occurred in 1571,—within about eighteen months of Ralegh's entrance upon his service with the Huguenots. There is almost a certainty that it was formed before Ralegh had drawn upon himself anything that can be termed publicity in England. His fervent expressions of attachment to the Earl in August 1581, have been quoted. Just about the period when it is clear that he had won the Queen's favourable attention, he went, in Leicester's suite, to Antwerp. He was present there at the pageant of the 17th February, 1582. That pageant is also an event in history; not, certainly, on account of anything great in the person whom it was intended to honour. "Son of France, Duke of Alençon, of Anjou, and of Brabant," and victor at Moncontour, as he was, Francis Hercules of Valois was perhaps the emptiest, as he was obviously one of the ugliest persons in the vast assembly which had gathered under the walls of Antwerp. His sumptuous inauguration, which was then witnessed by Charles Howard, Lord Admiral of England, by Philip Sidney, by Maurice of Nassau, and by Ralegh, as well as by one greater than them all, is memorable now as having become, in its issues, a step onward towards the acknowledged rule of the really ruling spirit. Ralegh remained at Antwerp, for some brief interval, after the departure of his comrades. When he took his

leave of the Prince of Orange, and took charge of William's letters to the Queen and Council in England, the Prince's parting words were: "Say for me to the Queen, '*Sub umbra alarum tuarum protegimur.*'" Liberal thanks for but half-hearted services came then from a generous soul, as well as a wise intellect. But none knew better than did both speaker and hearer how tortuous, tricky, and selfish, had been the English policy towards the Provinces. When, not long afterwards, their great founder had fallen under the blow which left part of his work for ever incomplete, and the attempt was made to put—in a degree—so poor a creature as Leicester into the vacant seat of William the Silent, Ralegh had occasion to meddle in Low Country affairs after a fashion which must, one is apt to think, have brought to his mind William's message of 1582. In March 1586, the Queen's violent anger at the high-handed course pursued by Leicester and the Dutch leaders, and the knowledge of Ralegh's growing influence over her, had led some of Leicester's partisans at home to accuse the new favourite of plotting against his predecessor. Secretary Walsingham has the Queen's express instructions to notice and to refute the charge, by way of postscript to an official despatch, addressed to Leicester himself:—"At the time of Her Majesty's signing the despatch," he writes, "She let me understand that Ralegh, hearing of some rumours given out here in Court, that he had been an ill instrument against your Lordship, did humbly desire to have been sent away with this despatch, to the end he might have justified himself; . . . which Her wish was I should signify unto your Lordship; and to assure you, upon Her honour, that the gentleman hath done good offices for you; and that, in the time of Her displeasure, he dealt as earnestly

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for you as any other in this world that professeth the most goodwill for your Lordship. *This I write by Her Majesty's command.*" [1]

Not long before the date of this correspondence, Leicester had written to Ralegh, desiring him to gather a band of West-country miners, and send them to the Netherlands, to serve as pioneers in the camp. Ralegh writes, by the same courier as Walsingham, to announce the sailing of these miners, and he adds, by way of soothing any irritation that may have been excited against himself:—"The Queen is in very good terms with you, and, thanks be to God, well pacified. You are again her 'Sweet Robin.'" Few things more amusingly illustrate a characteristic trait of Elizabeth's mind than does her habit of playing off, so to speak, one favourite against another. At one moment, she will so carry herself, as to sting both into fury; at another, she will compel them, if together, to swear an eternal friendship; or if apart, will make—as in this instance—one of them the channel of a loving message to the other.

Ralegh to Leicester, 29 March, 1586. MS. Harl. 6694, § 2 (B.M.).

Ralegh's devotion to the Queen was shown in a great variety of ways, and his rewards were almost as diversified as were his services. Here we are upon firm ground, having ample documentary evidence of his numerous appointments and grants from the Crown. Yet there is some reason to think that his *earliest* appointment, to some office or other about the Court, has yet to be discovered.

Be that as it may; in March 1584, in 1585, in August 1587, and again in May 1589, Ralegh had large and very profitable grants of licence to export woollen

[1] Walsingham to Leicester, March 1586, in MS. Cotton. Galba, C. ix. fol. 157 (British Museum).

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broad-cloths, on payment of a rent reserved to the Queen. One of these empowers him to send abroad 8,000 cloths, in four years; another gives him a lease for the exportation of "overlengths." Burghley, in some curiously minute memoranda upon these licences—a means of revenue by which in that day the highest officers of State were wont to eke out their official salaries—calculates Ralegh's profits as excessive, and infers that the reserved rent should be increased. The details of this traffic, and its results, will claim notice hereafter.

Dom. Cor. Eliz. vol. ccxxix. § 101 (R.H.). MSS. Lansd. xli. Nos. 27, 28; and xlii. Nos. 1—6 (B.M.).

In 1584, Ralegh (already about to embark with all his vigour in those plans for the Colonization of Virginia which began,—as *for himself* they ended,—in putting him to vast expenses) obtained a still more important grant of what was termed the "Farm of Wines;" that is, the power of granting licences for their vent, and of regulating under certain restrictions their prices, throughout England. This licensing patent he underlet, for seven years, to one Richard Brown, on covenant to receive from his lessee 700*l.* a year. But the lease had unsatisfactory results. Besides leading him into disputes and litigation, it involved a controversy, for a time, with the University of Cambridge.

RALEGH AND THE CAMBRIDGE SENATE.

Under Ralegh's patent a certain John Keymer had been licensed to sell wine at Cambridge, incurring thereby very active hostility from other vintners, already established under licence from the Vice-Chancellor. In a brawl or street riot, the new vintner's wife had been nearly killed. Ralegh, on first hearing of the dispute, proposed that all difficulty arising from the conflict of his new patent with any powers vested in the University, by its ancient charters, should be referred to lawyers for uncontentious decision, and that meanwhile the rioters should be punished for their outrage. The University,

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whose too zealous partisans had somewhat terrified the poor intrusive vintner, seemed likely to carry its point, and made no answer to the proposal. Presently, the injured man instead of redress found imprisonment, at which the rioters, still scot-free, were naturally jubilant. Ralegh wrote three letters, able and temperate, before he was honoured with any answer. He marvels, he tells the authorities, at their proud and peremptory manner of dealing; he had been well content to use extremest courtesy to them, both "through the good will he bore to their University," and "in respect of his honourable good Lord the Lord Treasurer" (their Chancellor), but now perceived that his too submissive demeanour had "bred in them a proceeding unsufferable,"—a poor man having been committed to prison for doing nothing but what was "warranted by the great seal of England." "As I reverence the place of which you are the governors," he adds, "so I will not willingly take wrong or disgrace from you." His third expostulation found an answer. The imprisonment of the vintner, the Vice-Chancellor assured Sir Walter, was intended "only at this time to correct his contempt in not appearing, being lawfully warned." And then he proceeds:—"Whatever kindness you shall any ways show to the University, as the body thereof doth still continue, so the memory thereof cannot decay. There is not one of us but you may readily command wherein it may please you to employ us; only we pray you, and that in the heartiest manner, to vouchsafe us your favour in matter of our privileges; that we may leave them in no worse estate to our posterity than we did receive them of our predecessors."[1] At length, Chancellor Burghley, himself, was

[1] MSS. lent by Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford, to Oldys, and printed by the latter in his *Life*, pp. 59—63.

legally advised that the University had full power by charter to regulate the sale of wines, within their precincts, and, by his counsel, Ralegh yielded all claim to intervene further under his Patent.

SUIT BETWEEN RALEGH AND RICH. BROWNE.

The controversy with his lessee was much longer and more troublesome. The first lease was cancelled; a new one drawn, and submitted to Egerton, afterwards Lord Chancellor, but at this time the Queen's Solicitor-general. "For your book, [*i.e.* the draft lease to Browne,] I find it," wrote the Solicitor, "so intricately penned, and with so great disadvantage for your part, that I doubt the course you are directed will hardly satisfy your expectations." Whatever modification may have been made in consequence of this advice, the error was not sufficiently corrected. The suits between lessor and lessee were of long continuance and came repeatedly before the Privy Council. In May 1589, the following minute was made on the subject:—"Upon the opening and long debating of the matter of controversy between Sir Walter Ralegh and Richard Browne concerning the grant made by the said Sir Walter . . . of the matter of licences for the keeping of taverns and selling of wines, referred by Her Majesty's special direction to our hearing and ending, it is ordered by us for the better manifestation of the truth . . . . that the said Richard Browne shall . . . deliver unto . . . Sir Walter Ralegh or his counsel learned, true copies of all the books and notes concerning the matter in variance, made in the time of Sir Edward Horsey, and of Sir Walter Ralegh, ... the said Browne to grant no licences and to receive no monies, until further order by us herein." But the final decision of the matter is not recorded in the Council Register; but it appears from subsequent proceedings in the reign of James the First (after Sir

Regist. of the Privy Coun. Eliz. vol. vii. 456 (MS. Coun. Office).

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Walter's attainder) that the ingenuity of his knavish deputy was too much for him. Browne, under the powers of the assigned patent, considerably increased the number of licensed taverners, so as to raise the aggregate rental to about eleven hundred pounds a year. Four hundred pounds a year he contrived to keep to himself "during the lives of the tenants in being, having taken their bonds in his own name," instead of his principal's name. Plainly fraudulent as the contrivance was, Ralegh had to pay a sum of eleven hundred pounds, by way of compromise, before he could recover the bonds. His maximum revenue from this farm, for all England and Wales, was about twelve hundred pounds a year. One of his successors in the grant has stated that "Sir Walter had ever a special care to carry a very tender hand upon the business for avoiding of noise and clamour, well knowing it to be a thing extracted from the subject upon a nice point of a Statute law." His predecessor, Sir Edward Horsey, had been paid, it seems, by fines, not by yearly rents. In the August preceding the date of this minute Sir Walter had received a new grant of a moiety of all penalties and forfeitures accruing to the Crown under the provisions of the Act for regulating the Sale of Wines of 7th Edward VI. c. 5. It is needful to observe that most grants of this kind were attended by conditions and limitations which,—probably without notably abridging their obvious impolicy and improvidence,—so restricted in many cases their apparent advantage to the grantee, that he, not infrequently, found his "Debtor and Creditor" account with the Crown, at the Exchequer, a subject of some dismay. Ralegh had his full share of unpleasant surprises of that sort; particularly, when the royal favour waned. Meanwhile, he basked in its full sunshine.

Domestic Corresp. James I. 1627. (R. H.)

In July 1585, he succeeded Francis, Earl of Bedford, then lately deceased, in the important office of Lord Warden of the Stannaries. In the following September, he became Lieutenant of the county of Cornwall; and, shortly afterwards, Vice-Admiral of the counties of Cornwall and Devon. Lord Beauchamp served as his Deputy in the Vice-Admiralty of Cornwall, and Sir John Gilbert in that of Devon. In 1587, he became Captain of the Queen's Guard, his predecessor in that office, Sir Christopher Hatton, having been made Lord High Chancellor. As such a succession in itself indicates, this post was less that of a soldier than of a courtier. Indeed, the splendid attire of the guard was the largest item in its yearly cost. Goodly stature and a handsome presence went further in securing a place in its ranks than the warlike accomplishments of a man-at-arms. Aubrey has preserved an amusing anecdote of Sir Walter's quickness in enlisting into the service such candidates as were likely to satisfy the Queen's eye when it should chance to fall upon them, whether as engaged in the daily duties of the royal table, or as adding to the splendour of the royal pageants. For himself, the Captain of the Guard drew no salary. He had only his yearly uniform.[1] But in all his offices, whether of peace or war; whether entailing mere courtly routine, or involving much and complicated duty, Walter Ralegh showed the qualities which make a ruler of men. The portly fellows who served under him in the royal guard, and the rude miners of Cornwall and Devon, like

1 "To our right trusty and well-beloved servant Sir Walter Rawley, Knight, Captain of our Guard, six yards of tawney medley, at thirteen shillings and fourpence a yard; with a fur of black budge, rated at ten pounds; sum, fourteen pounds; given to him for the office of Captain of our Guard." 1592, 7th April. *Warrant Book*, in Addit. MS. 5750, ff. 114, 115 (British Museum).

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the soldiers in Ireland and the seamen at Cadiz, followed him with impulsive zeal. By his rugged countrymen of the West he was beloved. The duties of his Wardenship of the Stannaries were difficult, and they were new to him. He studied them assiduously, and with such results that, long after his death, the mines of the Duchy of Cornwall were worked under regulations which, in great measure, he had reformed and codified. How he strove to combine a due care for the just rights of the Crown with generous effort for an improved condition of the toilers whose industry fed the revenue, we shall have occasion to see hereafter.

Another conspicuous mark of the Queen's favour connects itself with a circumstance in the history of a famous conspirator against her crown, on which has been founded a grave imputation on Ralegh's fame. A bribe offered on the part of a convicted traitor, when he was almost in the agony of a terrible death, has been construed to be a bribe accepted by the powerful favourite whose intercession was sought. Few men have had more conspicuously than he the fortune to be much written about by writers possessing extremely lax notions of the laws of evidence.

CONSPIRACY OF BABINGTON. 1586.

Anthony Babington was the head of a family, anciently seated in Northumberland (at Bavington Castle, near Hexham), which, by eminent warlike services under Edward the First and his successors, had acquired great distinction and wealth. To large estates thus obtained in Nottinghamshire and elsewhere, a fortunate marriage added a considerable property in Derbyshire. The youthful representative of this family, too soon left fatherless, had fallen into the hands of Jesuits, who had brought him up after their manner. His breeding had made

him a devout Catholic, without hindering the dissipations of a loose liver, rich enough "to want nothing he could wish for,"—to use the words of one of his intimates—and which the London of Queen Elizabeth could yield. Titchborne, his friend and fellow-conspirator, goes so far as to add that "no threshold was of force to brave our entry." The moral fibre which Jesuitical teaching and fashionable debauchery had already softened, was now assailed by all the blandishments of the most accomplished emissaries of Mary of Scotland, and then by her own; so far as her imprisonment permitted. But it was not yet wholly deadened. He refused for some time his assent to the Queen's murder. Ballard, a seminary priest of Rheims, overcame his resistance, by the conclusive argument that, as Elizabeth was excommunicated, it could be no crime in the sight of God to kill her. Meanwhile Walsingham held in his hand a sure clue to the conspiracy. Babington showed contrition on his trial, and deported himself, we are told, with much sobriety, and "a wonderful good grace." After his conviction, and one day only before his execution, he wrote thus to one of his nearest relations: "Speak with Master Flower, for I wrote unto him yesterday. If he received my letter, I know not; but he that keepeth me here told me that he spoke with you yesterday concerning [it?] and he told me that you had moved Master Rawley for me, and promised a thousand pound, if he could get my pardon. Hereby I could perform to pay so much, for I have friends would disburse it for me." And then he adds:—"Good cousin, speak in my behalf, and move some one of Mr. Vice-Chamberlain's [*i.e.* Sir Christopher Hatton's] gentlemen in the matter, and let him tell his master I can do Her Majesty more service than would recompense my fault." After other earnest entreaties,

Dom. Cor. Elizabeth, Sept. 1586 (R. H.). Comp. *Scot. Cor.* Mary, vol. xix. § 106 (Ibid.); and *State Trials*, pp. 124, 133, 141.

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he begs his cousin to show his note to "Young Master Lovelace, and bid him tell Master Flower that, *in respect of the service I can do Her Majesty*, I desire to speak with his master" [*i. e.* as I infer from the first words of this letter, Ralegh himself]. Far from there being any proof that the proffer of the bribe was in any way encouraged by Ralegh, there is none that even the solicited interview was granted, plausible as was the pretext alleged for it.

GRANT OF THE FORFEITED ESTATES.

Babington's attainder seems to have made Ralegh, hitherto possessed only of a very small patrimony in Devonshire, a landed man in five English counties. For the Queen granted to him nearly everything that Babington had forfeited. Three manors in Lincolnshire, — namely, Winterton, Houghton-on-Ham, and Houghton-Bickering,—together with lands and tenements at West Terrington and Harrick, in the same county; the manor of Lee, in Derbyshire, with closes of land at Litchurch and Dethwick-Hayes, and tenements at Cricke, Codnor, Holmesford, and Cheddeston, and the fourth turn of presentation to the church of Eggington, all in the same county; with lands and tenements at Kingston and at Thrumpton, in Nottinghamshire; and the dwelling-house and land called *Babington's Hall*, and another tenement, at Bredon in Lincolnshire, are among the estates enumerated in the Queen's grant to Ralegh of the 17th March, 1587, which also contains a general cession of "all rents, profits, and revenues coming to Us by the said attainder . . . to the proper use and behoof of him, the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, for ever; without any acknowledgment to be therefor rendered to Us, our heirs or successors," other, of course, than such rents and services as were rendered by Babington himself and

his progenitors; "together with all goods, personals, and moveables;"—a certain curious clock, reserved to Her Majesty's personal use, only excepted. The Queen further directed that this grant should pass the great seal, without fee. Ralegh, however, in all probability, would find himself in possession of much less than the Queen had bestowed. The grant expressly recites as to the three Lincolnshire manors, that they had been "purchased by Babington, of William, Lord Vaux, and *ought to have come to Our hands by reason of the attainder*." The inference is obvious.

Copy of the Queen's grant in MS. Add. 6697, ff. 227, verso, —235. (B. M.)

But, whatever the drawbacks which may have attached to this piece of royal bounty, it probably marks the highest point of mere favour to which Ralegh was able to climb. He was thereafter to render to Elizabeth, and to England, services more than sufficient to immortalize his name; but his "favour" had then suffered an eclipse, from which it never quite emerged. He was already the accomplished soldier, the daring navigator, the far-seeing colonizer, as well as the charming poet and the brilliant courtier. He had given some proofs of the statesmanship which afterwards became one of his most conspicuous, and (to his immediate interests) most perilous, qualities. When opening came for the great achievements of his later life, he was hemmed in on all sides by jealous rivals, eagerly watching for the small imprudences which so often cling to sanguine and impulsive minds. Thus far, he had met with scarcely an obstacle in his rapid course.

RALEGH AND ESSEX.

If there be really any truth at the bottom of the popular story, that the appearance at Court of the youthful Earl of Essex was hastened by a strong desire on the part of Leicester to supply some such obstacle,

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his contrivance was not immediately successful. Essex, at all periods of his career, lacked self-command. It is probable that his courtiership was, at its outset, a somewhat reluctant pursuit. The amusing anecdote of his first introduction to Elizabeth, at the age of eleven, when he poutingly rejected the Queen's proffered kiss, indicates a capriciousness which proved to be as characteristic of the man as of the boy. But he had the graces and the freshness of youth on his side. And when he found that his competitor was formidable, he warmed to the race. What the stumble was which first checked his rival and helped his own running, is an enigma. We know, by his correspondence, how far he was from making way, to his own satisfaction, at the start.

THE ROYAL PROGRESS OF 1587.

In the summer of 1587, the Court, as usual, was on a Progress. The Queen stayed at North Hall in Hertfordshire, on her way to visit Lord Burghley at Theobalds. Essex, writing from the last-named place an account of what had occurred at North Hall to his intimate friend Edward Dyer, begins by describing some real or fancied slight which the Queen had put "on my sister." He does not name her, but it was most probably Lady Dorothy Perrot, the wife of Ralegh's antagonist of 1583. Essex reproached Her Majesty for "disgracing" her, "being greatly troubled in myself," he says, and then proceeds to tell his story thus:—"Her excuse was, first, she knew not of my sister's coming; and besides, that the jealousy that the world would conceive that all her kindness to my sister was done for love of myself."

Just before this period, it may here be interposed, we have an indication, from a by-stander at Court, of the relations which had already obtained between the Queen and the young Earl. "When she is abroad," wrote Mr. Anthony Bagot to his father, in May 1587, "nobody

near her but my Lord of Essex; and, at night, my Lord is at cards, or one game or another, with her, *till the birds sing in the morning*." But no amount of favour has relish for the Earl, if his rival has favour too. He was ready to say, with Haman, "all this availeth me nothing."

Bagot MSS. quoted in *Lives of the Devereux*, i. 186.

Essex then goes on to tell his correspondent, that "such bad excuses" gave him "a theme large enough, both for answer of them and to tell her what the true causes were, why she would offer this disgrace both to me and to my sister, *which was only to please that knave Ralegh*, for whose sake I saw she would both grieve me and my love, and disgrace me in the eye of the world. From thence, she came to speak of Ralegh; and it seemed she could not well endure anything to be spoken against him; and taking hold of one word, '*disdain*,' she said there was 'no such cause why I should disdain him.' This speech did trouble me so much that, as near as I could, I did describe unto her what he had been, and what he was." Essex, the reader of this letter should bear in mind, was twenty years of age, and had been at Court less than two years. The conceit must have been amusingly well developed which could prompt him at that date to tell the Queen what Walter Ralegh "had been, and was."

Quite unabashed, however, he then "did let her know, whether I had cause *to disdain his competition of love*, or whether I could have comfort to give myself over to the service of a mistress which was in awe of such a man. I spake, what of grief and choler, as much against him as I could; and I think he, standing at the door [as Captain of the Guard], might very well hear the worst that I spoke of himself. In the end, I saw she was resolved to defend him, and to cross me." "For

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myself," he adds, "I told her, 'I had no joy to be in any place, but was loth to be near about her, when I knew my affection so much thrown down, and such a wretch as Ralegh highly esteemed of her.' . . . . *This strange alteration is by Ralegh's means;* and the Queen, that hath tried all other ways, now will see whether she can, by these hard courses, drive me to be friends with Ralegh, which rather shall drive me to many other extremities." One of the "extremities" he tried was an escapade to the Low Countries, whither the adventurous Earl of Cumberland was bound, in a ship which lay just at this time at Sandwich. Essex gave the Queen the slip, and set off for the coast. Elizabeth sent Sir Robert Cary after him with stringent orders. Cary caught him at the moment of embarkation, and brought him back to Court. Very soon, the grave excitements of 1588 gave even to the most frivolous among the courtiers other matter to think about than "competitions of love" such as this. Meanwhile, in some way or other, Ralegh in his turn offended the Queen. During the passing of the cloud which thus crossed his path, we have a momentary glimpse of him in circumstances to which subsequent events give deep interest.

Essex to Ed. Dyer, Tanner MSS. lxxvi. 46. (Bod. Lib.)

RALEGH AND ARABELLA STUART.

The Lady Arabella Stuart—whose brief and sad career will claim more particular notice hereafter in its connection with the Trial of 1603—had been brought to the Court of Elizabeth, apparently when she was a child of twelve years of age or thereabout. She had "dined in the Presence." She had seen Ralegh, whose fortunes were afterwards to be so strangely mixed up with her own. But the thing which chiefly pleased her in her visit was that "the Queen examined her nothing touching her book," her proficiency in which she feared, as it seems, might be open to impeachment. To us the interesting

point about this visit to Court is that "My Lord Treasurer had her to supper," and with her Sir Walter Ralegh and Sir Charles Cavendish, Lady Arabella's uncle. It is to Sir Charles' love for writing a letter of gossip that we know how the grave Lord Treasurer, directing his speech to Sir Walter Ralegh, "spoke greatly in Lady Arbell's commendation, as that she had 'the French and the Italian; played of instruments; danced; and writ very fair.' Then he wished 'she were fifteen years old,' and with that rounded Sir Walter in the ear, who answered, 'it would be a very happy thing.'"[1] In the same letter Sir Charles Cavendish also asserts that at this time (whatever the date) "Sir Walter Rawley is in wonderful declination, yet labours to underprop himself by my Lord Treasurer and his friends." And he augurs, from the contrast between Sir Walter's former pride and his present too great humility, that "he will never rise again." Sir Charles was no magician. But we take thankfully this notice of the first recorded union of two names, destined to be so memorably conjoined afterwards. When the same names were brought together on the latest occasion of all, Arabella lay beneath her shroud, in the prison which to her had but shortened life and embittered while degrading it. Ralegh was beneath the same gloomy roof, and above his head the fatal clouds were beginning to gather. But in his case a long imprisonment had given birth to an immortal book. Save for the twelve years in the Tower, English literature would have lacked one of its glories.

Regist. of the Privy Council, James I. vol. ii. p. 117 (Council Office).

[1] The letter which relates this little incident is undated. It is still preserved at Hardwick Hall; and has been printed by Miss Costello, in her *Lives of Eminent Englishwomen*, vol. i. pp. 209, 210.

CHAPTER V.

COLONIZER IN VIRGINIA.

1579—1603.

Ralegh and his Half-Brothers, the Gilberts of Compton.—The early Attempts at American Colonization, and at the Discovery of a "North-West Passage."—The Voyages of 1579, 1583, and 1585.—The Letters Patent of 1584, and their Results.—Disasters of the early Colonists.—Ralegh's repeated Outfit of Expeditions for their Aid.—His Assignment of the Patent.—The Colonization of Virginia under the subsequent Grants.

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1579-1603.

THE fine old castle of Compton, situated about four miles westward of Torquay, was once the seat of the De la Poles, and afterwards of the Gilberts. Like many other places of antiquarian interest, it owes its preservation to its homely usefulness as a farm-house; but there are few surviving ancient mansions in England which present so many illustrations of the habits and household accommodations of the Englishmen of Plantagenet days. Much of it was built in the reign of Edward III., and its old *pleasaunce* yet presents somewhat of the aspect which it bore, three hundred years ago, to the eyes of Katherine Ralegh, who there, and at the not very distant Castle of Greenway, gave to her first husband, Otho Gilbert, three sons, all of whom turned out to be men of mark and worth. Sir Humphrey's fame has eclipsed that of his brothers, John and Adrian; but all three helped, notably, to make England

what it is, and all were fellow-workers in the colonization of North America.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert was the second son, but he inherited a somewhat considerable fortune, which he afterwards increased by marriage; and by very few men have private possessions been more habitually applied to public profit. Educated at Eton and at Oxford, and destined by his father to the law, his own bent was for active enterprise: and it was too strong to be turned aside. Born thirteen years before Walter Ralegh, he was old enough to give useful help to his half-brother's honourable ambition, and not too old to win strong influence over his mind and character. Many of the outward circumstances which tended to increase this influence cannot now be distinctly traced. But when we find proof that between the years 1563 and 1576 Sir Humphrey served in the wars of France, of Ireland, and of the Netherlands; and that during his Irish service he became Governor of Munster, the obvious suggestions of some intimate connection between the successive steps of the two careers are too striking to escape notice, even in the absence of all precise detail about them. When we reach the year 1579, and with it the beginning of the Virginian enterprise, the evidence becomes ample.

At least three years before that date, Sir Humphrey Gilbert had indicated the turn which his thoughts were taking by the preparation, but not (as has been said) the publication, of his remarkable *Discourse to prove a Passage, by the North-West, to Cathaia.* This tract was given to the public, without its author's consent or knowledge, by George Gascoigne, author of *The Steele Glass*, who was acquainted with Sir Humphrey, became through that acquaintance possessed of the MS. or of a

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copy of it, and sent it to the press; possibly under the idea that he was doing a friendly thing, though without authority. The state of the relations with Spain, and the diplomatic complications which had already grown out of voyages such as that contemplated by Gilbert, sufficiently explain his own desire that, for a time, his plans should claim the attention of such only as had real concern with them. The reader will remark, by the way, that Gascoigne's intervention in the matter suggests another possible link of connection with Ralegh. But we know only the bare fact.

THE EXPEDITION OF 1579.

No sooner had Gilbert taken active steps towards his expedition, in 1579—with the more especial purpose of taking possession of Newfoundland—and brought Ralegh to share in them, than the diplomatic difficulties became prominent. As early as the 26th of April in that year the Lords of the Council wrote to Sir Humphrey to "revoke him from his intended journey at the Seas, for seeking of foreign countries; or, if he shall proceed in it," [then to direct] "*that he put in sureties for his good behaviour.*" He was just putting out to sea, and reported to their Lordships, through his brother Sir John Gilbert, that now "he could not, without great loss, stay." Contrary winds seem, however, to have stayed him,—against his will; and the unwelcome correspondence with the Council in London was renewed. The natural jealousy of the Spaniards watched every naval enterprise of Englishmen, and never wanted for matter of complaint. And in regard to all the known coasts of America, they claimed rights either of prior discovery or of papal grant. On the other hand, hardly an English mariner of much previous service could be enlisted who had not his special grievance against the Spaniard. He was ever as ready to cry 'Reprisals' as the Spaniard to

cry 'Piracy.' Whilst Gilbert's ships were again making ready to sail, the Queen's Council received a petition from one "Gonzalo de Sevilia," alleging that a certain bark of his then on the English coast, laden with oranges and lemons, whilst lying "by night at anchor, was, by some of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's company, taken out of Her Majesty's stream at Walfied Bay [now called Warfleet Cove] within the castle" [of Dartmouth]. It would seem that, by some influence or other, the Council took no time to obtain evidence on the other side, but straightway wrote to Sir John Gilbert, requiring him "to see the said Spaniard restored to his bark, and goods or otherwise sufficiently recompensed." And then the Council added:—"For that their Lordships are advised your brother Sir Humphrey is not yet departed; and that your brother, Walter Rawley, is returned to Dartmouth; like as their Lordships have written to the Sheriffs, Vice-Admiral, and Justices of that county, to command them both to stay; so you are required friendly to advise them to surcease from proceeding any further, and to remain at home to answer such as have been, by their company, damaged."

Regist. of the Privy Council, Elizabeth, vol. iv. pp. 461, 492, 493, *seqq.* (Council Office).

The letters so referred to are far more stringent than their recital here would indicate. Their Lordships directed the Sheriffs, Vice-Admiral, and Justices of Devon "to assemble themselves together in some meet place, and there, with the assistance of the mayors and officers of the privileged towns, to take order that no persons or shipping pass to the Seas in warlike [array], although the parties would put in bonds or sureties for their good behaviour; commanding them upon pain of Her Majesty's indignation to desist from any such enterprise."

Ibid.

The history of the expeditions of subsequent years

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offers variety in abundance; but one point at least there is which becomes a standing topic. Ralegh had himself handled Spanish pretensions pretty successfully with pen as well as with sword. But thirty years after the date of these Orders in Council, when he was removed from the stage of affairs though yet living, English colonizers had still to write elaborate arguments against "ill servants in the court of their own prince that dare to give from him and their country the right and honour of both, gained with the expense of the public purse, and with the travails and lives of the industrious subject. As well may such a traitor lay the Crown of his monarch upon the Spaniard's head as appropriate unto him his titles, territories, and possessions." Pretensions by Spain to exclusive rights in America, even when not boldly and openly asserted, will often be found to underlie accusations of specific acts of misconduct urged, more or less plausibly, against those who were the constant and the dreaded foes of such pretensions.

THE ROYAL CHARTER OF 1578.

Gilbert had obtained a royal charter in June 1578, licensing him "from time to time and at all times for ever hereafter to discover . . . such remote heathen and barbarous lands . . . not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people, as to him, his heirs and assigns, . . . shall seem good, and the same to have, hold, occupy, and enjoy to him, his heirs and assigns, for ever, with all commodities, jurisdictions, and royalties, both by sea and land." Under this ample charter, "very many gentlemen of good estimation drew unto him to associate with him on so commendable an enterprise, so that the preparation was expected to grow unto *a puissant fleet, able to encounter a king's power by sea*." It may well have been that, in the result, the very largeness of scale on which the enterprise was attempted contributed to its failure.

Hakluyt, iii. 174, *seqq.*

Ibid. p. 186.

Of the details of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's unsuccessful voyage little knowledge has survived, notwithstanding the early and sedulous researches of Richard Hakluyt. We know that there was dissension in the ships at the outset. It is obvious that the proceedings of the Council would of necessity increase that dissension and embitter it. "However," says one of his captains, "with a few assured friends"—of whom Ralegh, despite the Council's injunctions, was, if we may trust his contemporary Hooker, one[1]—"he adventured to sea; where, having tasted of no less misfortune, he was shortly after driven to retire home with the loss of a tall ship; and, more to his grief, of a valiant gentleman named Miles Morgan." The encounter with the Spaniards thus obscurely indicated (an obscurity which the Minutes of Council above quoted go far towards explaining) by Captain Edward Hayes is mentioned just as briefly by John Hooker, when expressing his belief that "infinite commodities in sundry respects would have ensued" from that voyage, if the fleet then accompanying you [*i.e.* Sir Walter Ralegh] had according to appointment followed you; or yourself had escaped the dangerous sea-fight, wherein many of your company was slain, and your ships therewith also sore battered and disabled."

Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 186.

Hayes' *Narrative*, in Hakluyt, as above.

Scarcely had Ralegh felt his footing to be secure at Court than he joined his brother Humphrey Gilbert in a new adventure. The Queen effectually restrained Ralegh from incurring risk of any "dangerous sea-fights" by peremptorily retaining him at Court. Why she desired to restrain Sir Humphrey also from embarking in his own little fleet is less easily explicable. But, in all probability, this was rather the desire of the Council than

1 He is not mentioned in Hayes' narrative by name.

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of the Queen herself. While the arrangements for the voyage were in progress (February 1583), we find Gilbert writing thus to Secretary Walsingham:—"Whereas it hath pleased your Honour to let me understand that Her Majesty of Her especial care had of my well-doing and prosperous success, hath wished my stay at home from the present execution of my intended discovery, as a man noted for no goodhap by sea. . . . Now, to excuse myself . . . it may please you to be advertised that *in my first enterprise, I returned with great loss, because I would not myself* [*do*], *nor suffer any of my company to do, anything contrary to my word given to Her Majesty and yourself.* Touching this last stay at Hampton, it hath proceeded by South-West winds of God's making and sending. . . . The great desire I have to perform the same hath cost me, first and last, the selling and spending of a thousand marks' land a year of my own getting." But Her Majesty's benevolent anxiety for Sir Humphrey Gilbert's safety seems to have been discovered by Mr. Secretary Walsingham in the pages of the Council Book. Four years earlier, their Lordships had recorded a minute in which they added to the other reasons so amply set forth, as we have seen, to dissuade him from proceeding in his then purposed voyage, the "divers misfortunes wherewith he had been crossed." At all events, the Queen reconciled herself to the departure; told Gilbert that "she wished as great goodhap and safety to his ship, as if herself were there in person;" and desired him to give his picture to Ralegh, for Her, as a keepsake. Large sums had of course to be raised to meet the expenses of this memorable expedition. Elizabeth's contribution was "an anchor guided by a lady," which the gallant commander was to wear at his breast. Ralegh adventured 2,000*l.* The ship which he

Gilbert to Walsingham, 7 Feb. 1583, *Dom. Cor.* Eliz. vol. clviii. § 59. (R. H.)

Regist. of the Privy Council, Eliz. vol. iv. p. 492. (Council Office.)

Ralegh to Sir H. Gilbert, June 1853.

Ibid.

thus equipped bore his own name. It was not fortunate. An infectious fever broke out among the crew, and so weakened it that *The Ark Ralegh* came back to harbour.[1] The Admiral (probably unaware of the disease and its consequences) wrote thus, in his indignation at the desertion, to his brother-admiral Sir George Peckham: "I departed from Plymouth on the 11th of June, with five sail, and, on the 13th, *The Ark Ralegh* ran from me, in fair and clear weather, having a large wind. I pray you solicit my brother Ralegh to make them an example to all knaves."[2]

VOYAGE OF SIR H. GILBERT.

Gilbert, with his four remaining ships, proceeded on his voyage; took formal possession of Newfoundland in the Queen's name; assigned lands to his partners; and then went Southwards. But a long series of fatalities ended in the wreck of two ships, and the nearly total loss of two crews. The gallant Admiral went down with his sea-mates; retaining, to the last, the heroic courage and the Christian faith which had marked his life; and uttering, for the consolation of his fellows at the final moment—"himself sitting abaft with a book in his hand,"—these words:—"Be of good heart, my friends. We are as near to Heaven by sea as by land." Before this last shipwreck, one of the four vessels which formed the fleet had been sent to England with invalided men. The surviving ship returned to Falmouth, with the news of the fate of its consorts in September 1583. Within six months, Ralegh resumed the enter-

HIS DEATH.

Hayes, *Report*, in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 202.

1 "It was credibly reported that they were afflicted with a contagious sickness, and arrived greatly distressed at Plymouth; the reason I could never understand. Sure I am no cost was spared by their owner, Master Ralegh, in setting them forth. Therefore I leave it unto God."—Hayes, in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 190.

2 Sir H. Gilbert to Sir George Peckham, printed in Purchas' *Pilgrimes*, vol. iii. p. 808.

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prise. His brother's charter had, virtually, expired. He obtained from the Queen another charter, with somewhat larger powers, incorporating himself, Adrian Gilbert, and John Davys, by the style of "The College of the Fellowship for the Discovery of the North-West Passage."

RENEWAL OF THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE.

The Gilberts seem, on the whole, to have looked on their pregnant enterprise in America rather as skilful and daring navigators than as statesmen. By Ralegh, brilliant sailor and explorer as he was, Colonization was seen to be a more important undertaking than a North-West passage to China. In 1584, he obtained a new Charter (March 25th). It empowered "Our trusty and well-beloved servant Walter Ralegh, Esquire, his heirs and assigns, . . . to discover such remote heathen and barbarous lands, not actually possessed by any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him or them shall seem good, to hold the same with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, and privileges, by sea and land, as We by letters patents may grant, or any of Our progenitors have granted: with licence to inhabit or remain, build and fortify, at the discretion of the said W. Ralegh, his heirs, &c., the statutes or acts against fugitives, or such as depart this realm unprivileged, notwithstanding. We likewise grant him or them full power to take or lead such of Our subjects as shall willingly accompany him or them; also to employ and use sufficient shipping and furniture for transportation and navigation in that behalf: so none of those persons be such as are restricted by Us, our heirs or successors. Further, that the said W. Ralegh and his heirs shall enjoy for ever all the soil of such lands, or towns in the same, with the rights and royalties, as well marine as other, within the said lands or seas adjoining,

with full power to dispose thereof in fee simple, or otherwise, according to the laws of England, at his and their will, to any person within the allegiance of Us or our heirs, reserving always to Us, for all service, duties, and demands, the fifth part of all the ore of gold and silver there obtained after such discovery. All which lands and countries shall be for ever holden by the said W. Ralegh, his heirs, &c. by homage, the said payment reserved only for all services. We likewise grant to the said Ralegh and his heirs licence for their defence, to repel by land or sea all persons that shall without his or their liking attempt to inhabit the said Countries, or within two hundred leagues of the places in them where he or they within six years to come shall make their dwellings, if not before inhabited by the subjects of any Christian Prince in amity with us; giving also power to him or them to take those persons, with their ships and goods, and keep them as lawful prize, who without his or their licence shall be found trafficking within the limits aforesaid, Our subjects and others in amity with Us only excepted. And as well for uniting in more perfect league such Countries with Our realms of England and Ireland, as for the encouragement of men to their enterprises, We declare that all such Countries so possessed shall be of Our allegiance.

"And We grant," proceeds the Charter, "to the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs, and to all being of Our allegiance whose names shall be entered in some Court of Record within our realm of England, and to their heirs, who with the assent of the said W. Ralegh, his heirs, &c. shall in his journeys for discovery or conquest hereafter travel to such lands, that they and every of them, being either born within Our said realms of England or Ireland, or any other place within Our allegiance, and who shall

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hereafter be inhabitants of any of the lands aforesaid; shall have all the privileges of free denizens and persons native of England, in such ample manner as if they were born and personally resident in Our said realm of England, any law, &c. notwithstanding. And further, for the safety of all that shall adventure themselves, We grant the said Walter Ralegh, and his heirs, full power and authority within the said lands, in the way thither, and from thence, to correct, punish, pardon, govern by their good discretions and policies, as well in cause capital or criminal, as civil, both marine and other, all Our subjects who so adventure themselves and shall inhabit the territories aforesaid, or shall abide within two hundred leagues of any such places where he or they shall inhabit within six years next ensuing, according to such Statutes as shall be by him or them established; so that the said Statutes or Laws conform as near as conveniently may be with those of England, and do not oppugn the Christian faith, or any way withdraw the people of those lands from Our allegiance."

Lettrs. Pat. Elizabeth, 25 March, 1584; Hakluyt, vol. iii. pp. 297—301.

Within a few days of the issue of this Charter, Ralegh sent out two captains, Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, with instructions in accordance with its provisions. In July they took possession of Roanoke. "When they had first sight of this country," says the contemporary historian of *Travaile into Virginia*, William Strachey, "some thought the first land they saw to be the Continent, but, after they had entered the haven, they saw before them another mighty long sea, for there lieth along the coast a tract of islands two hundred miles in length adjoining to the ocean sea, and between the islands two or three entrances. When they were entered between them, . . . then there appeared the other great sea . . . before the Continent be come unto, . . . and in this

RALEGH'S FIRST COLONY.

enclosed sea there are about one hundred islands of diverse bigness, whereof the aforesaid Roanoke is fifteen to sixteen miles long, a pleasant and fertile ground full of cedars, saxafras, currants, flax, vines, deer, conies, hares, and the tree that beareth the rind of black cinnamon." Such first-fruits as these put the explorers in good heart to go on. At length, "with much knowledge of the country, and some commodities from the salvadges obtained, as chamois, buffalo, and deer-skins, ... and a bracelet of pearls as big as peas, brought home, and delivered to Sir Walter Ralegh, the discoverers returned about the midst of September." They brought also two of the natives. The lord "proprietary" of the new lands obtained the Queen's permission to call that part of them which his officers' report induced him first to colonize by the name of "Virginia," in her honour. And he had now a new seal of his arms cut, with the legend, *Propria insignia Walteri Ralegh, militis, Domini et Gubernatoris Virginiæ.*

By the end of March in the next year he had his colonizing fleet equipped. Through life, "Do it with thy might" was an injunction very faithfully obeyed in respect of everything that Ralegh's hand found to do. He gave the command of the expedition to Sir Richard Grenville (destined, like Gilbert, to an early and a memorable death), and that of the colony to Ralph Lane, with Philip Amadas for his Deputy. "A fleet of seven sailes, with one hundred householders, and many things necessary to begin a new State, departed from Plymouth in April." Thomas Hariot the mathematician, and Thomas Cavendish the naval discoverer, are among the many notable names in the list of colonists. Ralegh was liberal in his grants of land: "The least that he hath granted hath been five hundred acres to a man,

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only for the adventure of his person,"[1] says Hariot. "Able captains" and other officers were not wanting "for counsel and good discretions in the voyage, all and every which in their several places," says their Chronicler, "refused no travail of body or carefulness of mind to lay the foundation and beat the path to that great and goodly work which God by us, I hope, in his appointed time will now finish to his own glory; and to the never-dying fame and honour of those noble and praiseworthy spirits." But that "appointed time" was yet far off.

THE EARLY FAILURES IN VIRGINIA.

The colonists had to contend with a series of fatalities as strongly marked and almost as unintermitting as those which had accompanied Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his mariners. But the calamities which they could not subdue proved less disastrous to them than was their own imprudence and want of patience. Sir Walter Ralegh had not waited for news of wants and misfortunes before preparing supplies and reinforcements. Mischances, he knew, would be sure to occur, and he took his measures to meet them. But, just before his supplies arrived, and whilst the colonists were wearied by the coming, together, of a conflict with the Indians, and a want of provisions, they suddenly "descried a great fleet of many ships upon the coasts, . . . not conceiving what they might be," . . . but which were "soon found to be Sir Francis Drake, returning home this way, from the sacking of St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Augustine." Drake furnished them with liberal supplies; with a bark and pinnaces; and with ammunition. The Indians, it may here be remarked, with whom they had come in conflict, were of a different race from those they

[1] *A Briefe and True Report of the new found Land of Virginia*, p. 32. (De Bry's separate edition, in English, of 1590.)

had first met with. "We found the people," says the historian of the voyage of 1584, "most gentle, loving and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age;"[1] and, again, "a more kind and loving people there cannot be found in the world, as far as we have hitherto had trial."[2] Hariot, in the next voyage, speaks more cautiously, but he too testifies that they were a people of whom, with "discreet dealing and government," on the part of the English, very much good might be hoped.

Briefe and True Report, p. 29.

Before Sir Francis Drake's departure a storm of unusual severity came, and renewed the former discouragement in the minds of the too impatient colonists. The despondent and weak spirits among them now gained the upper hand, and Drake was prevailed upon "to take in all the planters, and come for England; which, unhappily, was accordingly performed, and so, setting sail on the 19th of June, on the 27th of July, 1586, they arrived in Portsmouth."

Strachey, *Travaile into Virginia*, p. 148.

Almost instantly after the departure of the fugitive colonists, arrived a "bark of aviso, freighted with all manner of things, most plentifull . . for the relief of the colony, and to give them intelligence of the general's most speedy hastening after." A few days later, Sir Richard Grenville arrived with three ships, provided in like manner. Great as was his disappointment, "he left fifteen men in the islands of Roanoak, furnished plentifully with all manner of provision for two years," to be as the pioneers of a new colony. He knew Ralegh too well to doubt his perseverance. In May 1587, a new body of "a hundred and fifty householders" sailed from Plymouth, under Captain John White. Sir Walter

[1] Amadas and others, *First Voyage to the Coasts of America*, in Hakluyt, as above.

[2] Ibid.

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THE EXPEDITIONS UNDER WHITE.

incorporated White and twelve chosen men out of the general body by the name of "The Governor and Assistants of the City of Ralegh in Virginia." White and his companions had the grief of finding that Grenville's fifteen men had perished, partly by the arrows of the Indians, partly by other mischance. White's settlement had a longer struggle, but it ended as unprosperously as its foregoers. By an error of judgment the Governor went back in person to England for further supplies, and in his absence the baser sort got again the better of the nobler sort. The struggle of the mother country with the Spanish Armada delayed his return. When the first difficulties had been overcome, a general direction, that no shipping should leave England until further order from the Council, interposed new ones. Ralegh, however, obtained special licence for the departure of three ships which had been prepared for a mercantile voyage to the West Indies, and caused "order to be taken that the owner of the three ships should be bound unto Sir Walter Ralegh or his assigns, in three thousand pounds, that those three ships, in consideration of their releasement, should take in and transport a convenient number of passengers, with their furnitures and necessaries, to be landed in Virginia." But the covenants were not observed, and the ships took advantage of the licence, to set out without the intended colonists before Sir Walter's further intervention could be obtained. Both owners and masters, says White, "regarding very smally the good of their countrymen in Virginia, determined nothing less than [*i.e.* nothing so little as] to touch at those places, but wholly disposed themselves to seek after purchase and spoils."[1] This

[1] John White to Richard Hakluyt, prefixed to *Fifth Voyage of John White*, in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 349.

was Captain White's fifth and last voyage. Its ending, like its beginning, was disastrous.

Presently came Ralegh's great mishap of 1592, and the various distractions of pursuit and purpose which it entailed; and then came the strong allurements of new enterprise in Guiana. None the less did he take vigorous and repeated measures for the succour of his plantation in Virginia. Between the years 1587 and 1602, he had fitted out, at his own charges, five several Virginian expeditions. He did this amidst all the pressure of great employments and varied enterprises. Virginia lost his care and labour only when he had himself lost his liberty. There is no evidence that either Elizabeth or her ministers (collectively) gave any real furtherance to the great undertaking which, as Hakluyt well puts it, "required a prince's purse, to have it thoroughly followed out." At one time, he leased his Virginian patent to a Company of Merchants, trusting that their combined resources might achieve that to which his single resources were unequal. But this step also failed. In the last year of the Queen, he sent out Samuel Mace, a mariner of experience who had already twice visited Virginia, with special instructions for the relief of the survivors of White's colony. When Mace returned, all Ralegh's interest in the colony, as proprietor and chief, had escheated to the Crown, by his attainder. But his interest in it, as a statesman, was as vivid as ever. His hopes for the Virginia to come were strong enough to withstand the failure of nine several expeditions, and the natural discouragement of a twelve years' imprisonment. Just on the eve of his own fall from outward greatness, he had written: "I SHALL YET LIVE TO SEE IT AN ENGLISH NATION." That faith remained with him in the Tower; and he did live to see his prediction realized.

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When he wrote those words to Sir Robert Cecil (soon after the despatch of Mace's ship), England, it is to be remembered, nowhere visibly possessed even the beginnings of a colony.

THE REVIVAL OF THE ENTERPRISE.

Twenty-four years, however, were to pass by, between Ralegh's first expedition and the permanent settlement of the English in Virginia. Such were still the hardships which the emigrants had to face, that many of those under Captain John Smith ran away from the Plantation, just as their foregoers under Captain Ralph Lane had done. At a date as late as five years after the final settlement in Virginia, under Smith, Spanish intrigue was thought to be still a formidable enemy to the colonial enterprise of Englishmen, but far less formidable than the indecision and inertia of Englishmen themselves. In such words as those which John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton in 1612, about the prospects of the Virginian enterprise, we are apt to think there must have been both exaggeration and ignorance. But there was, probably, more of truth than of either. After telling his correspondent that fresh expostulations were looked for from the Spanish Ambassador against the colonizing of Virginia, he goes on to say: "That action, it is to be feared, will fall to the ground of itself, by the extreme beastly idleness of our nation; which, notwithstanding any cost or diligence used to support them, will rather starve and die than be brought to labour." This writer was looking a great deal too exclusively at the common herd of men. Ralegh had had as ample occasion to look at that side of the question as any one. And he had reprehended the shortcomings of his countrymen, more quietly but more incisively. On the other hand, he had been intimate through life with

a whole cluster of the men who are the salt of a nation. And he had faith that, in time and under Providence, they, and such as they, would savour the mass. It is his special honour, that of this health-preserving influence few men have spread abroad more than he. He was a pioneer in a multitude of paths, which have converged at length in the greatness of Britain. He had, in conspicuous measure, the failings which commonly accompany his eminent qualities. And, as is the wont of pioneers, he fell on the field. In the history of Britain, at large, there are not many greater names than his, whatever be its real blots. In the history of British America, there is none. His Virginian enterprise had failed; but his perseverance in it had sown broadcast the seeds of eventual success. He had set an example which lived, with a more than common vitality, in the minds of men. Persevering as he had been, his Plantation in America, like many other of his great undertakings, had been, in some degree, injured and impeded by his self-seeking pursuits at Court. The same "calamity" that cut short the temptations which were preying on the noblest part of his nature, opened the way, as it proved, to the new Plantations, which were destined to prosper. None the less, Ralegh is the virtual founder of VIRGINIA, and of what has grown thereout.

CHAPTER VI.

COLONIZER AND CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY IN IRELAND.

1584—1602.

Devastation of Munster during the Insurrection of the Desmonds.—The Forfeitures and Re-grants of Land.—The Ralegh Estates in Cork, Waterford, and Tipperary.—The new Settlers, and Irish Lawsuits.—Lismore and its Castle.—The Enterprise of Pipe-staves.—Fears of new Insurrections.—Ralegh's Views of Irish Policy.—Sale of his Irish Estates to Richard Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork.

VERY soon after the first dim formation of those plans of Colonizing in America, the outcome of which has just been seen, Walter Ralegh became also a Colonizer in Ireland. His impulsive and ambitious aims for the future, made him, while still a soldier there, eager to leave the country he had described, so bitterly, as a "Common-woe." But there, too, he had seen capabilities of growth and of wealth. In the large forfeitures which followed the suppression of the rebellion of the Desmonds, a broad territory had been marked out for him, and the question, "What will it bring me?" hinged entirely on another question, "How shall I repeople it?"

STATE OF MUNSTER IN 1584.

For a terrible famine had followed in the train of the civil war. Even in the history of Ireland, there are not many scenes more full of horror than those which the historians of that period rapidly sketch, when showing

us the condition of almost the whole province of Munster, in the year 1584, and the years immediately succeeding.

"At length," says one of the best of those writers, "the curse of God was so great, and the land so barren, both of man and beast, that whosoever did travel from one end to the other of all Munster, even from Waterford to Smerwick, about six score miles, he should not meet man, woman, or child, saving in cities or towns, nor yet see any beast, save foxes, wolves, or other ravening beasts." Such was the land in which Walter Ralegh undertook to plant an English colony.

Hooker, Supp. to Holinshed's *Chronicle*, p. 183.

Nearly six hundred thousand acres of land are said to have been confiscated from the Earl of Desmond and his adherents. This enormous tract of country was now to be dealt out to English "gentlemen-undertakers" (as the contemporary documents call them), and especially to such as had served with distinction in the Irish wars. We find, indeed, among the participants in the royal grants the name of Ralegh's predecessor in the captaincy of the Queen's Guard, Sir Christopher Hatton, who certainly had rendered no martial service in Ireland. But most of the names which occur by the side of Ralegh's, in this matter, are such as the Earl of Ormond, Sir Edmund Fitton, and the like. To all those who have been named, large concessions of land were made, with the usual reservations of rent to the Crown; and the "undertakers" were bound by their respective grants to people their estates with "well-affected Englishmen," within a time limited. The Queen, on her part, was bound to maintain certain forces for the security of the settlers.

Ralegh's estate appears to have consisted of about twelve thousand acres in the counties of Cork, Water-

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ford, and Tipperary.[1] With characteristic promptitude, he immediately took measures to obtain industrious tenants. Some he transplanted from Devonshire and Somersetshire. It was soon noted that the Ralegh lands were better tenanted, tilled, and pastured, than those of many other grantees. Lismore Castle, which became his Irish seat,—and is now one of the seats of the Dukes of Devonshire,—was no part of his Crown grant, being parcel of the property of the See of Lismore. But in 1587, Meyler McGrath, Bishop of that See and Archbishop of Cashel, with the consent of the Dean and Chapter, demised to him the Castle and Manor of Lismore, with lands adjacent, at the annual rent of thirteen pounds, six shillings, and eightpence. He had also a Manor-house at Youghal, in which he occasionally lived during his Irish visits. That he there "kept his mayoralty" (as Mayor of Youghal, an ancient borough), is a statement I have met with, but one which looks very questionable, the date assigned being the year 1588.

RALEGH AT LISMORE.

A vast Irish estate, obtained for the most part through confiscation, brought its sure troubles, and the bare fact suggests much of the story. In 1589, we find Ralegh writing to his kinsman, Sir George Carew, then Lord President of Munster: "For the suits at Lismore, I will shortly send over order from the Queen for a dismissal of their cavilations; and so, I pray, deal as the matter may be respited for a time." And then, after desiring his thanks to the Queen's Irish Solicitor, "for his friendly dealing therein," he adds a request which indicates that he was engaged in rebuilding, or partially rebuilding, Lismore Castle: "I pray, if my builders want, supply

[1] Compare the documents cited by Moryson, *Itinerary*, part iii. p. 4, with Cox, *History of Ireland*, pp. 389—391. There is some diversity, but the statement in the text is sufficiently proved.

them." Long afterwards, this rebuilding was completed by Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork—"the great Earl" of the biographers (which is probably a charitable rendering of "the fortunate"), who placed over the gateway the arms and motto of the Boyles: "*God's Providence is our Inheritance.*"

RALEGH'S COMMERCE IN IRISH TIMBER.

Ralegh's broad lands were thickly wooded. The ordinary vent for timber of any sort, in Ireland, was very limited. But his English contemporaries were now so largely increasing their previously liberal consumption of wine, as to excite quite melancholy reflections, on the spread of luxury and the exchange of English gold for foreign merchandise, in the breast of the Lord Treasurer Burghley, when he compared what he saw around him with what he remembered in his youth. Ralegh was led by the same fact—in which, as we have seen, he was already specially interested—to reflections of another sort. Some of his trees were excellently fitted to make hogsheads. He thought if the Irish wood could be exported to the French or even to the Spanish wine-grower, the result might be satisfactory. He set straightway to work, and soon had a hundred and fifty labourers in full employment and pay. But in the way of such an enterprise there lay not a few impediments. To make staves and casks was found to be easier than to get licence for their exportation. He betook himself to the Privy Council, by whom orders had been given for "restraint of the transportation of pipe-staves, hogsheads, and barrel-boards out of the realm of Ireland into the Islands, for the reasons in our letters expressed." Before this matter got properly examined into, Ralegh's loss of favour at Court made enemies and thwarters to spring up on all sides, like mushrooms.

Registr. of the Privy Council, Elizabeth, vol. xi. (1592).

In July 1592, we find him writing to Sir Robert Cecil

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about the manner "how I am dealt withal by the Deputy [of Ireland, then Sir William Fitzwilliam], to whom my disgraces have been highly commended. He supposed [*i.e.* invented] a debt of four hundred pounds to the Queen for rent, and sent order to the Sheriff to take away all the cattle my tenants had and sell them . . . unless the money were paid the same day. All Munster hath scarce so much money in it; and the debt was indeed but *fifty marks*, which was paid; *and it was the first and only rent that hath yet been paid by any Undertaker*." But the Sheriff, he adds, "did as he was commanded, and took away five hundred milch kine from the poor people. Some had but two and some three, to relieve their wives and children; and in a strange country newly set down to build and plant."

Ralegh to Cecil, July 1592.

THE IRISH GOVERNMENT AND THE PLANTERS.

There had always been fruitful causes of disagreement, in regard to the new plantations, between the Government at Dublin and the Planters and local authorities in Munster. In this instance, personal ill-feeling of long standing, as it seems, between Fitzwilliam and Ralegh further embittered the old quarrels. The letter which has just been quoted apprises Cecil also that the Deputy had seized a castle of Ralegh's, because there was a lawsuit about it between him and "the Deputy's cousin, one Winckfield" [Wingfield], and "he will not," it is added, "hear my attorneys speak." Also, "he hath admitted a ward and given it [to] his man of a Castle which is the Queen's, and hath been by me new built and planted with English these five years. To profit his man with a Wardship he loseth Her Majesty's inheritance, and would plant the cousin of a rebel in the place of Englishmen, the Castle standing in the most dangerous place of all Munster."

Besides these matters of personal complaint, the writer

goes on to call the attention of his correspondent to points of graver moment in the condition of Munster, and of Ireland generally. He had already written to Lord Burghley about the growing danger of a new rebellion. He had even written, indirectly and by the agency of William Killigrew, to the Queen herself, "prophesying" an insurrection as certain, if wiser measures were not taken to ward it off. The Queen, he says, "made a scorn at my conceit." The event proved that what Elizabeth called "conceit" was truly foresight. Robert Cecil was now a Privy Councillor, and in fact, though not yet in name, the Queen's Secretary. With him Ralegh renews the subject. What is passing, he tells him, is but "a shower of the tempest" to come. And then he reverts to his own affairs in Munster. Fitzwilliam's high-handed courses had been attended by their natural effects on the poor tenantry.—"Your cousin, the doting Deputy, hath dispeopled me." If Sir Walter's words are accurate, the cousinage of Sir William Fitzwilliam must have been varied as well as numerous. He has already described him as the cousin of a leading rebel, and of the Englishman to whom one of the Munster castles had been wrongfully given. Now we find that he is Cecil's cousin also. And it would really seem that to connection rather than to ability Fitzwilliam must have owed his high and arduous post. To the intestine and ordinary difficulties of Irish government were now added all that grew out of Spanish machinations. His present administration of it was a disastrous one to English interests generally. It proved to be especially disastrous to the colony in Munster.

That with such relations between Ralegh and "that wise governor," as he calls him, his industrial enterprises should be hampered, as well as his agricultural ones,

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was natural. Equally so was it that he should find great difficulty in resisting the effects of the Deputy's representations to the government at home whilst he was still beneath the royal frown. Yet in the first days of 1593, I find a minute recorded in the Council Book, whereby "their Lordships do allow, upon the suit of Sir Walter Ralegh, that the restraint of the transportation of pipe-staves out of Ireland should be taken away, *for that Spain will, otherwise, be supplied with that commodity out of Norway*, the pipe-staves that be transported from Ireland being altogether for the Islands, whither it is free for Her Majesty's subjects to traffic." But the impediments continued, the Council's order notwithstanding. Six months later their Lordships wrote to the Deputy and Council in Ireland, apprising them that "petition hath been made unto us by Sir Walter Ralegh and his partners, Undertakers in Munster, desiring that in respect of the quantity [of timber] by them already felled and prepared, and like to rot on the ground and to be spoiled, and that by not venting of that commodity, many good and able workmen, to the number of [between] one hundred or [and] two hundred, ready to serve with weapons upon all occasions of service, must, of necessity, be discharged, and drawn thence into England to the general weakening of that province, it might be lawful for them to bring into England all such pipe-staves, hogsheads, barrel-boards, and timber, as they may spare and shall think convenient to transport hither; offering to give security in the Ports whereto the same shall be laden, to convey them into some certain place . . . here within this realm, and from thence to return certificate of their unlading, and not to convey the same into any other place foreign but into England only: for these considerations we have been moved to

assent to their Petition, with these conditions following." The conditions imposed by the Council are (1) That the fall of timber, if it be in Munster, shall be subject to the approval of the Vice-President of the Province; if elsewhere, to that of the Irish Council; so that such only may be felled "as may conveniently be spared." (2) That none shall be felled on certain lands which had escheated to the Queen; and (3) That notice of importation should be given to the Lord High Admiral, that he might direct the purchase of convenient quantities for the Queen's use, at a fair price. Subject to like conditions, the Irish Council is empowered to extend the licence "to other Undertakers in Ireland, possessing woods on the lands by them undertaken."

Regists. of the Privy Coun. Eliz. vol. xi. pp. 440, 441 (Council Office).

The great diversity of Ralegh's pursuits and employments of course made his personal attention to such an enterprise as this very slight and occasional. His partners in it were Edward Dodge, an Englishman, and Veronio Martens, "a merchant stranger,"—probably a Fleming. With these were eventually conjoined a certain Henry Pine. Dodge died, and his interest in the undertaking vested in Robert Bathurst, his executor. At length, the labouring oar fell into the hands of Pine, to whom Ralegh seems to have assigned his castle of Mogelie in Munster as a residence. Thus fixed on the spot, it soon became apparent that the resident throve, at the expense of his absentee partners. At last, his neglect of their interests became too gross for quiet continuance. In 1601, the complaint of Sir Walter, on his own behalf and on that of his other partners, Bathurst and Martens, came before the Council in England, whose letter to the President of Munster, after reciting the nature and objects of the partnership, and the conduct of Pine in "having not only raised great sums of money

Ibid.; and *Burghley Papers* (in B.M.).

on the said works and lands, and gotten into his hands other sums of great value, taken up by the said partners, and by Mr. Dodge in his lifetime, for the use of these works, amounting to the sum of 4,000*l.* or more," proceeds to allege that he now holds "possession of the Castle aforesaid, with its appurtenances, and doth convert the benefit of all the said works and lands to his own particular use, and doth . . . refuse to account with his co-partners." The result, the Lord President of Munster is informed, of this behaviour is that "Sir Walter Ralegh is likely to be without recompense for his woods, felled and consumed;" Bathurst, without remedy for the sum of 1,100*l.* and upwards, which he had disbursed on his Testator's bonds; and, as to poor Martens, he "by this occasion is brought to such distress as that he is in danger to perish." The President is therefore instructed to make a stay of all the works in progress, to restrain all exportation of casks and pipe-staves, "and in case he hath shipped any in the rivers of Youghal or Shilligh, or in any other ports or creeks of Ireland," then to unload and to sequestrate the same, until the due rights of all the parties shall have been ascertained and protected. And he is further directed to send Pine, in person, to England, there to give full account of his proceedings. It is probable that these decisive steps led to a settlement of the matters in dispute. No further reference to them appears in the Council Book.

Regists. of the Privy Coun. Eliz. vol. xvii. pp. 291, 292.

On the other hand, the difficulties which had grown out of Ralegh's long absence from his plantations in Munster, and from the unfriendly proceedings of the Lord Deputy, were, very naturally, aggravated in course of time, as well by "the obstinacy and froward dealing of some of the said Sir Walter Ralegh's tenants and borderers thereabouts," as "by reason of divers improper

RALEGH'S IRISH SUITS.

grants made, without his knowledge, by Sir Walter Ralegh's officers, whom he trusted there in those affairs." Thus, in June 1596, when Ralegh was on the way to his great exploit at Cadiz, the Council in London writes to that in Munster, directing steps to be taken for the redress of certain wrongs which had been inflicted on him and on his lessees, George Goring and Herbert Pelham, Esquires, who were about to build on certain lands which he had let to them, and who had already, "for that end, sent over some workmen and servants of their own, to inhabit there, with further purpose to place themselves there, as soon as they should find their servants in quiet possession." The authorities in Munster are instructed not only to remedy the complaints of Sir Walter's lessees, but also to call before them one Nathaniel Barter, "who had entered into a bond of 1,000*l.* to Sir Walter Ralegh, for performance of certain covenants which he now refuseth to perform, without any good ground or colour, as is informed," and to enjoin due performance of contract, "or, otherwise, to prefix him a day for his appearance before us, to answer his doings herein." Other like difficulties grew shortly afterwards in relation to "the Castle, town, and lands of 'Killmackow,'" then in the occupation of one William Cheshull, who complains that he has been unjustly molested in their possession "by the assignees of Sir Walter Ralegh, who maketh claim thereunto as parcel of his seignory." These conflicting claims were referred by the English Council to the Judges in Ireland, the contention being "such as we cannot well determine of, . . . neither are willing to be troubled here with matters of this kind." The public troubles of the country indeed,—still on the growing hand, and now, in 1597–98, becoming even formidable,—were quite enough.

Regists. of the Privy Coun. Eliz. vol. xii. p. 265.

Idem (1597).

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Ralegh was often called into Council, in relation to these affairs of State and government in Ireland, and was always of one mind about them. His face was set, as flint, against peddling interferences and temporizing expedients in dealing with great evils. To cut the tap-root, rather than to spend precious time in pruning the branches, was his maxim. And it may well be that, occasionally, he pressed it unduly. In some of his views and recommendations, he anticipates the great "Settler" of Ireland of a generation to come. Like Cromwell, he always looks at Irish affairs with English eyes. Had he settled in Munster on his great estate, "for good and all," it is scarcely conceivable but that he would have formed a notable exception to the nearly uniform rule, theretofore, of the ultra-Hibernianizing of the Anglo-Irish. His impatience with a policy which so dealt with the mischief of to-day as to make it (to his mind) a certainty that the same mischief would recur to-morrow, becomes extremely intelligible, as one turns over the pages of the Privy Council Registers, volume after volume, and notes the enormous proportion, or disproportion, of Irish matters, and their perpetual and most characteristic iterativeness. Most of these, however, are matters for the historian, not for the biographer.

Regists. of the Privy Coun. Eliz. vol. xiv. p. 142; and *passim.*

As illustrative of personal character, his counsel on an Irish incident of the year 1598 may fitly find mention. It is among the most salient facts of Irish history that the sort of guerilla warfare which was kept up against the English government, and the repeated enlistment of foreign mercenaries to fight on the Irish side, produced at last a terrible rivalry in ferocity. English commanders set a price on the heads of Irish rebels, and made little scrutiny as to the means by which the heads were to be

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won. It was not always that the head fell, as in Captain Leigh's exploit of 1597, in fair combat. His killing of a noted insurgent called Feogh Mac Hugh was esteemed "a service of such good desert," as to induce him, in the flush of triumph, to send over the head as a special present to the Queen. So ghastly a gift was, of course, far from acceptable. The Council in England wrote to the Lord Deputy on this occasion: "We do find that it would have pleased Her Majesty much better that the same should have been kept there, and bestowed away with other like fragments of the heads and carcases of such rebels, than to be sent over into this realm." "Nevertheless," add their Lordships, "because the meaning was good, the error was the less. The best and most easy amendment thereof is to send the head back again by the same messenger." Captain Leigh, however, had his reward for his exploit, and had also his emulators, in taking off dangerous rebels. It became a question in the English Council how far "practising," to such an end, might consist with laws of war and with laws higher than they. Secretary Cecil consults (as it seems, for the wording of the letter about to be quoted is obscure) Ralegh, who is troubled with no sort of doubt about the matter. He writes with much more of vigour than of logic: "It can be no disgrace if it were known that the killing of a rebel were 'practised;' *for* you see that the lives of anointed princes are daily sought; and *we have always in Ireland given head-money for the killing of rebels*, who are ever proclaimed at a price. So was the Earl of Desmond; and so have all rebels been practised against." "You," he adds, "are not to be touched in the matter; and for me, I am more sorry for being deceived, than for being declared in the practice,"—whatever that may exactly mean.

Ralegh to Sir R. Cecil. Undated. (R. H.)

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The renewal of the rebellion so added to existing disasters and losses on Ralegh's part in Ireland, as to have exhausted, at last, a patience which had certainly been more than usually tried. For some reason or other, Cecil, seeing his discouragement with the difficulties attaching to his possessions, counselled him to sell almost his whole Irish estate, and found a purchaser for him in Richard Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork. In this advice a much truer friend, Sir George Carew, the President of Munster, seems to have concurred.

BOYLE'S PURCHASE OF THE RALEGH LANDS.

Only a dozen years before, Boyle had begun the world with twenty-seven pounds, good parts, and a graceful person. Midway between his entrance on life, and his purchase from Ralegh, he had laid a first basis for his good fortune by an advantageous marriage. The property which had become worse than unproductive to Sir Walter, for (at least in recent years) it had involved large expenditure from other resources in litigation, so prospered under the hands of Boyle, that in a few years it came to be described as "the most thriving estate in Ireland." It is not without interest to remember that the possessions which thus passed from Ralegh to Boyle included the land on which he had planted the first potatoes ever set in Ireland. These and other fruits of his distant colony in Virginia had been quickly turned to the advantage of his colony in Munster. Those broad lands of Munster became the real foundation of the great fortunes of the Boyles, and they are still conspicuous among the great possessions of the Cavendishes.

Soon after this sale of an estate which must once have been the cherished object of bright hopes for the future, Sir Walter wrote:—"There remains unto me but an old castle and demesne, which are yet in the occupa-

tion of the old Countess of Desmond, for her jointure." This lady was the celebrated Catherine Fitzgerald, widow of Thomas, twelfth Earl of Desmond, who had graced the Court of King Edward the Fourth, in its palmy days, and had been watched with curious interest by many eyes—by Ralegh's amongst the rest—in the Court of Elizabeth, during the closing years of the *eighth* successor of King Edward. She survived to see yet another successor on the throne;—dying, in the reign of James, at the reputed age of a hundred and forty years.

CHAPTER VII.

WAR WITH SPAIN; THE ARMADA OF 1588; AND THE REPRISALS.

1588—1592.

Causes which seemed to favour the Enterprise of Philip the Second.—Varied Developments of English Patriotism. — Ralegh's Exertions on the Coasts of Somerset and Devon.—His Share in "The Morris Dance upon the Waves," and in the retaliatory Expeditions of subsequent Years.

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IN the story of the Armada of 1588, there are several names that are more prominent than Ralegh's, yet his share in the stirring events of that year is conspicuous. Still more conspicuous was his part in those somewhat buccaneering expeditions by means of which, during several succeeding years, English seamen made sharp and tolerably ample reprisals on their invaders.

The death of Mary Stuart, while it had relieved England of one peril, had incidentally increased and strengthened another. The malcontent English Catholics had been really divided, despite their apparent union. The Marian faction and the Spanish faction had played into each other's hands, without having, at heart, one purpose. Some of Mary's supporters preferred submission to the prospects of a foreign despotism. But the desperate malcontents of both factions were now of the same mind. Nearly contemporaneous with this change in the views and relations of the thorough-paced

supporters of Romanism in England, had been a more momentous change in those of the heads of Romanism abroad. The ambition of Sixtus the Fifth was seconded by great vigour of mind and by a wide knowledge of European affairs. He had now succeeded in creating a formidable league "for the subversion of heresy," although he had tried in vain to win the adhesion of Henry the Third of France. To the Catholic league on the Continent, and the uniting of the malcontents at home, was added the presence in the Netherlands of Spanish forces, numerous enough to leave a considerable army available for the invasion of England. And those forces were under the command of the ablest general in Europe. A combination of circumstances seemingly more favourable to the enterprise on which Philip the Second had so long been bent, could scarcely be looked for. On the other hand, plot and appliances were thoroughly known. Drake had written to Lord Burghley, in the previous year:—"Assuredly, there never was heard of, or known, so great preparations as the King of Spain hath and daily maketh ready for the invasion of England, as well out of the Straits, from whence he hath great aid from sundry mighty princes, as also from divers other places in his own country. . . . The uniting of all which forces will be very dangerous. . . . It is very necessary that all possible preparations for defence be speedily made." Drake, himself, made an excellent beginning. Within a very few weeks he had sunk, burnt, or captured more than a hundred Spanish vessels, counting large and small together. He had delayed the threatened invasion by many months. And among the incidental results of what he then achieved is to be reckoned the formation of the English East India Company, and what has followed from that.

DRAKE'S WARNING TO BURGHLEY.

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PREPARATIONS ALONG THE COAST.

Drake's exploits strung the patriotism and the emulation of the sailors to a lofty pitch. In all the ports the shipwrights were in full activity. The news of the enemy's preparations were circulated, by order of the Council, throughout the country. Cities and boroughs, agricultural parishes and petty villages, vied with each other in their contributions for the common defence. A hundred thousand men were speedily under arms, but only a small proportion of these were trained soldiers; and for several reasons—some of which have been forcibly indicated by Ralegh, in one of those episodical outlooks at contemporary events in which he delighted, while narrating the history of the ancient world—it was a happy circumstance that the brunt of the defence fell on ships, not on soldiers. But they were eager for the conflict. "Their cheerful countenances, courageous words and gestures," says Stow, who watched their progress towards the camp at Tilbury, "was a pleasant sight." Another observer draws a still more glowing picture of the martial array:—"Some one county," he says, "was able to make a sufficient army of twenty thousand men, fit to fight, and fifteen thousand of them well armed; . . . and in some counties the number of forty thousand able men; the maritime counties from Cornwall all along southward to Kent, and from thence eastward to Lincolnshire, of themselves and with resort from their next shires," made such levies "as there was no place to be doubted for landing of any foreign forces, but there [would be ready] within forty-eight hours to come to the place above twenty thousand fighting men, . . . with all manner of ammunition, provisions, and carriages." Those who could not serve as soldiers made ready to impede, in other ways, the march of the expected invaders, and to cut off all supplies. Neither Sir Walter's correspondence,

nor the official documents of this busy time, enable us to trace his steps in the early months of 1588. It is probable, but not proved, that he passed them in Ireland. Be that as it may, as soon as the news reached him that the long anticipated invasion was really close at hand, he hastened into Devon and Cornwall; made large levies of the men of the Stannaries; and then proceeded to take vigorous measures for strengthening the defences of the Isle of Portland, of which he was also Governor. On the 23rd of July, 1588, he joined the Fleet.

RALEGH JOINS THE FLEET.

The fight with the Spaniards had begun two days before, but Ralegh was in ample time to have a very fair share of it. The whole of the day on which he joined was one prolonged engagement, in which the heavy and but half-manageable great galleons of Spain had to encounter the quick fire and the deft tacking of the smaller and weaker but far more skilfully-handled ships of England. The continued advantage thus won by the English prompted some of the more fiery spirits among them to advise the cool and wary old Admiral, Howard of Effingham, to grapple with the enemy's ships and board them. It is an old naval tradition that Sir Walter gave very different advice, and the tradition is in harmony with a remarkable retrospective glance at the conflict, which is introduced into the fifth book of the *History of the World*, after his narrative of the siege of Agrigentum by the Romans had led him to describe the origin and growth of their naval power, and thence by a natural digression to speak of some of the principles of sea-warfare.

"To clap ships together without consideration," writes Ralegh, "belongs rather to a madman than to a man of war. By such an ignorant bravery was Peter Strozzi lost at the Azores, when he fought against the Marquess

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of Santa Cruz. In like sort had Lord Charles Howard, Admiral of England, been lost in the year 1588, if he had not been better advised than a great many malignant fools were that found fault with his demeanour. The Spaniards had an army aboard them, and he had none. They had more ships than he had, and of higher building and charging; so that, had he entangled himself with those great and powerful vessels, he had greatly endangered this kingdom of England. For twenty men upon the defence are equal to a hundred that board and enter. Whereas, then, contrariwise, the Spaniards had an hundred for twenty of ours, to defend themselves withal. But our Admiral knew his advantage and held it; which had he not done, he had not been worthy to have held his head."

Hist. of World, book v. ch. i, § 6 (orig. ed. vol. ii. pp. 350, 351).

THE DISPERSION OF THE ARMADA.

Ralegh's ship was one of those which kept up the pursuit to the last, and saw the ending of what Sir Henry Wotton not inaptly called "the morris dance on the waves." In very few words, Sir Walter has himself summed up the history of the "Navy which the Spaniards had so rashly termed '*invincible*.'" "This navy, consisting of a hundred and forty sail, was, by thirty of the Queen's ships of war, and a few merchantmen, beaten and shuffled together, even from the Lizard Point in Cornwall to Portland, where they shamefully left Don Pedro de Valdez, with his mighty ship; from Portland to Calais, where they lost Hugo de Moncada, with the galleys of which he was captain; and from Calais, driven with squibs from their anchors, were chased out of the sight of England round about Scotland and Ireland, where . . . great part of them were crushed against the rocks; and those others who landed, being very many in number, were broken, slain, and taken; and so sent from village to village, coupled in halters, to be shipped

into England, where Her Majesty, of her princely and invincible disposition, disdaining to put them to death, and scorning either to retain or entertain them, they were all sent back again to their own country, to witness and recount the worthy achievements of their *'Invincible* Navy!'"[1] To this pithy summary it may be added that, for many years afterwards, wrecks of the Spanish galleons were still visible on the British and Irish coasts, and attracted the wondering attention of foreign visitors. On the coast of Ireland alone, seventeen ships and more than five thousand men perished. Many more were driven, in a fearful tempest, on to the coasts of Norway and of the neighbouring islands.

Stories illustrative of the overweening confidence of the Spaniards and their allies were long in the popular mouth. Few of them are so curiously significant as is a conversation which occurred at Rome whilst the Spanish Fleet was on its way, and which was immediately reported to Burghley:—"As the mace-bearer of Cardinal Allen and I," says the Lord Treasurer's correspondent, "were walking on Mount Tauro, on St. Peter's eve, to behold the fireworks, . . . he told me that he heard the Cardinal say that the King of Spain 'gave great charge to the Duke of Medina, and to all the Captains, that *they should in no wise harm the person of the Queen; . . . but should, as speedily as might be, take order for the conveyance of her person to Rome, to the purpose that His Holiness the Pope should dispose thereof, in such sort as it should please him.*"[2]

Among the prominent results of this eventful struggle,

[1] *Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of the Azores*, in Hakluyt, vol. ii. f. 169.

[2] Extracts from Hatfield MSS., printed by Strype, vol. iii. pp. 551, 552.

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one is of very frequent recurrence in the annals of the years that followed. There had been, indeed, long before the Armada year, ample occasion for English reprisals upon Spanish offences; nor had they failed to be zealously made; but, after it and on account of it, English cruisers set to work with a tenfold vigour, and frequently, it must be admitted, with no small disregard both of precautions and of consequences. Sir Walter Ralegh fitted out several ships, and put them under energetic officers, who made frequent captures at sea; sometimes, it was alleged, without making very minute inquiries into the nationality and neutrality of the sufferers. Very naturally, some of these captures led to suits in the Courts of Admiralty; others to urgent petitions of complaint to the Privy Council. In the former, for example, we find a certain Albert Reynardson and his partners in trade commencing a suit against Sir Walter, for the alleged misconduct of one of his captains in seizing a ship sailing under Dutch colours, but alleged by the captor to be lawful prize.[1] Ralegh resists the pretensions of the reputed owners very strenuously. "Such people," he says, "are *Spaniards in disguise*, seeking the good and profit of the common enemy, with the loss and hindrance of such of Her Majesty's subjects as, *to their great charge*, do venture upon reprisals."[2] The Adventurers, however, were sadly calumniated if they did not find effectual methods of recouping their outlay.

During the same year (1589), the Lords of Council addressed a letter to Sir Walter, desiring him "to cause

[1] *Proceedings in Admiralty Courts*, reported in MS. Lansdowne, cxliii. fol. 180, &c.

[2] *The Answer of Sir Walter Ralegh to the Complaint of Albert Reynardson, and others;* MS. Lansdowne, cxliv. ff. 57—60.

a bark of Olone, laden with barley, . . . to be brought, with her furniture, lading, and all other things appertaining, into the Harbour from whence the said vessel was conveyed; and to receive his money back again that he had paid for the same, of the Captain that did sell it unto him; to the end [that] that course might be taken with the said ship which was prescribed . . . for the rest." This ship and "the rest," here referred to, had been seized on the coast of Portugal during the expedition which had been sent to Lisbon to support the pretensions of Don Antonio to the crown of which Philip the Second had deprived him. In this expedition Sir Walter took part; but he had no share in its command. That was given, jointly, to Sir John Norreys and Sir Francis Drake. It needs not to catch the infection of the special "disease of biographers," in order to suggest that, had Ralegh now stood in their place, the failure of the expedition would, in all human probability, have been avoided. For Sir Francis Drake himself attributes that failure to an error of the same kind as that which, five years afterwards, put in peril the success of the Expedition to Cadiz, and which, at the eleventh hour, the arrival of Ralegh was the means of correcting; as we shall have occasion to see hereafter, at large.

Regists. of the Privy Coun. 21 July, 1589, Eliz. vol. viii. pt. 1, p. 170.

Drake to Burghley, 2 June, 1589.

Drake's fleet had quite failed to put Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal, but it captured a fleet of sixty Hanseatic vessels, with large stores of provisions and munitions of war, which were believed to have been shipped towards the supply of a new Armada against England. These spoils were shared between the Queen; the generals, and those who had joined with them in providing their portion of the outfit of the fleet; and the maritime towns which had co-operated with Queen

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and generals in that outfit. Two years later, another fleet was fitted out against the Spaniards, and many rich prizes were made. In their minutes concerning the partition of the spoil, the Lords of Council direct, first, that the Queen's customs be paid, and that part of the prizes be also assigned to Her Majesty, to compensate for her charges; and, secondly, that the Lord High Admiral, Sir Walter Ralegh, and the citizens of London, together with "certain other subjects who have joined with the Lord Thomas Howard," should share, according to their respective proportions. Ralegh received four thousand pounds, and he employed great part of it in re-victualling and re-sheathing his ships called *The Revenge*, *The Crane*, and *The Garland*, in order to despatch them upon new enterprises.[1] During the whole of this period there were frequent alarms of renewed assault by Spain, and Sir Walter's name is repeatedly met with in the list of the ever-watchful guardians of the coast.

Regists. of the Privy Council, as above.

From many proofs of the activity, and of the indiscrimination, with which the English "reprisals" were pursued, I select only two more. One of them belongs to the year 1589; the other to the year 1592. In '89 a ship of Ralegh's had captured "two barks of Cherbourg, from two of the French King's subjects." Her Majesty's express commandment is signified that the same be restored, and that, for the future, Sir Walter and his officers be careful "to minister no cause of grief unto any of the said King's subjects, in respect of the good amity and correspondence between Her Majesty and

[1] The Queen to the Lord Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer, with papers subjoined, Nov. and Dec. 1591; *Domestic Corresp.* Elizabeth, vol. ccxxxix. (Rolls House.)

the French King, their realms, and subjects." These stringent injunctions notwithstanding, we find that in '92 the Lords of the Council again address Sir Walter to apprise him of sundry "complaints made unto us by the French Ambassador, in the name of the King his master, for spoils done on his subjects; among the which, one John Floyer, captain of a ship of your's, is charged to have taken, in October 1591, a ship of Bayonne, appertaining to Pierre de Hody and Momon de Caux, laden with 108,000 of codfish, and other merchandizes." This ship, it seems, had been already restored, with part of its cargo. "The rest," says the Council, "remaineth unsatisfied, the worth and charge whereof is pretended to amount to a thousand pounds sterling." Forasmuch, it is added, as "Her Majesty's pleasure is that restitution be made speedily unto them, and that, as well for this as for the ordering of others, . . . the parties on both sides [are] to appear before us by or before the 20th of October at Hampton Court." Ralegh is therefore requested to cause the Council to be informed "what you can say in this cause in defence of your ship, and of the proceedings of the said Floyer." During the same month, Ralegh, as Vice-Admiral of Devon, receives other letters, directing him to enforce the restitution of certain ships of Middleburgh and Amsterdam which had been brought into Dartmouth by Captains Grenville and Thynne; whilst to Sir John Gilbert, and to Carew Ralegh, brother of Sir Walter, directions are given that immediately, "upon their allegiance, they cause Grenville and Thynne, that were lately upon the seas, *being of kindred with you,* to be apprehended, and safely sent up hither to the Court."

Regists. of the Privy Coun. Eliz. vol. viii. part i. p. 212 (Coun. Office).

Ibid. vol. xi. p. 57.

Ibid. vol. xi. pp. 70, 71 (Council Office).

Ibid.

In the course of the extensive correspondence to which this active spoiling of the Egyptians gave rise,

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Registers of the Privy Coun. Eliz. vol. viii. pt. i. p. 209 (Council Office).

it is amusing to come upon some very especial injunctions concerning a certain "waistcoat of carnation colour, curiously embroidered;" the fame of which had reached the Queen's own ears. This was found to be really so fine a specimen of needlework, as to be thought worthy of adorning her own sacred person.

CHAPTER VIII.

IN RETIREMENT.—WALTER RALEGH AND EDMUND SPENSER.

1589.

Ralegh's Relations with Essex.—The "Retreat from Court," and Visit to Ireland.—Early Friendship of Ralegh and Spenser.—Renewal of their Intercourse at Kilcolman.—"Cynthia," and "Timias."—Ralegh and *The Fairy Queen*.—Subsequent Fortunes of the Irish Estates of Ralegh and of Spenser.

THERE are many allusions in the correspondence of the year 1589 to a passing cloud which shadowed, for a brief interval, the Court sunshine which, till then, Sir Walter Ralegh had enjoyed, uninterruptedly, for more than seven years. But we are nowhere told what it was that caused it. Just before, his influence over the Queen seemed so well established, that we find the Earl of Pembroke making choice of Ralegh as the channel of his suit to Her Majesty for a grant of what we should now call the "Rangership" of the New Forest. Ralegh made his suit, as he had promised. But he had in some way offended the Queen; and the Forest was given, not to Pembroke, but to Sir Charles Blount. A few weeks later, Sir Francis Allen informs that great gossip-monger, Anthony Bacon: "My Lord of Essex hath chased Mr. Ralegh from the Court, and hath confined him into Ireland."

Earl of Pembroke to Q. Elizabeth, *Dom. Corresp.* vol. cxxii. 38 (R. H.).

Sir F. Allen to Anthony Bacon, Aug. 1589 (Lambeth Palace).

When at their best, the relations between the Queen's two favourites were of an uneasy sort. Essex, with the

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advantages of his youth, had all its natural faults. Ralegh, who had learnt far better than Essex how to brook and to divert the Queen's wrath, was much too proud to brook the insolence of his impetuous rival. And he, for his part, was neither able nor willing to curb his own passions. Within a few weeks of Ralegh's return from the pursuit of the Armada, Essex challenged him to mortal combat. The Council strove to suppress all report of the fact, and to "bury it in silence," so that, if possible, the Queen might not know it.

ESSEX CHALLENGES RALEGH.

Wolley to Walsingham, Dec. 18, 1588 (R. H.).

Whether it be true, or untrue, that on this particular occasion Essex had succeeded in driving Sir Walter from the Court, any long interval of truce between two such rivals for the smiles of such a mistress was little to be looked for. On this occasion, however, Ralegh expressly asserts: "For my retreat from the Court, it was, upon good cause, to take order for my prize." He had heard of the tittle-tattle, and wished his correspondent and cousin, Sir George Carew, to answer it. But his journey to Ireland enabled him to do something more, and something better, than merely to secure the fruits of some fresh adventure at sea. He went to Kilcolman Castle, and his visit had a memorable result for English literature.

Ralegh to Sir George Carew, July 1589.

VISIT TO KILCOLMAN.

Spenser has given us his own poetised account of this visit, in the beautiful Pastoral which he entitled "*Colin Clout's come Home again.*" On a certain day, he says,—

> "I sat, as was my trade,
> Under the foot of Mole, that mountain hoar;
> Keeping my sheep among the coolly shade
> Of the green alders, by the Mulla's shore;
> There a strange shepherd chanced to find me out,—
> Whether allured with my pipe's delight,
> Whose pleasing sound yshrilled far about,
> Or thither led by chance, I know not right,—

Whom, when I asked from what place he came
And how he hight, himself he did ycleepe
The SHEPHERD OF THE OCËAN, by name,
And said he came far from the Main-sea deep;
He, sitting me beside in that same shade,
Provoked me to play some pleasant fit,
And, when he heard the music which I made,
He found himself full greatly pleased at it:
Yet, emuling my pipe, He took in hond
My pipe,—before that emuled of many,—
And played thereon (for well that skill he conned);
Himself as skilful in that art as any.
He piped, I sung; and, when he sung, I piped;
By change of turns, each making other merry;
Neither envying other, nor envied;
So piped we, until we both were weary." [1]

Nor does he fail to tell us what it was that formed the theme of each song. Both, of course, are allegorized and pastoralized to the due height. But the interpretation, at least as respects Ralegh's song, is easy. And beneath the poetry we come at a piece of plain truth, about the journey to Ireland, of which nothing is said in the letter to Carew. Whether Essex had his hand in it, or not; and however urgent may have been the Prize-business on the Irish coast, Elizabeth's outburst of anger prolonged, if it did not originate, the "retreat from the Court." What the Shepherd of the Ocean now sung to his brother, the Shepherd of fair Mulla, "daughter of old Mole,"

. . . . "was all a lamentable lay
Of great unkindness and of usage hard,
Of CYNTHIA, the Lady of the Sea,
Which from her presence faultless him debarred.
And ever and anon, with singulfs rife,
He cried out to make his undersong:
'Ah! my love's queen and goddess of my life,
Who shall me pity, when thou dost me wrong?'"

[1] *Colin Clout's come Home again.* In this chapter I have occasionally profited by the acute and careful annotations on Spenser's poems of a writer whose recent departure from amongst us is no small loss to English literature.

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But, despite Cynthia's hard usage of him, before he had done, he sang her praises, as well as her anger. His friend's lays had been various and delightful to him. And he told of Cynthia's love for poetry, and her power of giving to poets largess "most rewardful."—

> "When thus our pipes we both had wearied well,
> Quoth he, and each an end of singing made,
> He gan to cast great liking to my lore,
> And great disliking to my luckless lot
> That banished had myself, like wight forlore,
> Into that waste, where I was quite forgot.
> The which to leave thenceforth he counselled me,
> Unmeet for man in whom was aught regardful,
> And wend with him, his CYNTHIA to see,
> Whose grace was great, and bounty most rewardful.
> Besides her peerless skill in making well,
> And all the ornaments of wondrous wit,
> Such as all womankind did far excel,
> Such as the world admired and praised it."

In this poetical version of the conversations at Kilcolman, we have the friendship of Ralegh and Spenser so depicted as though it had originated in this visit of Ralegh to Ireland in 1589. But we know, from other sources, that the present intercourse was the cementing of an old friendship, not the sudden formation of a new one. At the time of Ralegh's close relations with the Lord Deputy, Grey of Wilton, Spenser was already the trusted secretary of that statesman. Both had taken part in the campaign against the Anglo-Irish faction of the Desmonds and its foreign auxiliaries. The two poets were, therefore, well acquainted with each other, some ten years earlier than 1589. Not only were they brother-

Mr. Craik had made most valuable contributions both to our literature and our history, but they would have been still larger had his useful life been prolonged. In his unpretending work entitled *Spenser and his Poetry*, Mr. Craik has, incidentally, done more to illustrate some of the obscurer allegories of *The Fairy Queen*, than had been done by the many professed, not to say prolix, commentators who preceded him.

campaigners, as well as brother-poets; they were united also in the views which they held, and for which both had publicly contended, in regard to many grave questions as to English policy in Ireland.

But now, in 1589, they had another common bond of union. They had both participated largely, as we have seen, in the grants of forfeited lands. Each of them had hoped to hand down an Irish estate to his descendants. Each had exerted himself for the improvement and the adornment of his domain. Both were now dreading that their hopes and exertions had been vain. The clouds were again gathering. The administration of government in Ireland was not in very able hands, nor under a very wise head. Malcontents at home, racy of their soil, were eagerly watching to profit by every blunder. The bitter enemies of England abroad were panting for the time when they too should be able again to strike a hard blow, at her weakest part.

Topics such as these could not fail to have their immediate interest. But there was a topic more interesting still. Spenser now showed to Ralegh the early cantos of *The Fairy Queen;* spread before him the vast plan he had conceived; told him of the strong discouragements which had often chilled the glowing anticipations of the hours of eager composition. He told him too, as it would seem, of his own idea that the whole poem—large as was its scope—must be finished, before any publication. Ralegh fought with the fears and cherished the hopes. He advised that an instalment should be given to the public, at once; and predicted its success. And, as the needful step to all else, urged an immediate visit to the capital and the Queen.—

> "So, what with hope of good and hate of ill,
> He me persuaded, forth with him to fare.

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Nought took I with me but mine oaten quill;
Small needments else need Shepherd to prepare.
So to the sea we came;—the sea, that is
A world of waters heaped upon high,
Rolling like mountains in wild wilderness;
Horrible; hideous; roaring with hoarse cry."

INCIDENTS OF THE VOYAGE.

In homely prose, before they embarked they saw something of a gale. But the voyage was prosperous. Their ship was one—

"That neither cared for wind nor hail, nor rain,
Nor swelling waves, but thorough them did pass,
So proudly that she made them roar again;
The same aboard us gently did receive,
And without harm us far away did bear,
So far that land, our mother, us did leave,
And nought but sea and heaven to us appear;
Then, heartless quite, and full of inward fear,
That Shepherd I besought to me to tell,
Under what sky, or in what world we were,
In which I saw no living people dwell?"

Ralegh tells his brother poet, now his guest on his own proper domain, that they have thus entered in a special sense under "the regiment of the great Shepherdess, that Cynthia hight," and draws the likeness of some of the chief officers that administer it under her. After depicting his friend the Lord High Admiral, Howard of Effingham, under the name of Triton, and old Hawkins,

"With hoary head and dewy dropping beard,"

under that of Proteus, he goes on to add,—

"And I, among the rest, of many least,
Have on the Ocean charge to me assigned;
Where I will live, or die, at her behest,
And serve and honour her with faithful mind."

Spenser's poem then portrays, in strong contrast, some of the salient features of England and of Ireland, and gives a glowing picture of the Queen of both;

followed by the famous passage in which the English poets of his own day are characterised, so vividly and generously. The passage is both too well known and too far afield from our subject to be quoted at length. But its opening lines are part of our proper story:— CHAP. VIII. 1589.

> "The 'Shepherd of the Ocean,' quoth he,
> Unto that goddess' grace me first entranced,
> And to mine oaten pipe inclined her ear,
> That she thenceforth therein gan take delight,
> And it desired at timely hours to hear,
> All were my notes but rude and roughly dight."

That Ralegh thus won something of royal favour for Spenser; still more, that he secured our possession of the magnificent poem which, had its publication really waited its completion, would never have seen the light at all, are not the least brilliant flowers in the varied chaplet of his fame. Whether or not his appreciation of Spenser's work helped, with other causes, to keep him from bracing his own poetical energy to a great effort, we shall never know. The pursuits on which he had embarked already were more than enough for a long life-time. He was at this very moment brooding over new plans, of vast scope. Yet it is hard to avoid the conjecture that at some time or other the idea that a great poem was among the things possible to his powers must have crossed that fervid and unresting mind. AGAIN AT COURT.

His admiration of the poem that had so brightened the days of retirement at Kilcolman found expression in the grand sonnet:—

> "Methought I saw the grave where Laura lay,
> Within that temple, where the vestal flame
> Was wont to burn; and passing by that way,
> To see that buried dust of living fame,
> Whose tomb fair Love and fairer Virtue kept:
> All suddenly I saw the FAIRY QUEEN,
> At whose approach the soul of Petrarch wept;
> And, from thenceforth, those Graces were not seen,

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For they this Queen attended ; in whose stead
Oblivion laid him down on Laura's hearse.
Hereat the hardest stones were seen to bleed,
And groans of buried ghosts the heavens did pierce ;
Where Homer's spright did tremble all for grief,
And curst the access of that celestial thief."

PUBLICATION OF "THE FAIRY QUEEN."

Spenser published the first three books of *The Fairy Queen* in the January of 1590, and he appended to them an explanatory dissertation, addressed by name to his friendly patron and counsellor. He appended also a second, and poetical, address to Ralegh, among the sonnets which conclude the volume. There we learn something of Spenser's estimate of his friend as a poet. We learn also that Ralegh had written a Poem "to Cynthia," which has not come down to us. But this fact is known also from one or two other passages in contemporary writings, and especially from the extract preserved in George Puttenham's *Art of English Poesy ;* of which hereafter.

Spenser's sonnet begins with a modest question—

"To thee that art the summer's nightingale,
Thy sovereign goddess's most dear delight,
Why do I send this rustic madrigal,
That may thy tuneful ear unseason quite?
Thou, only, fit this argument to write,
In whose high thoughts Pleasure hath built her bower,
And dainty Love learnt sweetly to indite.
My rhymes, I know, unsav'ry are and sour,
To taste the streams, which, like a golden shower,
Flow from thy fruitful head of thy love's praise,—
Fitter, perhaps, to thunder martial stower
When so thee list thy lofty muse to raise :
Yet, till that thou thy poem will make known,
Let thy fair CYNTHIA's praises be thus rudely shown."

From the vastness of the Poet's plan, and also from the essential character of his genius, *The Fairy Queen* spreads out, on all sides, into episodes, "intermeddled," to quote his own words, "rather as accidents than intend-

ments." And thus Ralegh's "sovereign goddess" is sometimes the "Fairy Queen" herself; "and yet, in some places else, I do otherwise shadow her." . . . . Elsewhere, he adds, "I do express her in Belphœbe, fashioning the name according to your own excellent conceit of *Cynthia;* Phœbe and Cynthia being both names of Diana." Even minor characters in the poem, and characters closely linked with Ralegh's personal story, are thus doubled, on certain occasions.

Before a year was over the charm of Spenser's verse —and of his eulogy—had so strengthened the favour to which Ralegh's commendation had paved the way, that Belphœbe even granted to her poet an annual pension of fifty pounds from the Exchequer. It may be feared that it was not very punctually paid. For, whatever the foundation of the old story as to the petulant upbraiding of the Queen by the prosaic Lord Treasurer,—and his *"All this for a song?"*—of the frequent irregularities of the Exchequer payments, even of the least dispensable sort, there is ample proof. Under Burghley, the poets would certainly not fare better than the soldiers.

As Spenser and Ralegh were united in so much else, the mischances of their Irish property were also, in some points, not very dissimilar. Not long after Ralegh's grant from the broad lands of the Earl of Desmond, another grant of three thousand and twenty-eight acres, from the same source, had been carved out for his friend. This estate lay in the county of Cork, and Spenser had fixed his seat amidst the romantic scenery of Kilcolman. He retained it until the outbreak of the rebellion under the Earl of Tyrone, and it has never been doubted that the terrible circumstances attendant on the poet's expulsion by the rebels broke

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his heart. Two years later, Spenser's representatives possessed (otherwise than by a dormant title) nothing in Ireland; and Ralegh possessed only that poor castle with its appurtenances which was on lease[1] (as we have seen) to the old Countess of Desmond. But the after history was different. While the estate on the improvement of which Ralegh had bestowed both money and energetic effort, with such small result, had passed finally to the Boyles, the descendants of Spenser recovered part of their inheritance. We find Cromwell himself writing, during the Protectorate, to his Council in Ireland in favour of William Spenser, "grandson of Edmund Spenser, from whom an estate of lands in the barony of Fermoy, in the county of Cork, descended on him; . . . that the said estate hath been lately given out to the soldiers, in satisfaction of their arrears; . . . that his grandfather was *that Spenser who, by his writings touching the reduction of the Irish to civility, brought on him the odium of that nation;* and for those works and his other good services, Queen Elizabeth conferred on him that estate which the said William Spenser now claims. We have also been informed that the gentleman is of a civil conversation, and that the extremity his wants have brought him unto have not prevailed over him to put him upon indiscreet or evil practices for a livelihood. If, upon inquiry, you shall find his case to be such; we judge it just and reasonable, and do therefore desire and authorize you, that he be forthwith restored to his estate; and that reprisal lands be given to the soldiers elsewhere;"[2] and then Cromwell adds, "in the doing whereof

CROMWELL AND WILLIAM SPENSER.

[1] Ralegh had acquired it, subject to an existing lease, as it would seem from his own words, which have been previously quoted.

[2] *Letters from the Lord Protector*, p. 118. (Record Tower, Dublin Castle; printed by Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, pp. 44, 45.)

our satisfaction will be greater by the continuation of that estate to the issue of his grandfather, for whose eminent deserts and services to the Commonwealth that estate was first given him."

STATE. QUIET FORTUNES OF THE IRISH SPENSERS.

Kilcolman had been recovered by the poet's widow after the suppression of Tyrone's rebellion, and had been wrongfully carried by her, as it seems, to her second husband; at least, for a while. It had been a second time devastated, in the rebellion of 1641. It now returned to the Spensers by the justice of the Protector. Other lands near Kilcolman had passed from the poet's son and heir, Sylvanus, to his younger brother Peregrine. From Charles the Second, William Spenser obtained new lands in the counties of Galway and Roscommon. From William the Third, he obtained a grant of the forfeited estate of his cousin Ugolin Spenser, son of Peregrine. For the same man thus to have benefited by the grants of Cromwell, of Charles, and of William, is probably a circumstance almost unique, even in the eventful history of Tenures in Ireland. Such a fact certainly indicates qualities somewhat different from those of his great ancestor. But, eventually, as the Irish estates of Ralegh had passed to the Earls of Cork, so those of Spenser (or what had remained of them after previous alienations by piecemeal) passed to the Earls of Clancarty. At an early period of the last century, no heir of either Ralegh or Spenser possessed an acre of land in Ireland. It will be long, however, before the memory of either shall be wholly severed from its association with the many natural charms of Lismore and of Kilcolman.

CHAPTER IX.

LOVE AND JEALOUSY.—RENEWED ENTERPRISES AGAINST SPAIN.

1591—1594.

Again at Court.—Relations of Essex and of Ralegh with the Puritans.—New Rivalries in Love.—Elizabeth Throgmorton.—Amoret, Timias, and Belphœbe.—The Queen's Captive in the Tower.—A new "Orlando Furioso."—"Venus" and "Diana."—Expeditions against Spain.—English Statesmen and Spanish Carracks.—History of the Capture of the *Madre de Dios*.—Distant Results of that Capture.—Ralegh at Sherborne.

CHAP. IX.
1591-1594.

AS there is no satisfactory evidence of the cause of Sir Walter Ralegh's temporary loss of the royal favour in 1589, so is there also no such evidence of the way in which it was recovered. That, when he returned from Ireland, the Queen's smiles were again freely bestowed on him, is a fact of which there are many proofs. What he did at Court for Spenser has, in part, just been seen. Spenser did not limit himself to the expressions of warm gratitude which so abound in *The Fairy Queen* and its preface. He tells Ralegh, when dedicating to him *Colin Clout's come Home again*, that his good countenance had had power enough at Court "to protect me against the malice of evil mouths." Soon after his return, Ralegh's good offices were exerted in favour of a Puritan whose life was threatened by persecution, as well as of a Poet whose livelihood had been threatened

by rebels. But the sad story of John Udall belongs to the year 1591. It may be well, before briefly telling it, to glance at another story, somewhat affecting Sir Walter's reputation, which, had it possessed any real groundwork of truth, would seem to belong at latest to the year 1590.

WOOD'S STORY ABOUT RALEGH AND BP. GODWIN.

Anthony Wood in his *Athenæ* ascribes to Ralegh the origination, or circulation, of a scandalous report against Dr. Thomas Godwin, Bishop of Bath and Wells (who died in November 1590), intended, by working on the Queen's mind, to facilitate the getting a lucrative lease of an episcopal manor. Wood founds on Sir John Harrington, more famed for wit than for veracity. But Harrington, when his story is sifted, is found to charge only "a chief favourite"—unnamed—with scandalizing the Bishop of Bath and Wells for a corrupt motive. A previous and very honest biographer of Sir Walter has shown that this idle story derives no countenance whatever from the one sufficient authority which in such a matter may be trustfully relied upon. The Life of Bishop Thomas Godwin was written by his own son, Dr. Francis Godwin, also a bishop, and unlikely to look complacently on plots for the alienation of episcopal manors. By Bishop Francis Godwin no such charge is made or referred to. There would be no need to give other answer, even did so idle a story rest on better authority than that either of Wood or of Harrington. That Ralegh shared the lax views of his lay contemporaries about grants of Church property, is well known. It is one thing, however, to ask of a bishop an advantageous lease. It is quite another thing to invent or to circulate against a bishop a foul piece of scandal.

The intricate relations of Court favouritism are usually hard to trace. New and unlooked-for events spring up

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ESSEX, RALEGH, AND THE PURITANS.

rapidly on the stage of a Court, and they are sometimes accompanied by very strange and rapid transformations. In 1590, we see Ralegh in exile, and are told that Essex drove him thither. Very early in 1591, we see Ralegh extending a hand of help towards the persecuted Puritans; and, just about the same date, find a man well versed in Court secrets, and frequently employed as Government "decipherer," writing thus:—"The Puritans hope well of the Earl of Essex, *who makes Ralegh join him as an instrument from them to the Queen upon any particular occasion of relieving them.*"[1]

Certainly, amongst the many other things in which the Earl of Essex had visibly succeeded the Earl of Leicester, it may well have happened that the sort of quasi-protectorate over the Puritans (which seems, at first sight, so little congenial with Leicester's nature) had already passed from the dead favourite to the living one, as easily as the "Farm of sweet wines." On Essex it must have sate better than on Leicester. In his graver hours he had strong theological convictions, which agreed, in many points, with those of the leading Puritans. That, at a later period, he openly sought their confidence, is unquestionable. It is less easy to ascertain Ralegh's precise views, in regard to theological matters, at any epoch. But we know conclusively that the whole force of his mind was, at all times, against persecution for matters of opinion and faith. And, in interfering on behalf of John Udall, he may well have been acting in harmony with Essex. That he interfered at the Earl's instigation is scarcely probable.

Udall had strenuously advocated Church reform by many treatises and sermons. He was a scholar of con-

[1] Minute of a Letter by Thomas Phelippes, dated March 22d, 1590-1; in *Domestic Correspondence*, Elizabeth, vol. ccxxxviii. (Rolls House.)

siderable attainments, and the compiler of the first Hebrew grammar known to have appeared in English. The book which brought upon him the closing misfortune of his life was prolixly entitled *The Demonstration of Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word for the Government of the Church, in all times and places, until the World's end.* He was very zealous for what he deemed to be the truth, but not according to knowledge. For there is in this treatise both an intemperance of language, and an illogical approval of persecution for conscience' sake, if used *only* against the writer's adversaries; neither of which, it is now obvious enough, could permanently help the good cause he really had at heart. The Council had taken strong measures at first to silence, and then to punish him. Ralegh's attention had been drawn to the case, and his interest aroused by the manly firmness of the defendant. He caused intimation to be conveyed to Udall that certain representations "had been infused into the Queen," and had powerfully affected her mind as to the doctrines he maintained, which probably were much exaggerated, and which Udall might be able greatly to soften and explain. "If," said the correspondent whose pen Ralegh employed in the matter, "you will write half a dozen lines to Sir Walter Ralegh, concerning those opinions, that he may show it to Her Majesty, he hopes to obtain your life." "I know it is very easy," he adds, "for you to answer all those things; therefore do it with speed; and in your writing to Sir Walter take knowledge that he hath sent you such word." Thus invited, Udall drew up some brief exposition of his views, and some strong assurances of his loyal devotion to "Her Majesty's happy government." "I have sent unto your Lordship," he wrote to Ralegh (addressing him as Lord Lieutenant

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of Cornwall: the writer, I believe, was himself a West-country man), "as, in perplexity, I could upon the sudden, what I hold upon certain points declared unto me, as from your Lordship; praying that it would please you to make known the truth thereof to Her Highness; and if neither my submission, heretofore delivered, nor these things now set down, will be accepted to draw Her Highness of her gracious compassion to pardon me, that yet it would please Her Majesty,—that the land may not be charged with my blood,—to change my punishment from death to banishment." [1] Some of the bishops strenuously urged that an ampler submission should be insisted on. Meanwhile, Udall remained in prison. His life was spared. Negotiations were still pending about his banishment and the terms of it, when he was seized with his fatal illness. He had again invoked the intercession of Ralegh (in regard to the terms of pardon), and had also applied to Lord Essex. The point which hindered his release was somewhat trivial. It had been agreed that he should go to Guinea, under the supervision, in some way, of the Company of Turkey Merchants. It was then required that the Company should be made responsible that he would remain there, until he had Her Majesty's licence to return to England. To any such stipulation Udall objected; and, whilst the point was yet under discussion, he died, still a prisoner, in Southwark.

Whilst matters such as this, big with grave consequences for the generation to come, were occupying the minds of statesmen, theologians, and lawyers; whilst the men of war were busied with new enterprises against

[1] Udall, *New Discovery of the old Pontifical Practices*, &c. pp. 37, *seqq.* Compare Strype, *Life, &c. of Archbishop Whitgift* (fol. edit. f. 376).

Spain, and some of them were immortalizing their names by desperate conflicts against overwhelming numbers; the mere courtiers were chiefly intent on certain engrossing questions of Love and Marriage. The love affairs both of Essex and of Ralegh gave them not a little occupation, from time to time.

ESSEX AND RALEGH. —LIKENESS IN DIVERSITY.

Natural contrarieties are not marked more strongly in the characters of these two rivals, than are incidental parallelisms in their respective careers and fortunes. We have just seen them apparently acting together, in 1591, for the protection of the innovating party in the Church, against the ritualistic standers on old paths; in 1596, we shall find them, side by side, fighting against Spain. It was the fate of both to be accused of plotting to alter the succession to the Crown. Both were to die on the scaffold. But hardly any parallelism in their fortunes is so notable as that which assimilates their marriages. In 1590, Essex excites the fierce wrath of Elizabeth, by his secret marriage with Frances Walsingham. In 1592, Ralegh excites a wrath still fiercer, by his secret marriage with Elizabeth Throgmorton. Both ladies became the marks of a persecution from Queen Elizabeth, which succeeded, conspicuously, in combining pettiness with vindictiveness; and both were the only daughters of men who, in an eminent degree, had served and defended the Crown and person of Elizabeth.

No record of the place or of the date of either marriage is now known to exist. Each was hidden from the Queen until further secrecy had ceased to be possible. In the case of Essex, after the first outburst of wrath had spent itself, she exhibited one of the most characteristic and deeply-seated traits of her own nature, by telling him that he had not only offended her, but had

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"disgraced himself." The daughter of Walsingham and the widow of Sidney was, in Elizabeth's words, "*beneath his degree.*" After many months had passed, we find an observant (and pious) courtier devoutly thanking God that the Queen "doth not strike all she threats;" and then he adds:—"The Earl doth use it with good temper, concealing his marriage as much as so open a matter may be; not that he denies it to any, but, *for Her Majesty's better satisfaction, is pleased that my Lady shall live very retired in her mother's house.*"[1] Ralegh, as we shall see, with more stringent cause for temporary concealment, treated his acknowledged wife in a different fashion.

RALEGH'S MARRIAGE.

Lady Ralegh's father, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, was one of the many men of that age who had acquitted themselves with success of very diversified employments. During the reigns of Henry the Eighth and his next successors he had served in arms at Boulogne, at Musselburgh, and at St. Quentin. In Mary's time, he had defended himself against a false accusation of treason, with a degree of ability and vigour of mind which makes the record of it in the *State Trials* almost as fine an instance of the contention of one man with a host of men, as is the subsequent narrative of the defence of his son-in-law, on a like occasion. He had served Elizabeth with consummate statesmanship as her Ambassador in France, when her negotiations there were of the thorniest sort. When Ralegh began his courtship of Sir Nicholas' daughter, she had been long an orphan. She was then one of the Queen's maids of honour. The date of her birth is not recorded.

State Trials (Howell's edition).

[1] John Stanhope to Gilbert, Lord Talbot (afterwards eighth Earl of Shrewsbury), November 1591; printed, from the *Talbot MSS.*, in Lodge's *Illustrations*, vol. ii. p. 432.

Of Elizabeth Ralegh a picture was long preserved by her descendants, and it probably is still preserved among the representatives of the family of Elwes. Oldys saw it, in the possession of Capt. William Elwes, about the year 1730. It is, he says, a half-length, on panel, "by some masterly hand," and was painted in 1600, or 1601. His description runs on thus:—"It represents her a fair handsome woman, turned perhaps of thirty.[1] She has on a dark-coloured hanging-sleeve robe, tufted on the arms; and under it a close-bodied gown of white satin, flowered with black, with close sleeves down to her wrist. She has a rich ruby in her ear, bedropped with large pearls; a laced whisk rising above her shoulders; a bosom uncovered, and a jewel hanging thereon, with a large chain of pearl round her neck, down to her waist." Her charms subdued Sir Walter Ralegh. The noble presence, the warlike fame, the ready tongue, the various accomplishments, of such a lover, subdued in turn—and subdued entirely—the Queen's fair maid of honour.

Oldys, *Life of Ralegh*, p. 353 (Oxford edition).

Of the courtship, we know nothing but the results, immediate, and more remote. That its date can be fixed with tolerable precision, either as being late in 1591 or early in 1592, we owe partly to some merely allusive and enigmatical sentences in two letters; partly to the singular way in which this love-passage came to be mixed up with the renewed enterprises against the naval power and colonial riches of Spain. But the story of the Spanish Carracks of 1592 will be most clearly told hereafter. Our present interest in a letter on that subject which Ralegh addressed to Sir Robert Cecil, in March 1592, lies only in this brief passage:—"I mean not to come away, as they say I will, *for fear of* a marriage,

[1] Sir Nicholas Throgmorton died, suddenly, at the age of fifty-seven, in February 1571.

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and I know not what. If any such thing were, I would have imparted it to yourself before any man living; and therefore I pray [you] believe it not; and I beseech you to suppress, what you can, any such malicious report. For I profess before God, there is none on the face of the earth that I would be fastened unto." No one can look much at the autographs of Ralegh's letters without perceiving that he wrote habitually in a very hurried manner, and that, as rapid writers are so wont to do, he often left out words that he had intended to write. To make it consistent with obvious truth, the word "*rather*" or "*sooner*" would need to be inserted before the words "*fastened unto.*" Such an emendation, however, must be left to the reader's own judgment. Nor would it remove all the difficulties in these enigmatical sentences. What it behoves us to remember whilst conjecturing the meaning, is this:—In the most solemn moment of his whole life, Ralegh wrote to his wife: "I chose you and I loved you, in my happiest times." That that love was both passionate and constant there are many proofs; and it was passionately and unchangeably returned.

Four months afterwards, Sir Edward Stafford wrote to Anthony Bacon:—"If you have anything to do with Sir Walter Ralegh, or any love to make to Mrs. Throckmorton, at the Tower to-morrow you may speak with them; if the countermand come not to-night, as some think will not be, and particularly he that hath charge to send them thither." When this letter—every word of which is so suggestive of the jealous feelings with which Ralegh was regarded by all the underlings of Lord Essex—was written, "Mrs. Throckmorton" was, in all probability, Lady Ralegh. But dates and circumstances are here only conjectural.

Spenser learnt, in course of time, from his friend both

the love, and the passionate jealousy which it had excited in the Queen. What (if any) pretext was invented for the imprisonment in the Tower was unknown to contemporaries, and is unknown still. Not a word of allusion to Sir Walter's present imprisonment appears in the Council Book, although the cause of his confinement in the Fleet for the petty brawl with Sir Thomas Perrot is so carefully registered, in the days of his obscurity. When the new cantos of *The Fairy Queen* appeared in 1596, a notable episode describes the loves of "Amoret" and "Timias," and the wrath of "Belphœbe."

Amoret, in a ramble through the woods, had the ill-fortune to meet with

> ". . . . a wild and salvage man,
> That was no man, but only like in shape,
> And eke in stature higher by a span;"

and the monster had assailed her. She flies in terror, but he overtakes and is bearing her off, when Timias, who had entered the same forest in his wonted attendance on Belphœbe, comes briskly to the rescue. In their encounter, the caitiff for a time uses his fair captive as a buckler for himself—

> ". . . If any little blow on her did light,
> Then would he laugh aloud, and gather great delight."

The combat is still undetermined, when Belphœbe herself is seen by the monster to be approaching, and he flies apace; but becomes the victim of her prowess. Belphœbe finds Timias, her squire, alone with Amoret—

> "There she him found by that new lovely mate,
> Who lay the whiles in swoon full sadly set,
> From her fair eyes wiping the dewy wet,
> Which softly 'stilled; and kissing them atween,
> And handling soft the hurts which she did get;
> For of that carle she sorely bruised had been,
> Als of his own rash hand one wound was to be seen.

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"TIMIAS" AND "BELPHŒBE."

Which, when she saw with sudden glancing eye,
Her noble heart with sight thereof was filled
With deep disdain and great indignity,
That, in her wrath, she thought them both t' have thrilled
With that self arrow which the carle had killed:
Yet held her wrathful hand from vengeance sore;
But drawing nigh, ere he her well beheld,
'Is this the faith?' she said,—and said no more,
But turned her face, and fled away for evermore."

* * * * *

The poet then goes on to depict, with his deepest colours, the grief of the rejected follower for the sore displeasure of the lady he had so long served. The highly imaginative picture of the sad effects of that displeasure on his person, presents it as so wretchedly

"Through wilful penury consumèd quite,
That like a pinèd ghost he soon appears."

When these new cantos were given to the public, Ralegh, as will be seen hereafter, was still, after the lapse of four years, under the frown of his royal mistress. But he had been very far indeed from

"Wasting his wretched days in woful flight,
So on himself to wreak his folly's own despite."

He had, in the interval, explored Guiana, and had struck a vital blow at Spain in its pride.

THE IMPRISONMENT IN THE TOWER.

During the early months of imprisonment, however, even Spenser's vivid fancy could scarcely heighten the courtly despair and deprecation which were employed, though vainly, to recover royal favour. Anecdotes have survived of those months in the Tower, some of which seem to belong to the remote "shores of old romance" rather than to the prosaic London of Queen Elizabeth. On one occasion, Ralegh discerned from his windows the gay boats and barges of a royal procession on the water. "Suddenly," we are told, "he brake out into a great distemper, and swore that his enemies had on purpose

brought Her Majesty thither to break his gall in sunder with Tantalus' torment; that, when she went away, he might see his death before his eyes." Then, in a transport of passion, he swore to his keeper that he would disguise himself, "and get into a pair of oars, to ease his mind but with a sight of the Queen," or else, he protested, his "heart would break." The keeper was obdurate, and the prisoner in such excitement, that at last daggers were drawn. Sir Arthur Gorges, who describes the scene to Cecil, had thus far been a quiet and amused by-stander, but now he thought it high time to play "the stickler between them, and so purchased such a rap on the knuckles, that I wished both their pates broken; and so, with much ado, they stayed their brawl to see my bloody fingers." "At the first," he adds, "I was ready to break with laughing to see the two scramble and brawl like madmen, until I saw the iron walking, and then I did my best to appease the fury. As yet, I cannot reconcile them by any persuasions, for Sir Walter swears that he shall hate him [Sir George Carew, in whose custody he was placed] while he lives, for so restraining him from the sight of his mistress; for that he knows not (as he said) whether ever he shall see her again, when she is gone the Progress." And he ends his letter by telling Cecil that he fears "Sir Walter Ralegh will shortly grow to be 'Orlando Furioso,' if the bright Angelica persevere against him a little longer."

Sir A. Gorges to Sir R. Cecil, in *Domestic Corresp.* (R. H.)

On another occasion, Ralegh,—who retained the post of Captain of the Guard, although for years he could only execute its principal functions by deputy,—in the midst of a matter of routine business with Sir Robert Cecil, about "signing of the bills for the Guards' coats," bursts out into a passionate lament that his heart was

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"never broken until that day," when he had just heard that the Queen ("whom I have followed so many years with so great love and desire in so many journeys") was about to go far away; leaving him behind "in a dark prison, all alone." While he had still the possibility of hearing about her, his sorrow, in some degree, was lessened. Now, his heart is cast into the very depths of misery—"I, that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus; the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks like a nymph; sometime, sitting in the shade like a goddess; sometime, singing like an angel; sometime, playing like Orpheus. Behold the sorrow of this world; once amiss hath bereaved me of all!" .... "All those times past;—the loves, the sighs, the sorrows, the desires;—can they not weigh down one frail misfortune?" But lyrical raptures under the royal smile, and tearful threnodies under the royal frown, were part of the courtly ceremonial. They were as much matters of the daily routine of the true courtier of Elizabeth,—and were as little to be reasoned about,—as the tabards of the heralds in a procession, or the kneeling of the sewers at a banquet.

Ralegh to Sir Robert Cecil, July 1592.

On one other occasion, however, Sir Walter's vivid imagination enables him fairly to outstrip his compeers. When at the acme of his sense of bereavement, he suggests that it might save both time and trouble, as it would efficiently relieve his own anguish, if, as he passed by, during his morning walk in the Tower precincts, he might be suffered "to feed the lions."

Meanwhile, Elizabeth nursed her anger; would admit of no intercession for his restoration to liberty; would not even allow of any increased indulgences to alleviate the confinement. Its first relaxation grew out of the

necessities of the royal Exchequer. An enterprise which Ralegh had planned in the preceding year, and in the active preparation of which he had been busily engaged, in the intervals of courtship, at the beginning of 1592, had been attended with wonderful success. Spoils had been wrenched from Spain such as hitherto were almost unexampled. Their partition could not be satisfactorily effected without the active concurrence of the State prisoner who had planned the new attack on the naval power of Spain, and had been one of the chief adventurers in the outfit of the expedition. To its objects and its history we must now turn.

FURTHER REPRISALS ON THE SPANIARDS.

It has been shown that during the year 1590, after Spain had recovered a little from the immediate results of the blow which had been dealt to her by the defeat of her great Armada, alarms of new attempts against England had become rife. Neither the Royal Navy of England nor her daring privateers had been idle in the interval. At the beginning of 1591, a formidable fleet, "to be employed under the Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Walter Ralegh," had been prepared for an attack on the fleets of Spain.[1] For some reason or other, this plan was altered, and Ralegh, instead of taking the joint command of the fleet, was busied during the spring and summer of the year with his duties as Warden of the Stannaries and Lieutenant of Cornwall, where he had to ensure an active watching of the coast, and maintain communication with the fleet.[2] Presently, we find him

[1] List of Twenty Ships and Pinnaces, to be employed, &c. *Domestic Correspondence*, Elizabeth, vol. ccxxxviii. (Rolls House.)

[2] "For Sir Walter Ralegh, to send a pinnace to the Lord Thomas, to warn him of the Spaniards being about Scilly."—Burghley's Memoranda of May 1591, in *Domestic Correspondence*, Elizabeth, vol. ccxxxviii. (Ibid.)

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narrating a famous conflict against desperate odds, made by an officer of his own, in his ship *The Revenge*. There is no record of the reasons which had kept its owner in England, and so made him a narrator of the fight, instead of an actor in it.

FIRST APPEARANCE AS AN AUTHOR.

By the publication of this *Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of the Azores*, Sir Walter Ralegh made his first formal appearance as an author. Here he describes, in words worthy of the subject, the noble death of his dear friend and kinsman, Sir Richard Grenville, who had repeatedly served under him in Virginia and in Devon. In an expedition against the Spanish Plate fleet, led in chief by Lord Thomas Howard, six English ships of war, with a few pinnaces and provision vessels, found themselves suddenly opposed by a Spanish convoy fleet of fifty-three ships of war, at a moment when their own crews, for the most part, were ashore. Sir Richard Grenville was Vice-Admiral, and had to cover the hasty embarkation of the last comers. In so doing, he lost the wind. Single-handed, he opposed his ship to five great Spanish galleons, supported at intervals, in the course of the contest, by ten others; and he fought them during nearly fifteen hours.

At last, after Grenville himself had been shattered by repeated and severe wounds, but still kept the upper deck, "nothing was to be seen," writes Ralegh, "but the naked hull of a ship, and that almost a skeleton, having received eight hundred shot of great artillery—some under water; her deck covered with the limbs and carcases of forty valiant men, the rest all wounded, and painted with their own blood; her masts beat overboard; all her tackle cut asunder; her upper works rased, and level with the water; and she herself incapable of receiving any direction or motion, except that given her by

the billows." Grenville's proposition to the survivors to sink the vessel, and trust to the mercy of God, rather than yield to the Spaniards, was eagerly seconded by his master-gunner and by others, but was overruled. He himself died, uttering aloud these words: "*Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind, for that I have ended my life, as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion, and honour.*"

GRENVILLE'S DEATH.

Whilst narrating this memorable event, Ralegh takes occasion to vindicate the policy, as well as the retributive justice, of those repeated attempts against the India fleets of Spain, which at that time called out alike the meaner passions and the grandest energies of his countrymen.

His views on this subject were then far from commanding, in their entirety, the hearty assent of the most influential amongst the Queen's councillors. They will, perhaps, command as little retrospective assent now. But they were as freely urged in Parliament, as in conversation or in writing. He had been returned, as Member for Devonshire, as early as the year 1585; but his most prominent appearances as a debater do not occur until a later period than that at which we have yet arrived. And that part of his career may well claim a chapter to itself.

When the year 1592—which was to prove so eventful a year to Ralegh—had opened, he was already distinguished in almost every conspicuous department of human exertion. Few men, of any age or country, have laboured with a like degree of success, in employments and spheres of activity so varied. The pursuit of El Dorado was yet only matter of meditation. His greatest achievements were all to come. But, how varied soever, from 1592 onward a Spanish thread, so to speak, may be

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traced, with more or less of conspicuousness, throughout his remaining career.

THE CARRACKS OF SEVILLE.

The comparative failure of the enterprise under Howard and Grenville seems but to have given a keener edge to the prevalent hatred of Spain, and eagerness to embark in expeditions like that to the Azores, fatal as it had been. Sir Walter now bent all his energies towards an enterprise, on a larger scale than had yet been attempted. His preparations encountered the usual obstacles from short-sighted parsimony and official double-dealing. His present effort was still more impeded by endless gyrations of irresolution in the highest place.

The plan of the Expedition of 1592 combined an ambush for the rich carracks of Seville with an attack on the Spanish settlement of Panama. The Adventurers provided thirteen vessels, well equipped; the Queen, two ships of war, *The Garland* and *The Foresight*. Next after Ralegh, George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, was the principal adventurer. Ralegh, himself, was to have the command of the expedition as Admiral; with Sir John Borough for his Vice-Admiral. Next in command after Borough was Sir Martin Frobisher. Prominent in the list of captains we find the West-country names of Thynne, Grenville, and Crosse. The Earl of Cumberland adventured for his own profit only. This Earl was passionately fond of naval enterprise, and more than once had incurred the Queen's displeasure by embarking personally in such adventures. On this occasion, he embarked only his money. Ralegh, it will be observed, was both the Queen's officer and the chief outfitter of the fleet, as well as the author of the plan. His outlay appears to have amounted to more than his whole available estate. He seems to have raised the amount indis-

pensable to the effort only with the help of money-lenders, and of course on usurious terms. At this time, the Queen bought his ship, *The Ark Ralegh*, and paid him the 5,000*l.* for which he parted with it, by "releasing" him from so much "out of divers sums of money owing by him to Her Majesty." By dint of unusual exertion, he had got ready to sail in February, but was baffled by an extraordinary continuance of westerly winds. As late as May, we find him writing (in a passing fit of despondency, as it seems) to Robert Cecil:—"I am not able to live, to row up and down with every tide from Gravesend to London." . . . "More grieved," he adds, "than ever I was in anything of this world, for this cross weather, I take my leave."[1] A previous letter to the same correspondent contains strong remonstrances against the official trickery by which it was sought to induce him, after his enormous risk in the equipment of the ships, to give bonds for the wages of the seamen.

Dom. Cor. Eliz. vol. ccxi. 124. (R. H.)

RALEGH'S RECALL.

During the long delays which impeded for three months, at least, the departure of his fleet, Ralegh was continually running to and fro between his ships and the Court. When a change of wind at length allowed him fairly to set sail, and get out to sea, he was followed by Sir Martin Frobisher, with peremptory orders that the Admiral should instantly resign his post to Frobisher, jointly with Sir John Borough, and should himself return forthwith to the Court. Frobisher, however, like his colleague, was still to act as Ralegh's lieutenant, and to take his orders. Ralegh's *crime* was now (*i.e.* late in May, or early in June) fully known to the Queen; but it is one of the minor mysteries which so thickly hedge round all these transactions of 1592, that the

[1] Extracts from Hatfield MSS., in the Additional MS. 6177, fol. 23. (British Museum.)

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intended change in the actual command of the fleet had been made known to him early in March, not as a mark of disgrace, but of special (though then most unwelcome) womanly anxiety for his continued presence at Court; as, in short, one of those Elizabethan caprices with which Ralegh, like other of her courtiers, and like all her "favourites," had long been familiar. "I have promised Her Majesty," he had written three months earlier, "that if I can persuade the companies to follow Sir Martin Frobisher, I will without fail return, [after] bringing them out to the sea some fifty or threescore leagues, for which purpose my Lord Admiral hath lent me *The Disdain;* which to do Her Majesty, *with great grace,* many times bid me remember, and sent me the same message by Will Killegrew [*so in MS.*]; which God willing, if I can persuade the companies, I mean to perform; though I dare not be acknown therein to any creature."[1] And then it is that he makes his ambiguous protest to Cecil against the suspicion that he intended "to run away for fear of a marriage," instead of returning to Court, according to the Queen's command.

RALEGH'S BRIEF CRUISE AND RETURN.

Whatever may now have been Sir Walter's misgivings of heart, he, before returning to England, continued his cruise until he had obtained such information about the Spanish plans and armaments of the year, as led him to make an entirely new disposition of his fleet. Its progress had been again delayed, when off Cape Finisterre, by a fierce storm. For the attempt upon Panama the time was almost past. He determined to relinquish that part of his plan, and to divide his fleet into two separate commands. One squadron he sent to the Azores, under

[1] Extracts from Hatfield MSS., in the Additional MS. 6177, fol. 23. (British Museum.)

Sir John Borough, with orders to waylay the Plate-ships from the Indies and their convoy. To the other squadron, under Frobisher, he gave orders to cruise near the coast of Spain, "thereby to amuse the Spanish [home] fleet, and hold them on their own coast."[1] His dispositions were successful. The first prize taken was "a great Biscayan," on its way to St. Lucar. One of the largest and best-laden of the coveted "Indian carracks," the *Madre de Dios*, was taken by Ralegh's own ship, *The Roebuck*, commanded by Sir John Borough in person. Another great carrack was set on fire by her crew, to avoid capture. This success was achieved by ships which had suffered a series of disasters at their outset, and notwithstanding the ample warning of the English plans which the long prevalence of adverse winds had enabled Spanish agents to carry to their government. It was achieved despite a formidable convoy for the protection of the carracks which had, on that warning, been sent from Spain.

CAPTURE OF THE "GREAT CARRACK.

The rich treasures that were found in the *Madre de Dios* surpassed all expectation, and caused a wide-spread excitement. Seamen and courtiers, English magnates and Hebrew usurers, London tradesmen and West-country fishermen, were alike thrown into ecstasies at the spoils in hand, and the anticipated spoils to come. Among the instant consequences of this capture at home, as shown in the correspondence of the day, we find admirals chaffering for rare commodities with sailors in the streets of Dartmouth, and the favourite son of the Lord High Treasurer—himself already one of the Queen's councillors, and acting as her Secretary of State

[1] *A True Report of the honourable Service at Sea, performed by . . . the Fleet prepared by the Hon. Sir Walter Ralegh*, &c. (Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 101.)

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—riding post into the West, to act as a prize-agent. Among its results in Spain was a stern order from Philip the Second to all his admirals and captains, that a Spanish ship, under any circumstances, was to be burnt or blown up rather than be allowed to fall into the hands of Englishmen; and an indelible mark against the name of Ralegh in the Spanish arcana of State.

RALEGH AND THE LORD ADMIRAL HOWARD.

Ralegh, meanwhile, had at length grown angrily impatient of a punishment which added all the uncertainties of feminine caprice to the harshness of power,—therein uncurbed by law. In a letter, undated, but doubtless written either in the August or September of 1592, and addressed to the Lord High Admiral, he allows his growing bitterness of spirit to appear with small restraint; and shows, at the same time, that his keen regard for the interests and honour of England, and especially for her naval greatness, had not one whit lessened. After adverting to certain nautical details, touching *The Great Susan*, on which he had consulted Sir John Hawkins, "I know nobody but yourself," he adds,—"had I been at liberty,—that would undertake to set her out; and a good strength is thereby wanting, especially where a good man's aid is required. It is hard to lessen that that was [little], but it is [thought[1]] more profitable to punish my *great treasons*, than that I should either strengthen the fleet, or do many other things that lie in the ditches." . . . . Then he adds: "I was yesterday advertised by a man of mine, coming from the coast of Brittany, that there are twenty ships of war that lie between Scilly and Ushant, to take up our new levied men, and to search for any prizes that shall be sent home. If any of the ships in the narrow seas were sent

[1] This word is illegible in MS.

for a time, or other course taken, it were most necessary. Or else we shall lose all, and be a scorn to all nations. But we are so much busied with the affairs of other nations (of whose many tangled troubles there will never be an end), that we forget our own affairs, our profit, and our honour. He is of a mean conceit, that looks not into the purpose of this [penance[1]]." "I see," he says afterwards, "there is a determination to disgrace me and ruin me; and therefore I beseech your Lordship not to offend Her Majesty any more by suing for me. I am now resolved of the matter. I only desire that I may be stayed no one hour from all the extremities that either law or precedent can avouch. . . . For the torment of the mind cannot be greater; and, for the body, would others did respect themselves as much as I value *it* at little."[2]

The news of Ralegh's disgrace at Court, and imprisonment in the Tower, was very ill received by the men who had manned his fleet, and, under his orders, had won a great triumph for England over Spain. It became presently very apparent that there was urgent necessity of Ralegh's personal influence, as well in curbing the half-mutinous sailors of the West, on their return with the carracks to Dartmouth, as in saving the precious contents of these from further waste and embezzlement; and, above all, in settling the partition of the spoil. "To bring this to some good effect," wrote Sir John Hawkins to Lord Burghley, in September, "Sir Walter Ralegh is the especial man."

"That the account be prepared and drawn into some

[1] This word also is illegible in MS.

[2] Ralegh to the Lord Admiral Howard of Effingham, from the Tower; in *Domestic Correspondence*, Elizabeth, vol. ccxii. 319. (Rolls House.)

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order," continued Sir John Hawkins, not forgetful of his old acquaintance, "divers persons must repair unto him, and the concourse for the answering of [so] many matters will draw many together, and such as are not fit to come to the place where he now is. *I do not perceive that he hath done anything in his accounts, nor that he hath any disposition to do anything, while he is there.* Therefore, if it might please your Lordship to be a means to Her Majesty, that, for the time, he might be in some other place near London, it might very much set forward Her Majesty's service, *and might benefit her portion,* for I see none of so ready a disposition to lay the ground how Her Majesty's portion may be increased as he is; and [he] can best bring it about." [1]

ROBERT CECIL'S MISSION.

This letter evidently induced Lord Burghley to bestir himself. He got instant leave for Sir Walter's journey to the West, on condition that he went as a State prisoner, still in the custody of his appointed keeper. And he took special care to send Robert Cecil to the scene of operations, in advance. These documents of 1592, about the carracks, teem with little pictures of the times, none of them, perhaps, fuller of interest than is Cecil's minute account to his father of the incidents of his mission to the West, contained in several letters, the originals of which are preserved at Hatfield, and contemporary copies of them in the Rolls House. From one of these we learn that Robert Cecil reached Exeter on the 19th of September (eight days, therefore, after the date of Hawkins' letter to Burghley), after a rapid journey, and, on the same day, wrote thus:—"I do send this bearer only to your Lordship, that you may know I have passed by Exeter. Whomsoever I met by the

[1] Sir John Hawkins to Lord Burghley, Sept. 1592; in *Burghley Papers*, MS. Lansdowne, vol. lxx. fol. 88. (British Museum.)

way, within seven miles, that either had anything in cloak-bag or in mail which did but smell of the prizes, either at Dartmouth or Plymouth (for I assure your Lordship I could smell them almost, such hath been the spoils of amber and musk amongst them), I did, though he had little about him, return him with me to the town of Exeter; where I [also] stayed any that should carry news to Dartmouth and Plymouth, at the gates of the town. I compelled them also, to tell me where any trunks or mails were. And I, by this inquisition, finding [*so in MS.*] the people stubborn till I had committed two innkeepers to prison,—which example would have won the Queen 20,000*l.* a week past,—I have light [*so in MS.*] upon a Londoner's [agent?], in whose house we have found a bag of seed pearls." . . . "I do mean, my Lord," he proceeds, "forthwith to be in Dartmouth, and to have a privy search there, and in Plymouth. I have stayed here this morning, because I understood of divers things. And by my rough dealing with them, I have left an impression with the Mayor and the rest. I have taken order to search every bag or mail coming from the West. And though I fear that the birds be flown,—for jewels, pearls, and amber,—yet will I not doubt but to save Her Majesty . . . that which shall be worth my journey. My Lord, there never was such spoil! . . . I will suppress the confluence of these buyers, of which there are above two thousand [*so in MS.*]. And except they be removed, there will be no good. The name of 'Commissioner' is common in this country, . . . but my sending down hath made many stagger. Fouler ways, desperater ways, nor more obstinate people, did I never meet with. . . . All the goods whereof I send you a note were brought since the Proclamation [forbidding any dealings in the contents of

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Dom. Cor. Eliz. Sept. 1592; (R. H.)

the carracks]. I found besides, in this unlooked-for search, an amulet of gold [and] a fork and spoon of crystal with rubies, which I reserve for the Queen. *Her Majesty's captive comes after me, but I have outrid him,* and will be at Dartmouth before him."

RALEGH AND THE MEN OF DEVON.

The arrival of Ralegh is narrated, in a letter of two days' later date, and in a tone which indicates the different destination of the epistle. Readers who chance to be familiar with the details of Robert Cecil's life and character, will be suitably edified by his allusion to Ralegh's "brutish offence." "Within one half-hour," he writes, "Sir Walter Ralegh arrived with his keeper, Mr. Blount. I assure you, Sir, his poor servants, to the number of a hundred and forty goodly men, and all the mariners, came to him with such shouts and joy, as I never saw a man more troubled to quiet them in my life. *But his heart is broken; for he is very extreme pensive longer than he is busied, in which he can toil terribly.* The meeting between him and Sir John Gilbert was with tears on Sir John's part. Whensoever he is saluted with congratulations for liberty, he doth answer, *No; I am still the Queen of England's poor captive.* I wished him to conceal it, because here it doth diminish his credit, which I do vow to you before God, is greater amongst the mariners than I thought for. I do grace him as much as I may, for I find him marvellous greedy to do any thing to recover the conceit of his brutish offence." "Sir John Gilbert's heart," he adds, "was so great, till his brother was at liberty, as he never came but once to the town; and never was aboard." This strong and self-forgetting affection was noticed by Sir Robert Cecil with surprise (as by him it well might be), and he recurs to it more than once. His letter to the Vice-Chamberlain is wound up thus: "If you retain me

not in the good thoughts of her mind, whose angelical quality works strange influences in the hearts of a couple of her servants" [his correspondent and himself], "according to their several moulds, *actum est de amicitiâ*."[1]

In dealing with the sailors it was found very essential to employ Ralegh rather than Cecil. Presently we find Cecil, Ralegh, and William Killigrew acting as joint commissioners. On reporting their proceedings to the Council, the Lords thus instruct them: "Concerning the mariners from whom you have taken any pillage, we think it meet that besides their wages you allow every of them, in regard of their several pillage taken from them, twenty shillings in money: and to such as are known . . . to take the benefit of any pillage not recovered . . . you shall forbear to deliver any wages."

Regists. of the Privy Council (1 Oct. 1592), Eliz. vol. xi. p. 55 (Council Office).

THE PARTITION OF THE SPOILS.

The apportionment of these rich spoils employed a multitude of official persons during many months; occasioned many heartburnings, and, as it seems, even some permanent enmities. The entire cargoes of the captured vessels had been at first estimated at as large a sum as 500,000*l*. This proved to be a great exaggeration. Few single ships, however, had sailed, even from the Indies, with so rich a freight as that embarked on board the *Madre de Dios*. King Philip had, it was asserted, as if by some special prevision of danger, ordered that the chief officers of this principal carrack should be sworn "never to yield the ship to Englishmen, but to sink it rather."

The Queen's personal covetousness was at length excited to a degree which sets in strong relief the petty trickeries wherewith, in the preceding spring, it had endeavoured to throw every possible shilling of outlay

[1] Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Thomas Heneage; copied from Hatfield MS. in Additional MS. 6177. (British Museum.)

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upon those who were to risk both life and livelihood in an enterprise which, if it was not the legitimate service of the Crown and people of England, was mere piracy.

Before the disputes were over, Sir John Fortescue [Chancellor of the Exchequer] had thus to expostulate with the Lord Treasurer, upon the obvious advantages of some small measure of honesty, and to touch—of course with due courtly reserve, and in the prescribed courtly forms—on what, in the language of the day, was an extremely "tickle matter." "It were," argues Sir John Fortescue, "utterly to overthrow all service, if due regard were not had of my Lord of Cumberland and Sir Walter Ralegh, with the rest of the Adventurers, who would never be induced to further adventure, if they were not princely considered of; and herein I found Her Majesty very princely disposed."[1]

And he illustrates Her Majesty's princely disposition by adding presently:—"My Lord Cumberland delivered me an offer here at the Court. . . . I persuaded him to forbear any offer [by which Sir John means a statement of what the Earl would consent to take] until I might have Sir Walter Ralegh's; growing doubtful that his [Lordship's tender], being less than formerly had been made, Sir Walter would rest discontented; to which opinion of mine," he adds, "my Lord yielded willingly."[2]

If it had really been hoped that Ralegh's condition as "the Queen's captive" would prevent his open protest against injustice, whatever his inward discontent, the hope was disappointed. The documentary evidence on the subject of the "great carrack" is scattered, in most disorderly fashion, through several volumes of Lord Burghley's papers (belonging to that section of them

[1] Egerton to Burghley, 23 Dec. 1592, in *Burghley Papers*, MS. Lansdowne, vol. lxx. fol. 210. (British Museum.) [2] Ibid.

which, after narrowly escaping the cheesemonger, is now preserved amongst the Lansdowne MSS.), and it is not easy to extract from their copious details,—descending to elaborate calculations in the hand of the Lord Treasurer himself, of the market prices of pepper,—the essential and no more than the essential facts of the story. It seems, however, that the actual outlay of the Adventurers with Ralegh amounted to 34,000*l.*; and that the Queen's "princely disposition" led her to direct that they should receive, both in recoupment of that outlay, and as their share in the splendid prize, 36,000*l.* One would like to have been apprised of Mr. Chancellor Fortescue's reflections on the "encouragement" thus afforded to future adventurers in the exaction of crippling reprisals from the power which had repeatedly invaded Ireland; had sent the Armada against England; and had stirred up unceasing mortal strife against every interest dear to Englishmen, in all parts of the world.

This attempt at a settlement having failed, the discussion was protracted. It appears, from a paper in Ralegh's own hand, that the essential meanness of these transactions is far from being expressed in the statement just made. The treatment, relatively, of the powerful magnate of the North, and of the discarded favourite, now a poor prisoner in the Tower, is shown thus: "The Earl of Cumberland is allowed also 36,000*l.* and his account [of disbursements] came but to 19,000*l.* He has 17,000*l.* of profit, who adventured for himself. We that served the Queen, and [we that] assisted her service, have not our own again. . . . I was the cause that all this has come to the Queen, and that the King of Spain hath spent 300,000*l.* the last year. And I *lose*, in the past year, in the voyage of my Lord Thomas Howard [*i.e.* the first expedition to the Azores, in which he had incurred a

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severer loss, not here to be spoken of by Ralegh], 1,600*l.* besides the interest of 11,000*l.*, which I have paid ever since this voyage began. . . . I carried the ship from hence to Falmouth, and thence to the North Cape of Spain; and they only sat still, and did but disburse. . . . Double is quits to them: and less than mine own to me. To the Earl of Cumberland, seventeen thousand pounds [profit, or prize money, in addition to the return of his actual outlay], who adventured for himself. And I [adventured] for the Queen!" [1]

ELIZABETH'S INFLUENCE ON THE PARTITION.

Those personal characteristics of Elizabeth herself which, in such matters as this, fix on her a personal responsibility, are established by a long chain of evidence. And the chain contains too many links which have been tested, heretofore, to need rigid assay on every new occasion. But there would be injustice in throwing all the stress there. Ralegh's lifelong friend well knew his man when (in *The Ruins of Time*) he wrote of Lord Burghley—

> "O grief of griefs! O gall of all good hearts!
> To see that virtue should despisèd be
> Of him, *that first was raised for virtuous parts*,
> And now, broad spreading like an agèd tree,
> Lets none shoot up that nigh him planted be."

For his son, Lord Burghley was now, notoriously, even more jealous than for himself. And Spenser's incisive lines would have suited son just as well as father, were it not for the age ascribed to his poetical type, and for the truthful reference to more noble antecedents.

[1] The spoils of the "great carrack" had for years a considerable effect on English commerce, in more ways than one. The sale of certain precious commodities was altogether prohibited, as regards the ordinary course of trade, in order to obtain an advantageous market for the goods stored up from the *Madre de Dios*. Part of the spoils were warehoused at Chatham; part in the buildings of a dissolved monastery at Greenwich. *Registers of the Privy Council*, vol. xi. p. 92. (Council Office.)

At this time, and for long afterwards, Robert Cecil kept up all the appearances of close friendship with Sir Walter Ralegh. In his behaviour to Lady Ralegh, he must have kept them up so well, as to succeed in impressing her with a strong belief in his sincerity, and in inducing her to write to him with the unsuspecting open-heartedness which was so natural in a wife who thought herself addressing, in one correspondent, a powerful statesman and her husband's warm friend. Her letters to him are of exceeding interest. They contain (as might be expected) many allusions both to persons and to incidents which are now obscure. They not infrequently contain also passages of so sharp a point, as to suggest the idea that Ralegh's table-talk may sometimes have found its way into his wife's letters.

The precise date of his partial freedom is doubtful. We find him writing to the Lords of the Council, from Durham House, on the 13th of December, 1592, on the affairs of an Italian merchant, named Corsini. When released from custody, he was still exiled from Court. But in one of the letters of Lady Ralegh there is evidence that almost immediately after his release from an official keeper had been accorded (whether late in 1592, or early in 1593) his thoughts began again to turn, either of themselves or by the counsel of others, towards some remote and difficult Voyage of Discovery. It is very probable, but not apparent, that this may have been that expedition to Guiana, and search for the fabled *El Dorado*, which was not actually undertaken for two years to come. The letter in which this new bent of his thoughts is shown, was written to Cecil, in the February of 1593. It opens with one of those little enigmas, to which reference has been made:—"I received your tablets," writes Lady Ralegh, "of no less rare device

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LADY RALEGH'S LETTERS TO CECIL.

than the sentence within was comfortable. If faith were broken with me, I was yet far away. But I fear that my mistress—if *all hearts were open, and all desires known*—might, without so great curiosity of deciphering, read her own destiny in a plain alphabet. But we are both great believers, and therein we flatter ourselves, and nourish our own minds with what we would. Now, Sir, for the rest, I *hope*, for *my* sake, you will rather draw water from the East, than help him forwards towards the Sunset; if any respect to me, or love to him, be not forgotten. But every month hath his flower, and every season his content; and you great councillors are so full of new counsels, that you are steady in nothing. We poor souls, that have bought sorrow at a high price, desire, and can be pleased with, the same misfortunes we hold; fearing alterations will but multiply miseries. I know only your persuasions are of effect with him, and held as oracles tied together by love. Therefore, I humbly beseech you, rather stay him than further him."

If this passionate entreaty really referred to the Guiana voyage, it may, possibly, have led to some delay in the execution of Ralegh's purpose, although failing to change it. Much of the interval between the date of Lady Ralegh's letter and the departure for Trinidad, in February 1595, was spent at Sherborne in Dorsetshire, a place which will ever be associated with Sir Walter's name, although he and his were, within his own lifetime, stripped of all possession there.

A strong delight in the royal ordering of gardens was one of the many sumptuous and seductive tastes which Ralegh shared with his great contemporary Lord Bacon. Both delighted in the perilous charms of building. But they seem to have agreed in the opinion that a garden

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Bacon's *Essays*; § of Gardens.

is "among the purest of human pleasures; . . . without which building and palaces are but gross handyworks." By his love of planting, Ralegh has left tokens of his presence at many places besides Sherborne. But hardly anywhere else are the tokens so conspicuous. He loved the place, in after years, for the remembrance of the domestic happiness he had enjoyed there. At present, it had the freshness of a new possession. To narrate, in this chapter, the curious circumstances attending his acquisition of it would too much break the current of our story.

Whatever may have been the motives—if any beyond the ambition native to the man need be looked for—which prompted Ralegh to undertake the exploration of Guiana, he had, even before the year 1593 was over, braced his energies to the task. He had now enjoyed, perhaps for the longest interval ever accorded him, the rural and domestic pleasures of a seat—

> "Where winds sometimes our woods, perhaps, may shake,
> But blustering Care could never tempest make;
> Nor murmurs ere come nigh us,
> Saving of fountains that glide by us."

He was now to embark on a long and arduous voyage; he was "to lie hard; to fare worse; to be subjected to perils, to diseases, to ill savours; to be parched and withered; and withal to sustain the care and labour"—of an enterprise which had memorable results. Amidst the many perils of the boating on the Orinoco and its innumerable tributaries, the rustic delights of Sherborne and the peaceful months of planting and poem-writing which he had passed there must needs have come often into his mind, with all the pungency of contrast. And doubtless the hope of a return to Sherborne would, occasionally, have more charm and more consolation in it than even the visions of ambition.

CHAPTER X.

EXPLORER OF GUIANA.

1595.

Emulation excited in England by the Fame of the Spanish Discoveries and Conquests in America, as well as by the Wealth of the Spanish Colonies. —The Legends of 'El Dorado,' or the Golden Land.—The early Expeditions of Ambrose von Alfinger and his Successors.—The Expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro; and that of Pedro de Ursua and his Comrades.—Expedition of Antonio de Berreo.—Ralegh sends a Pilot-ship to Trinidad under Capt. Jacob Whiddon.—Relations of Whiddon with Antonio de Berreo.—Ralegh's Expedition in search of 'El Dorado.'—Boat Voyages on the Orinoco and its Branches.—Results of Ralegh's first Expedition. —His subsequent Attempts by Deputy.—Tenacity of his Plans for the Colonization of Guiana.

THE Expedition of 1595 gave its colour to the whole remainder of Ralegh's life. The fame of it spread far and wide. It intensified that Spanish hatred of Ralegh, and of everything even remotely appertaining to his name, which the capture of the *Madre de Dios* had already raised high enough to leave enduring marks on the history both of Spain and of England. It gave rise to aspersions, at home, on his veracity and honour, which gained currency amongst his contemporaries in tolerably exact proportion to their want of education and of the power of weighing evidence. And these aspersions have been repeated by historians in still exacter proportion to their ignorance of facts and their carelessness of truth.

The narratives of the discoveries and conquests of the Spaniards in remote regions were now attracting increased attention in England. They supplied a new motive to emulation by Englishmen, had any been needed. For a long period, the truthful knowledge of what Spaniards had really achieved was slight, and had no small admixture of fable. The vague reports of mariners, and the inferences deduced from the practical evidence of the wealth which the King of Spain drew from his American possessions, were among the chief sources of popular information. But, long before 1595, better sources of knowledge had become widely available. Englishmen had busied themselves in collecting the original accounts of the early Spanish navigators and of the early historians of New Spain, as well as in inducing English navigators to give their countrymen, through the press, trustworthy narratives of what they had themselves witnessed and explored. Among such promoters of sound information an earlier Richard Hakluyt than the well-known compiler of the *Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries*, had been conspicuous; and his collections contributed not a little to the subsequent compilations of his cousin and namesake. Of these, the first had been published in 1582; another and larger instalment had followed in 1589. These collections had received liberal furtherance at the hands of Walter Ralegh. But of the vast territory which at this time was vaguely called "the Empire of Guiana," Englishmen as yet derived all their knowledge from Spanish report. Even of this second-hand knowledge there was very little. The actual experiences of the explorers themselves were largely mingled, in the current narratives, with marvellous stories told to them by the natives whom they had pressed into their service,

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1595.

SPANISH INROADS ON GUIANA.

and with dim traditions of the escape into some part of Guiana of fugitive adherents of Montezuma and of Atahualpa, laden with treasures from Mexico and Peru.

Between the years 1530 and 1560, seven or eight distinct expeditions had been sent from various Spanish settlements into this unknown land. Some of the adventurers hoped to recover the spoils which had eluded the grasp of the followers of Cortez and of Pizarro. Others were devout believers in the proper mineral wealth of Guiana itself; while some were bent on the discovery of an imperial city, richer than any yet known, where the very boxes and troughs were made of gold and silver, and where "billets of gold lay about in heaps, as if they were logs of wood marked out to burn." However intrinsically visionary, such anticipations as these should be viewed in the lights under which they were seen by those who were the compatriots and almost the contemporaries of Cortez; not in the aspects under which they offered themselves to a David Hume, living in the Edinburgh of the eighteenth century, and firmly persuaded that nothing exists either in earth or heaven that cannot be explained by his philosophy.

The Spaniards, it is probable, first applied the epithet which became so famous, not to a city, but to a king, of whom the Indians had told that he was wont, on certain solemn occasions, to anoint his body with turpentine, and then "to roll himself in gold-dust." 'El Dorado,' in this resplendent state, entered his canoe, surrounded by his nobles; and, having made the due offerings to the deities, plunged into the lake to bathe. The situation of the lake in which this attractive ceremony took place was at first only "a few days' journey" before them. As the Spaniards advanced, the lake receded.

As early, however, as 1530, we find a body of two

hundred Spaniards setting out from Coro, on the coast of Venezuela, in search of a *city* called 'El Dorado.' They were under a German leader, Ambrose von Alfinger, and had compelled a much larger body of Indians, coupled and chained together, to accompany them as baggage-bearers. Having obtained some valuable booty on the road, Alfinger encamped and sent twenty-five of his Spaniards back to Coro with it, under orders to buy horses and arms; and to return. These men preferred the known attractions of the settlement to the mingled hopes and fears of the untrodden forests. Their comrades waited in vain for nearly a year; then made an effort to return; but after dreadful sufferings, at first by fever and afterwards from frost, were almost exterminated by repeated attacks of Indians. Alfinger was among the slain. A few stragglers survived, and reached the coast in 1532. An expedition made under another German, named Federmann, undertaken in 1537–39, had like results. Hernan Perez de Quesada set out from Bogotà in 1540, and returned in the following year after losing half his men. Both Federmann and Quesada are believed to have visited during their fruitless journeys parts of Guiana which have never since been explored.

THE JOURNEY OF G. PIZARRO.

In 1540, Gonzalo Pizarro, one of the brothers of the Conqueror of Peru, left Quito on the same quest, and with a much larger force than had yet engaged in it. His Spaniards are said to have numbered three hundred and forty; and the attendant Indians, four thousand. But this last number is doubtless exaggerated. After three months of hazardous and exhausting adventures on the banks of the Napo, a chief tributary of the great river of Amazons, Pizarro repeated, in another form, the blunder of Alfinger. He detached part of his force, under

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Francisco Orellana, with orders to proceed along the river towards its mouth, and then to wait for the main body, under Pizarro himself; who would journey towards the same point by land. Orellana reached the sea, and straightway set sail for Spain. He arrived after navigating an unknown river, teeming with wonders, and performing in the whole a voyage of two thousand leagues, in a vessel hastily constructed of green timber. Meanwhile, Pizarro and his companions waited and wasted. After a journey of some two thousand five hundred miles, amidst difficulties which had never entered the thoughts even of the conquerors of Peru, eighty Spanish soldiers with their leader returned to Quito, in June 1542. They had eaten their saddles on the road; their horses were long dead; their arms, broken and rusted; the skins of wild beasts hung loosely about their limbs; their matted locks streamed down their shoulders; their faces had been blackened by a tropical sun; their bodies, wasted by famine. "It seemed as if a charnel-house had given up its dead." Such are the words in which a Spanish eye-witness described the appearance of the survivors, as they entered Quito. The fate of the Indians can be imagined. Orellana, it may be added, set out once again from Spain for Peru, but died on the passage.

A German adventurer, named Philip von Hutten, had meanwhile followed in the footsteps of Quesada. He set out on his search, at the head of a body chiefly composed of Spaniards, in the middle of the year 1541. He and they persistently averred that in the heart of Guiana they saw a city, the roofs of which shone like gold; and that only a desperate conflict with a large body of natives, which crippled their small force and compelled a retreat, prevented them from reaching the city they had seen.

Hutten's strange tale, Orellana's not less wonderful voyage down the Amazons, and the terrors of the expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro,—in traditions or echoes of some sort,—would necessarily be among the "moving accidents by flood and field" which would enchain the attention of young Ralegh in his talks at Exmouth or at Exeter with Devonshire sailors, just returned from the Spanish Main.

Seven years after the ghastly entrance of the surviving companions of Gonzalo Pizarro into Quito, Pedro de Ursua (a Navarrese by birth) undertook a new expedition. Finding opportunities, however, of murdering Indians by the way, on a scale too tempting to be resisted, he eventually returned to Bogotà, whence he had set out, without pursuing his enterprise. Nor did he resume it until the year 1559–60. Then, having obtained large succours from the Viceroy of Lima, he made a new departure. He took, as one of his lieutenants, Lope de Aguirre,—perhaps the most widely known of Spanish names connected with the search for *El Dorado*, and certainly a name entitled to rank very high indeed on the annals of human ferocity, in any age.

Ursua's enterprise began with a series of mutinies, the first occasion of which seems to have been a certain Donna Inèz de Atienza, who, with another Donna or two, formed part of the expedition. At length, on the New Year's day of 1561, he was murdered, and Fernando de Guzman made general in his stead; with Aguirre for first lieutenant. The latter induced his comrades to draw up a formal declaration that Ursua had been put to death "for being neglectful and unmindful in his search for the rich lands of *El Dorado*, and for that he had no real intention to settle there, even if he should find them;" and to this document he put his own signature

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1595.

FERD. DE GUZMAN AND DE AGUIRRE.

as "Lope de Aguirre, the traitor." These promising explorers had brought very large stores with them, but ere long, they, like their foregoers, had to eat horses and dogs. They took a wildly erratic route, by which a journey through forests and across deserts was occasionally diversified by the pillage of Spanish towns, and the slaughter of their inhabitants, as well as by frequent murders amongst themselves, "to prevent mutiny."

In the course of these atrocities, Guzman was declared "Prince of Peru," and was promised the kingly crown, on their return to Lima; formal notice being sent by Aguirre to Philip the Second of his deposition. Guzman had always been a puppet in Aguirre's hands, and presently shared the common fate, lest he, too, should form an intention to rebel. The horrors of this marvellous journey cannot be told in detail. Of the precise track followed (in this instance, a point of special interest), there are conflicting and questionable accounts, which have been neither reconciled nor disposed of even by the elaborate researches in modern times of La Condamine, of Humboldt, and of Schomburgk. The most plausible view seems to be that the adventurers, after passing through the interior of Peru and Brazil, over a portion of Guiana, and across the centre of Venezuela, went by the Orinoco and the Atlantic to Margarita (where Aguirre, according to Sir Robert Schomburgk, is still spoken of as 'El Tirano'), and thence to Basquimiento in Venezuela, where the surviving marauders found their merited fate, towards the close of 1561, at the hands of the local Spanish authorities.

Thenceforward the searches for the golden region were for a long time at a stand. Even a very cautious estimate of the expenditure of human life which they had already caused would put a strain upon belief.

The most conspicuous man who in any degree resumed them, prior to the enterprise of Ralegh, was Antonio de Berreo, who soon became unfavourably known to him, both by injuries inflicted on his officer Whiddon, and by the duplicity of his behaviour when (as will be seen presently) they met face to face in Trinidad, in April 1595.

Berreo appears to have been first led into this quest less by his own personal impulses than by the accident of his marriage with the niece of a former adventurer into Guiana (whose expedition has been already mentioned as occurring in 1541), Hernan Perez de Quesada, brother of the famous adelantado, Gonzales Ximenes de Quesada, himself an active promoter of the Guianian enterprise. What is known, however, of Berreo's expedition is drawn from his own statements to Ralegh, and there are more reasons than one for questioning his entire veracity. There are no means of checking him by comparison.[1] The very dates of his expedition are not free from obscurity. According to his own story, he received his bride from her father on the express condition of "taking his oath and honour to follow the enterprise to the last of his substance and life." Sir Walter, when recording this statement in his summary (somewhat hurried, and not a little arbitrary in its chronology) of the expeditions which had preceded his own, adds, "he hath sworn to me that he hath spent 300,000 ducats on the same,"—an assertion which implies either that Don Antonio was enormously rich, or that he had stuck very closely to one clause at least of his oath. But his success was hardly in proportion to his expenditure. He travelled, Ralegh tells us, more than fifteen hundred

Ralegh, *Discoverie of Guiana* (Schomburgk's edition), p. 25.

[1] Domingo de Vera's statements about this expedition are, in substance, those of Berreo at second-hand.

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1595.

miles before he could find any entrance into the country he sought; taking with him seven hundred horsemen, a thousand head of cattle, together with "many women, Indians, and slaves." Leaving New Granada, apparently in the year 1582, by the river then called Cassanare, now the Rio Negro, he proceeded down the Meta (the name given to the Rio Negro after its junction with the *Rio de Aguas Blancas,* or Umadea, near the port of Marayal) into the Baraguan. He kept his horsemen on the banks, as long as they were passable; "and where otherwise, he was driven to embark them in boats which he built for the purpose." Soon after he had begun to descend the great river Orinoco, his losses of men and horses became serious, "both by sickness, and by encountering with the people of those regions through which he travelled," . . . "for the most part by river, and the rest by land." For a whole year he failed to get news of Guiana, but at length reached a country called Amapaia, among whose people Guiana was famous, but few of them, Berreo told Ralegh, would hold any intercourse with him until he had dwelt there for more than three months, and had lost "sixty of his best soldiers, and most of all his horse that remained of his former year's travel." Then comes one of the most curious passages of this strange story, as Sir Walter received it from his informant: "In the end, after divers encounters with those nations, they grew to peace; and they presented Berreo with ten images of fine gold, among divers other plates and croissants, which, as he sware to me and divers other gentlemen, were so curiously wrought, as he had not seen the like either in Italy, Spain, or the Low Countries. And he was resolved that when they came to the hands of the Spanish king, to whom he had sent them by his camp-

Ralegh, *Discoverie of Guiana* (Schomburgk's edition), p. 30.

Ibid., p. 31.

master, they would appear very admirable, especially being wrought by such a nation as had no iron instrument at all, nor any of those helps which our goldsmiths have to work withal." Thus encouraged, Berreo proceeded with his weakened company; found the country to increase in difficulty almost daily; and began, at last, to despair of meeting any better success in his enterprise than had befallen his many predecessors. He met with some relief and solace amongst a tribe of Indians, governed by a very old chief called Carapana, who, in his youth, had been in Trinidad, and had acquired there some tincture of civilization. From Carapana, Don Antonio had accounts of the riches and magnificence of Guiana of a most stimulative sort. But further effort was then beyond his strength, and he grew eager for a return to Spanish territory. By the help of pilots provided for him by the friendly chief, and after sundry adventures by the way, he arrived at Trinidad, and there established himself. From thence he sent predatory expeditions into the country bordering on the Orinoco, under his officers,—one of them, as it seems, the "camp-master," Domingo de Vera, who afterwards went into Spain to beat up recruits for the "conquest" of Guiana,—the chief results of which expeditions appear to have been, first, the further embittering of the Indians against the Spaniards, by the atrocities which they committed; and, secondly, a ceremonial possession-taking of the land in the name of the King of Spain, which is said to have been performed "in the river of Palo, otherwise called Orenoque, . . . on the 23rd April, 1593." Berreo continued to nourish eager hopes of renewing, in person, the quest of Guiana and of its golden capital, with better result, at some future day. As a step towards the new enterprise, he obtained

Ralegh, *Discoverie of Guiana* (Schomburgk's edition), p. 31.

Letters taken at Sea, by Capt. Geo. Popham, 1594.

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the Letters Patent of the King of Spain for its discovery and conquest, together with a large contribution in money towards the outfit of the expedition. He busied himself also in amassing stores and appliances for his anticipated journey. His personal adventures were recounted to Ralegh himself, whose officer, Jacob Whiddon, seems to have learnt very little about them.

WHIDDON'S VOYAGE OF 1594.

Whiddon had been sent by Sir Walter as a pioneer, with instructions to explore the river Orinoco and its tributaries, in the year 1594. Antonio de Berreo was at this time acting as Governor of Trinidad. He received Ralegh's officer with plausible appearances of amity, and took pains to learn all he could as to the purposes, near and remote, of the voyage. At this very time, as it seems—for the dates connected with the remarkable mission into Spain of Berreo's camp-master, Domingo de Vera, which will presently claim attention, are conflicting—his own preparations for a new attempt on Guiana were almost matured. Presently, Captain Whiddon found himself deprived of some of his crew by their imprisonment, on flimsy pretexts; and met with other obstacles in his endeavour to fulfil his instructions. He returned to England, towards the close of the year, with but a lame report. On the special point of the navigation of the Orinoco, so important to Ralegh's plans, he brought little trustworthy information. His master, however, was in no wise either discouraged or displeased. Whiddon, he says himself, was "a man most valiant and honest," although on this occasion he had not been very successful. Sir Walter continued his preparations; and, on the 9th of February, 1595, set sail from Plymouth for Trinidad.

The squadron was composed of five ships, with as suitable provision of small craft for river navigation as

could be devised on the very imperfect information derived partly from the pioneers of 1594, and partly from another officer of Ralegh's, a Captain Parker, who had previously acquired some slight knowledge of the country neighbouring the Orinoco. One of the ships belonged to Sir Walter's old friend and kinsman the Lord High Admiral. Sir Robert Cecil was also a contributor to the outfit of the expedition. The officers, gentlemen adventurers, and soldiers, numbered just one hundred in addition to the crews.[1]

RALEGH'S VOYAGE OF 1595.

Sir Walter made Trinidad before the end of March. In his voyage out he had increased his previous stores (as the Queen's commission very liberally gave him power to do) both of provisions and of arms; and news of this part of his progress came to Lady Ralegh early in May, by a letter from Captain Martin White of Plymouth: "My Lord" [*i.e.* Ralegh], he says, "took (at the Canaries) a Spaniard laden with fire-arms. . . . Also, he took a Fleming laden with wines, and took out of her twenty butts of wine."[2] The "Spaniard" was compounded for, and Sir Walter proceeded on his voyage. On reaching Trinidad, he took immediate steps for a careful survey of the coast, and for collecting, both from Spaniards and Indians, all the attainable information about neighbouring seas and rivers. Nor did he lose much time before he inflicted punishment on Berreo for his treachery to Captain Whiddon. Berreo,

[1] I infer this from words of Ralegh's which are, perhaps, somewhat ambiguous. In his *Discoverie of Guiana*, he speaks of his followers as "a handful of men, being in all about a hundred gentlemen, soldiers, rowers, boat-keepers, boys, and of all sorts,"—an enumeration which almost appears to exclude the mariners, who could hardly be left to come under the "all sorts" it included?

[2] Martin White to Lady Ralegh, Plymouth, 10th May, 1595; *Domestic Correspondence*, Elizabeth. (Rolls House.)

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he found, had given orders throughout Trinidad that no Indians should go on board any of Ralegh's ships under pains of being hanged and quartered, but neither his threat nor the actual execution of it on two unfortunate men had at all the effect he desired. The Indians came to Ralegh in considerable number, and he speedily won their confidence. "Every night," he says, "there came some with most lamentable complaints of the Spaniards' cruelty." Scarcely more success attended the Governor's effort to strengthen his Spanish force. Ralegh attacked and took the town of Saint Joseph. There he found five Indian caciques, bound to one chain. These unhappy creatures had been subjected to tortures so ingeniously cruel that they seem rather the practices of a familiar of the "Holy Inquisition" than those of a valiant soldier, as Sir Walter tells us that Berreo really was. Their new captor of course delivered the caciques from their horrible prison. But he did more than deliver them. The kindness with which they were treated spread the name and fame of Ralegh far and wide amongst the aborigines, and had enduring results. Berreo himself fell into Ralegh's hands. He, too, was treated with much greater mildness than he had merited.[1] Such a course accorded no less with the policy than with the disposition of the victor. Berreo and he had many colloquies about Guiana, El Dorado, and the fruitless expeditions of the Spaniards for its conquest, before, as it would seem, the captive governor discovered that his interlocutor was to be a rival leader in that adventure.

Discoverie of Guiana (Schomburgk's edition), p. 6.

[1] "This Berreo is a gentleman, well descended . . . of great assuredness and of a great heart. I used him according to his estate and worth in all things I could, according to the small mean I had."—*Discoverie of Guiana* (Schomburgk's edition), p. 9.

The substance of Berreo's account thus delivered of his own expedition has been narrated. It must be read with the due grains of allowance belonging to its source and circumstances. It is not probable that Don Antonio was quite equally communicative about the preparations he was now busied with for a new outset on the old quest, although he spoke of them also. His cue would naturally be (whatever his then ideas as to the motives of Sir Walter's inquiries) to magnify the difficulties of the enterprise, and to create, if he could, the impression that he looked on them as almost insuperable. But, in truth, at the very time of his conversations with Ralegh he was expecting from day to day news of the progress of the agent he had sent to Spain expressly to organize a new Guianian expedition. Of that mission Ralegh was well aware.

DE VERA'S MISSION INTO SPAIN.

By one of those curious coincidences which seem to be scarcely less frequent in the history of maritime enterprise than in that of scientific invention, the very month which saw Ralegh set out for the discovery of Guiana from Plymouth saw Berreo's lieutenant, Domingo de Vera, set out on the same errand from San Lucar. Ralegh arrived in Trinidad on the 22nd of March. De Vera had a somewhat longer passage, and arrived on the 16th of April, if the usual Spanish accounts and dates are to be relied on.[1] Ralegh's narrative does not enable us to fix with precision where he himself was on that day; but it may be inferred from a comparison of passages that he had already embarked on his long and difficult boat voyage presently to be described. The extent of his previous knowledge of De Vera's proceedings in Spain is also doubtful. That he knew a good deal about them

1 And it is to be noted that even the Spanish accounts are discordant amongst themselves in their chronology.

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is the more probable from the fact that the very curious *Abstract of certain Spaniards' letters concerning Guiana and Orenoque* which he afterwards appended to his own Guiana narrative, is based on documents which were captured from a Spanish vessel at sea by Capt. George Popham in 1594.

IMPROVED TRADITIONS OF 'THE GOLDEN.'

The traditional marvels of El Dorado had suffered no eclipse in their presentment to his countrymen by De Vera. He described to them in glowing language the wonderful experiences of his master, De Berreo; and his statements about the populousness of the Indian nations in the region where the gold was most plentiful show that he was under little concern lest terror should conquer greed. The Spaniards had ceased to count their Indian enemies. A certain chief had given to De Berreo much gold. "The interpreter asking him, from whence that gold was, he answered: 'From a province not passing a day's journey off, where there are so many Indians as would shadow the sun, and so much gold as all yonder plain will not contain it.'" And then came the old story of the anointing with gold-dust. "They take off the said gold in dust," said De Vera, "and anoint themselves all over therewith to make the braver show; and to the end the gold may cover them, they anoint their bodies with stamped herbs of a glutinous substance." Another chief brought them great store of provisions, including an enormous number of hens. "The interpreter asked whence he had those hens; he said they were brought from a mountain not passing a quarter of a league thence where were many Indians; yea, so many as grass on the ground, and that those men had the points of their shoulders higher than the crowns of their heads.... They had many eagles of gold hanging on their breasts, and pearls in their ears; and, when they danced, were all

covered with gold." Ralegh was very careful to mark the boundaries between seeing and hearing, when he repeated to his countrymen these wonderful stories of

> "The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their shoulders."

He gave them for what they were: stories told by Indians; first to Spaniards and afterwards to Englishmen. If, for himself, he thought it probable that they were not mere inventions, but misconceptions of something that was true, he was more modest, but certainly not less wise, than the "historians" who display their own mental dimensions, not those of Ralegh, when they charge him with uttering "the grossest and most palpable lies that were ever attempted to be imposed on the credulity of mankind."

Hume, *Hist. of England*; under 1596.

In Spain, De Vera's mission and marvels created a wide-spread excitement. From the king he got seventy thousand ducats; from the city of Seville, five ships and five thousand ducats. A host of volunteers enlisted for the new expedition. It included veteran soldiers and young nobles, as well as raw recruits and plebeians. Twelve monks, ten secular priests, and a canon of Seville formed a spiritual armada against heathenism, to co-operate with the soldiery. Not less than two thousand persons eventually sailed with De Vera. But this fervour of enterprise was not wholly due to the effective revival of the old stories of El Dorado, even when combined with a recital, more or less truthful, of the travels of De Berreo.

Among the strangest of the statements made to Ralegh by the captive governor of Trinidad was a documentary one. De Berreo showed him an official copy from the records of the Spanish town of San Juan de Puerto Rico of what purported to be the solemn deposition, taken

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immediately before death, of a certain Juan Martinez, who had served under Diego de Ordaz as ammunitioner, in the first attempt to ascend the Orinoco. Martinez here asserted (as at the very article of death) that he had been cast adrift on that river by his comrades for so neglecting his duty as to cause the destruction of their whole store of powder, and was afterwards found by Indians, who preserved his life, and carried him, eventually, into the great city of Manoa, the capital of El Dorado, and the chief seat of its treasures. He lived, he says, in this golden city seven months; but, before being brought into it, he was blindfolded by his conductors; and during his whole stay there he was not permitted to see anything of the surrounding country. The city itself he describes as so vast, that although he entered the gates at noon, it took him the remainder of that day until sunset, and the whole of the next day from dawn to night, before he reached the palace of 'Inga,' the Emperor; of the wonders of which, or of the particulars of his subsequent journey from Manoa to the Orinoco, nothing need here be said. Ralegh has not told us his own inward reflections on this piece of evidence, nor did he know, when he listened to it, how it had worked on the imaginations of the crowds of Spaniards who had heard it read in the plazas of Seville. But this testimony it was which supplied all that was lacking to create a fever of greed which speedily filled up both the muster-rolls and the subscription lists of Domingo de Vera and his fellows. By and by they, too, were on the way to "Manoa the Golden."

MARTINEZ' ALLEGED VISIT TO MANOA.

In the meantime, the preparations of Sir Walter and his company for their long boat-voyage had been as far completed as their deficient means and appliances

RALEGH'S START FROM LOS GALLOS.

permitted. The leader had learnt already that the difficulties of the navigation were even greater than he had looked for, though he had prepared himself to wrestle with many perils. He had also learnt that the distances to be traversed were probably more than the double of what had been previously told him. But his energies were braced, not relaxed, for the attempt.

He left his ships at anchor near Los Gallos, in the Gulf of Paria, and proceeded to thread his course amidst the tortuous and almost innumerable channels of the Bay of Guanipa. He embarked his whole exploring force in the bottom of an old gallego—which, he says, "I caused to be fashioned like a galley,"—in one barge, two wherries, and a ship's boat of the *Lion's Whelp* (the ship contributed to the expedition by the Lord Admiral Howard). In these small craft he carried a hundred persons and their victual for a month.

Discoverie of Guiana, pp. 44, 45.

Berreo, it may here be mentioned, received Sir Walter's assurance that he was firm in his resolution to make the attempt he had long meditated, with "a great melancholy and sadness, and used all the arguments he could to dissuade me, and also assured the gentlemen of my company that it would be labour lost; and that they should suffer many miseries if they proceeded." Failing on that tack, he tried another; assuring Ralegh now, at the eleventh hour, that his own officers must be already on their return with a strong force at their back. Both arguments were alike unavailing. But this last one has its interest for us, as it seems to show, conclusively, that De Vera's expedition really took place in the year assigned to it by the usual Spanish authorities,[1] and almost contemporaneously with

Ibid. p. 43.

[1] P. Simon, *Noticia historial de las Conquistas de Tierra firme*, p. 596. Very curious particulars of Vera's mission will be found on pp. 597, 598.

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Discoverie, &c., as above.
PROGRESS OF THE EXPEDITION.

the English expedition; not, as Sir Robert Schomburgk was led by the conflict of dates to think, in the year 1596.[1]

At the outset of this boat-voyage the explorers had as much sea to cross over in their wherries "as between Dover and Calais, and in a great billow; the wind and current being both very strong." They had then, with one Indian pilot, young and of very scanty knowledge, to face a river navigation of such extreme intricacy, that all possibility of success seems to have hinged on an "accident," quite unlooked for, but turned instantly to profit. "If," says Ralegh, "God had not sent us help, we might have wandered a whole year in that labyrinth of rivers, ere we had found any way, either out or in, especially after we were past the ebbing and flowing, which was in four days; for I know all the earth doth not yield the like confluence of streams and branches, the one crossing the other so many times, and all so fair and large and so like one to another, as no man can tell which to take: and if we went by the sun or compass, hoping thereby to go directly one way or other, yet that way also we were carried in a circle amongst multitudes of islands, and every island so bordered with high trees as no man could see any further than the breadth of the river or length of the branch." Then came in a moment their providential accident. As they were rowing up a river never before navigated by Christians (to which Ralegh, on that account, gave the name of *River of the Red Cross*), they saw at a distance a small canoe with three Indians in it, crossing the river. Ralegh in his own eight-oared

1 Schomburgk, Notes to *Discoverie of Guiana*, pp. 17, 18. Sir Robert has admirably illustrated Ralegh's Narrative; but on this point, confessedly a difficult one, the balance of evidence lies the other way.

barge gave chase. In its issues the encounter gave them another and a better pilot than their faithful but ignorant 'Ferdinando.' Their captive was a "natural of those rivers;" they treated him well; and he stood them in good stead. "But for this," says Sir Walter in his narrative of the voyage, "I think we had never found the way either to Guiana or back to our ships."

Discoverie of Guiana (Schomburgk's edition), p. 48.

The voyagers suffered almost equally from petty but aggregated miseries, and from great perils. The sudden shoalings of the water were of continual recurrence, and were varied, every now and again, with currents and rapids of amazing violence. The density of the vegetation along the river banks and on the frequent islands were such—during a considerable portion of the journey—as to deprive them alike of air in the boats, and of resting-places on the land. Twice their galley ran aground, and was got off with great difficulty. At length, their new pilot prevailed on Ralegh, somewhat against his own inclination, to leave his galley in the river, and with the smaller boats to enter a narrow feeder of the broad stream they had been long navigating, by assuring him that it would bring them to a large Indian town. For a long time, they found no improvement, and were beginning to discuss whether or not it might be expedient to hang the pilot for treachery, when suddenly the scenery was changed as if by the wand of Prospero. On both sides of them they saw a lovely champaign country; the plains twenty miles in length; the grass soft, short, and green; with clumps and groves of tall timber trees rising from the turf, "as if they had been by all the art and labour in the world so made of purpose." And still, as they rowed, the deer came down feeding to the water's edge, "as if they had been used to a keeper's call."

INLAND SCENERY OF GUIANA.

Ibid. pp. 53, 54.

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But the rivers flowed on and on; and the voyagers seemed no nearer to El Dorado. The everlasting rowing against a violent current had come to be a grave business. Officers and gentlemen took their full share of the toil with the sailors, but it began to tell on them all, and to wear down the strength if not the spirit of the stanchest. With a few, "of the baser sort," the spirit went even somewhat sooner than the strength. They were now at least four hundred miles from their ships, left in the Gulf of Paria. Their length of absence from them had already doubled the stipulated time. Discouragement crept in. "The current came against us every day stronger than other. But we evermore commanded our pilots to promise an end the next day, and used it so long, that we were driven to assure them from 'four reaches' of the river to three, and so to two, and so 'to the next reach;' but so long we laboured that many days were spent; and so [we were] driven to draw ourselves to harder allowance,—our bread, even, at the last; and no drink at all; and our men and ourselves so wearied and scorched, and doubtful withal whether we should ever perform it or no; the heat increasing." But every now and then they were partially relieved by plenty of edible birds and by great store of fruit. The variety of trees and flowers was such, we are told, "as were sufficient to make ten volumes of herbals." And ere long they came upon some canoes laden with excellent bread, made by a tribe of Indians called by Ralegh 'Arwacas.' Here they got also a new pilot, of whom they had very great need; for many of their old difficulties recurred, and to those was added a sudden and furious rising of the great river they were embarked on, which admonished them very seriously of greater troubles to come.

This furious flooding of the Guianian rivers (characteristic alike, it seems, of the Orinoco and of its neighbours and tributaries) has been witnessed in modern days by Humboldt and by Sir Robert Schomburgk, who (with better appliances against danger) seem to have been as much startled at the sight as Ralegh was. "Whosoever," he says, "had seen or proved the fury of that river after it began to arise, and had been a month and odd days, as we were, from hearing ought of our ships, would perchance have turned back somewhat sooner than we did, if all the mountains had been gold or rich stones. All the branches and small rivers which fall into Orinoco were raised with such speed as, if we waded them, over the shoes, in the morning outward, we were covered to the shoulders homeward the very same day." Under such circumstances, he adds, to stay to dig out gold "with our nails, had been *opus laboris*, but not *ingenii*. Such a quantity as would have served our turns we could not have had; but a discovery of the mines, to our infinite disadvantage, we had made; and that could have been the best profit of farther search or stay; for those mines are not easily broken or opened in haste, and I could have returned a good quantity of gold ready cast, *if I had not shot at another mark than present profit*."

Discoverie of Guiana (Schomburgk's edition), p. 60.

We have here the opening of a wide and fertile theme. Ralegh's precursors, without exception, sought Guiana for gold, and for nothing but gold. Gold was a commodity for which he, too, had a very real respect. But he was a statesman, not a gold-digger. To found a new colony for England,—a new outlet for the nascent mercantile enterprise of Englishmen,—was his ambition. Thus far, and in regard merely to the search for gold, his attempt had failed almost as completely as had the

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many previous attempts of the Spaniards. But, unlike theirs, it had already laid the basis of friendly intercourse and traffic between the explorers, and the natives of many large and productive territories. It had won for its leader's name such a prestige with several tribes of Indians as made that name in the mouths of subsequent explorers a passport to their confidence. It had made additions to geographical knowledge which cannot here be detailed, but of which it may truly be said that their extent is remarkable when measured by the difficulties overcome. Above all, what Ralegh had seen in his eventful journey confirmed and deepened his previous belief—acquired by study of what had been seen by other men—of the diversified natural wealth of Guiana, and of the practicability (under the due conditions) of establishing a valuable English settlement there. In that belief he lived and died.

WHAT DID RALEGH ACHIEVE?

We have seen that Ralegh's own estimate of the distance his boats had travelled, before turning back, exceeded four hundred miles. This, of course, included certain circuitous windings caused by their exploring, occasionally, the intersecting streams. Sir Robert Schomburgk has delineated Ralegh's course in the excellent map (based partly on his personal researches, partly on the Atlas of Venezuela compiled by Codazzi) which he has prefixed to his reprint of the *Discoverie of Guiana*. But the reader who cannot refer to that reprint may, by opening any map of Venezuela and the neighbouring region, follow Sir Walter's journey with approximative accuracy, if he will trace the course of the Caño Manamo (called in Ralegh's narrative the *River of the Red Cross*) and its affluents from the Bay of Guanipa to the mouth of the river Caroni, not far

from the large island of Tortola (called by Ralegh *Iwana*), the turning point of the expedition.[1] Thence, after exploring the Caño Piacoa, the return journey is to be traced along that branch of the Orinoco which is now called Brazo Macareo, and along the Caño Macareo (*Capuri* of Ralegh) to its mouth; and from thence to the south-western point of Trinidad, near to Curiapan or Punto Gallo, where, eventually, the ships were rejoined.

The junction with the Orinoco of this Caroni river, near the mouth of which Ralegh gave up, until another day, the further prosecution of his purpose, is placed by Humboldt in 8° 8′ of North latitude, but by Codazzi and Schomburgk in 8° 15′. It gives a vivid notion of the intricacy of the river navigation in this region to see on Schomburgk's map that the Caroni, itself a tributary of the Orinoco, has nearly sixty tributaries of its own. The entire course of the Orinoco is computed to be about eleven hundred and twenty geographical miles. It receives four hundred and thirty-six rivers, and more than two thousand smaller streams. The surface drained by the Orinoco and its tributaries, together, amounts to two hundred and seventy thousand square miles. The superficial area of its basin, according to Schomburgk, "covers an extent half as large again as the kingdom of Spain." The labyrinths of islands which are formed by this network of rivers and estuaries are something marvellous in hydrography, and the student of a mere map may enter into the idea that in some remote age a great convulsion of nature must have turned vast inland basins into

1 "It appears," says Sir R. Schomburgk, "that Ralegh anchored to the east of the spot where San Rafael de Barrancas is now situated. The bed of the river is here divided by several islands. . . . The Caño Manamo, or as it is now usually called, Brazo Macareo, flows off to the northward at a distance of about five miles east from Barrancas: this was the branch up which Ralegh came."

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RIVALRY OF THE SEA AND THE RIVERS.

Oceanic gulfs. Schomburgk, in our own day, followed much in Ralegh's track, and received from the extraordinary phenomena of this region very similar impressions. He describes the impetuosity with which the waters issue from the mouths of these innumerable outlets as causing a conflict of currents and counter-currents, and forcing back the waters of the ocean. When to these conflicting currents are added conflicting winds and shoaling water, the combination may well have dwelt for ever in the memories of those who once met with it. The sea, he says, approaches "on such occasions in undulating masses, which suddenly rise to large ridges crested with foam, and form billows that break with the greatest impetuosity against any object they meet in their course. The roaring of the waves resembles thunder; and when an unfortunate vessel is exposed to their fury, the spray is dashed high up the rigging to the masthead." Scott had read the narratives of Ralegh and of the other early explorers with his usual keen attention, and had not sought his "El Dorados in the sky," when, to complete his picture of the fierce conflict of Roundhead with Cavalier on Marston Moor, he says,—

Notes to *Discoverie*, &c., as above.

"The battle's rage
Was like the strife which currents wage
Where Orinoco, in his pride,
Rolls to the main no tribute tide,
But 'gainst broad Ocean urges far
A rival sea of roaring war;
While in ten thousand eddies driven,
The billows fling their foam to heaven,
And the pale pilot seeks in vain,
Where rolls the river; where, the main."

Ralegh's account of his intercourse with the Indians in the neighbourhood of the Caroni (called by him Caroli) is full of varied interest. They flocked to him in

great numbers, having had previous knowledge that the treatment of the natives by Englishmen under Ralegh was of a different sort to that which had been repeatedly met with from Spaniards. They came, he says, "to wonder at our nation, and to bring us down victual, which they did in great plenty." The pine apple of Guiana was especially to Sir Walter's taste, and he gives it the title of "princess of fruits." To a venerable old chief, whom he calls Topiawari, "king of Aromaia" (uncle to a certain Morequito, slain by Berreo), he sang the praises of Queen Elizabeth, on the banks of Orinoco, as eloquently as he had, six years before, sung them to Spenser on the banks of Mulla; and now with no admixture of complaints at her cruelty. "I dilated at large," he says, "Her Majesty's greatness, her justice, her charity to all oppressed nations, with as many of the rest of her beauties and virtues as either I could express or they conceive;"—all which was attentively heard and marvellously admired. And then followed large discourse about the productions, the geography, the climate, and the inhabitants of Guiana. "I, too, marvelled," says Ralegh, "to find a man of that gravity and judgment that had no help of learning nor breed." The old chieftain was also somewhat vivid and poetical in speech. "I am very old," he told his interlocutor, on taking leave, "and Death calls daily for me." Nevertheless, he went away, nourishing the hope of seeing Ralegh's face once again.

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND THE INDIANS.

Notwithstanding their present conviction of the urgent reasons for speedy return to their ships, they made the attempt to ascend the Caroli, "some forty miles, to the nations of the Campagolos," but found themselves utterly unable to row against the force of the current, though with eight oars, "one stone's cast in an hour; and yet the river is as broad as the Thames at Woolwich, and

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we tried both sides, and the middle, and every part of the river." They encamped for a while. Sir Walter sent off exploring parties by land, and had much intercourse with new tribes of natives; all bitterly complaining of the atrocities of the Spaniards. To one party he gave the special task of searching for minerals. He himself set off "to view the strange overfalls of the river of Caroli, which roared so far off." And he describes what he saw with his usual force: "When we ran to the tops of the first hills of the plains adjoining to the river, we beheld that wonderful breach of waters which ran down Caroli; and might from that mountain see the river how it ran in three parts above twenty miles off; and there appeared some ten or twelve overfalls in sight, every one as high over the other as a church tower; which fell with that fury, that the rebound of waters made it seem as if it had been all covered over with a great shower of rain; and in some places we took it, at the first, for a smoke that had risen over some great town." "For mine own part," he adds, "I was well persuaded from thence to have returned, being a very ill footman; but the rest were all so desirous to go near the said strange thunder of waters, as [that] they drew me on by little and little, till we came into the next valley, where we might better discern the same. I never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects: hills so raised, here and there, over the valleys; the river winding into divers branches; the plains adjoining, all fair green grass, without bush or stubble; the ground of hard sand, easy to march on, either for horse or foot; the deer crossing on every path; the birds, towards evening, singing on every tree with a thousand several tunes; cranes and herons, of white, crimson, and carnation, perching on the river's side; the air fresh, with a gentle easterly wind; *and every stone*

THE FALLS OF CAROLI.

that we stooped to take up promising either gold or silver by his complexion."

The search of the exploring parties for gold had not been altogether unsuccessful. But they were entirely without the tools and appliances essential to any conspicuous success, even had they had time to pursue it without risking too wantonly a safe return. Of the samples of ore which they brought back with them their leader says: "We had no means but with our daggers and our fingers to tear them out here and there; . . . and the veins lie a fathom or two deep in the rocks." Elsewhere, he adds: "Near unto one of the rivers I found of the said white spar [*i. e.* white quartz], or flint, a very great ledge or bank, which I endeavoured to break by all the means I could, because there appeared on the outside some small grains of gold; but finding no means to work the same upon the upper part, seeking the sides and circuit of the said rock, I found a cleft in the same, from whence with daggers and the head of an axe we got out some small quantity thereof. Of which kind of white stone, wherein gold is engendered, we saw divers hills and rocks in every part of Guiana wherein we travelled. Of this there hath been made many trials. In London, it was first assayed by Master Westwood, a refiner, dwelling in Wood Street, and it held after the rate of a hundred and twenty or a hundred and thirty pounds a ton. Another sort was afterwards tried by Master Bulmer and Master Dimoke, assay masters, and it held after the rate of two hundred and thirty pounds a ton. There was some of it again tried by Master Palmer, Comptroller of the Mint, and Master Dimoke, in Goldsmiths' Hall, and it held after two hundred and sixty-nine pounds a ton." And he gives other examples still.

Discoverie of Guiana; as above.

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The spirit of the age; the special circumstances of the outfit of this particular expedition; the obviousness, to such a mind as Ralegh's, of the impulse which gold-mining might be made to give to enterprise of a higher and better sort; all combined to enforce on the explorer of Guiana in 1595 a prominent treatment of the gold question. Nearly every page of his Narrative affords proof of some sort, that he was himself already looking beyond, and looking higher. But it was necessary that his own veracity on this matter should be put out of all controversy. He vindicated his statements in his lifetime very amply. They have been independently vindicated by many subsequent explorers of Guiana long after his death; and amongst these is found the illustrious name of Von Humboldt. A brief recurrence to this point may not be out of place hereafter.

THE VOYAGE HOME-WARD;

The return voyage of Ralegh and his comrades was speedy. In some parts of it they went down stream, though against the wind, at the rate of nearly a hundred miles in a day. Before he left 'Port of Morequito,' now known as San Miguel, he sent again for the old chieftain, Topiawari, and had with him a long and most interesting conference. Topiawari brought a numerous retinue, so laden with provisions as to turn the poor encampment into no mean resemblance of a well-accustomed English market. The hungry mariners and soldiers clustered thick and threefold among the extemporized booths and standings, "every one laying hand on what he liked."

AND THE PRELIMINARY CONFERENCES.

The English chief was stern in his requirement, from outset to return of the long journey, that all such scenes should resemble an English market in another particular. Everything was paid for. This strict justice; the as strict protection of the native women, not from outrage

merely, but from the slightest discourtesy; together with the general countenance which was shown to them, completed, in the minds of the Indians, the contrast between Englishmen and Spaniards, so far as they had had experience of either; dwelt in their memories, and was handed down by tradition to their descendants. Some tribes saw or heard of Ralegh in 1595, who knew nothing of his subsequent visit in 1617. Inquiries like to those made to Robert Harcourt in his voyage of 1608, were made of subsequent voyagers for many generations. Humboldt heard oral traditions about Ralegh's promised return almost two hundred years after Ralegh had been laid in his grave.

Harcourt, *Voyage to Guiana;* in Harl. Misc., vol. vi.

RALEGH AND TOPIAWARI.

In discussing with Sir Walter the measures he ought to take to ensure the success of an exploration of Guiana in a future year, old Topiawari told him that he ought by no means to enter into the interior, without having made a firm alliance with the Indian tribes at enmity with the "Guianians of Inga;" and that he must employ a large train of such natives to carry his provisions and stores. Three hundred Spaniards, he told Ralegh—alluding plainly to the calamitous expedition of Antonio de Berreo in 1582—had perished through the ill-will of borderers with whom they had had no actual conflict: for, "meeting their enemies as they passed the frontier, they were environed on all sides; the borderers setting the long dry grass [of the savannahs] on fire, so smothered them as they had no breath to fight, nor could discern their enemies for the great smoke." Much discourse followed about the various tribes neighbouring on "Inga," and the best routes for entering the country. Topiawari then asked for some English soldiers to be left with him, to help him against the Spaniards; and there were many volunteers. But Ralegh would not

Discoverie of Guiana, p. 92.

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THE ENGLISHMEN LEFT IN GUIANA.

allow a division of his too small force. He agreed to leave two persons only. These were Francis Sparrey, servant to one of his captains, and a boy named Hugh Goodwin, who had, it seems, a desire to learn the language of the Indians. Sparrey seems to have been of a commercial turn of mind. In his own account of his adventures, he records his purchase from the Indians at Camalako, south of the Orinoco, of "eight young women, the eldest whereof was but eighteen years of age, for one red-hafted knife, which in England had cost me a halfpenny." This enterprising man, it may be added, fell at last into the hands of the Spaniards, and was sent a prisoner into Spain; from which country, after suffering many hardships, he returned to England in 1602. He had never the opportunity of obeying his chief's parting instruction, "to go on if possible to the great city of Manoa." Goodwin remained amongst the Indians, and had his desire. Sir Walter found him at Caliana, "having almost forgotten his English," in November 1617, and received from him "great store of very good Cassavi bread."[1] Topiawari, of his own wish, "gave me," writes Sir Walter, "his only son, to take with me into England; and hoped that though he himself had but a short time to live, yet that by our means his son should be established after his death." The worthy old Indian was less near to death than he thought; and probably not then of the age which Ralegh was led to ascribe to him; otherwise, he would have much exceeded in longevity another contemporary and acquaintance of Sir Walter, famous on that score—the old Countess of Desmond.

[1] *Journal*, in Cotton MS. Titus, b. viii. I do not know on what document Oldys based his assertion that "the English boy Ralegh left was devoured by a tiger." He had seen the MS. *Journal* here quoted, but seems to have overlooked the reference to Goodwin's visit to his master.

Topiawari seems to have survived the conferences which have been described by some years; and to have looked earnestly and long for Sir Walter's return. He carried out, very faithfully, the views he had dwelt on in his last conversations, and busied himself in bringing about a friendly and powerful league of border tribes, "against Sir Walter his coming," according to the statement of an anonymous traveller which has been appended to the Guiana voyage of Robert Harcourt in 1608.[1]

The homeward voyage, as it may well be termed, from the frequent longing regards of the travellers towards their distant ships, though speedy in comparison with the voyage outward, had its curious episodes and its startling perils. Here it must be narrated very briefly. Two adventures are specially notable. While resting awhile on the banks of a river, which he calls Winecapora, Sir Walter led a party to a town bearing the same name, whereof, he says, "the chief was one Timitwara, . . . at whose house, being upon one of their feast days, we found them all as drunk as beggars, and the pots walking from one to another without rest. We that were weary and hot with marching were glad of the plenty; though a small quantity satisfied us, their drink being very strong and heady. . . . After we had fed, we drew ourselves back to our boats upon the river; and there came to us all the lords of the country, with all such kinds of victual as the place yielded, and with their delicate wine of pinas, and with abundance of hens and other provisions, and of those stones which we call spleen-stones. We understood by these chieftains of Wine-

CAROUSINGS OF THE ABORIGINES.

[1] Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, book vi. c. 17. The statement in the text as to Topiawari's survival is hypothetical only. The assertions in the Appendix to Harcourt's Voyage of 1608 and in Keymis' Report to Ralegh on the voyage of 1596 seem to conflict.

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capora, that their lord, Carapana, was departed from Emeria, which was now in sight, and that he was fled to Cairamo, adjoining to the mountains of Guiana, . . . being persuaded by ten Spaniards which lay at his house that we would destroy him and his country." And he adds, mistrusting the story as it was told him, with not a little of deprecatory detail: "We thought it bootless to row so far down the stream, or to seek any further for this old fox."

Ralegh, *Discoverie of Guiana*, p. 103.

INCIDENTS OF A GUIANIAN WINTER.

Soon after this the voyagers had full proof of the rapid advance of winter. Their hearts "were cold to behold the great rage and increase of Orinoco." But the worst was to come, as they neared the sea. They were then "in a most desperate estate. . . . For the same night in which we anchored in the mouth of the river of Capuri, where it falleth into the sea, there arose a mighty storm, and the river's mouth was at least a league broad, so as we ran before night close under the land with our small boats, and brought the galley as near as we could; but she had as much ado to live as could be, and there wanted little of her sinking and all those in her. . . . The longer we tarried the worse it was, and therefore I took Captain Gifford, Captain Caulfield, and my cousin Grenville into my barge, and, after it cleared up, we put ourselves to God's keeping, and thrust out into the sea; leaving the galley at anchor, who durst not adventure but by daylight." "And so," continues Sir Walter, "being all very sober and melancholy, one faintly cheering another to show courage, it pleased God that the next day, about nine of the clock, we descried the island of Trinedado, and, steering for the nearest part of it, we kept the shore till we came to Curiapan, where we found our ships at anchor; than which there was never to us a more joyful sight."

Ibid. p. 107.

It had been part of Ralegh's plan to sail from Trinidad to the coast of Virginia, "for the relief," to quote his own words, "of those English I had planted there;" but "extremity of weather forced me from the coast." In the course of his homeward voyage, he called at Cumana, at St. Mary's, and at Rio de la Hacha, and at all those Spanish settlements he levied contributions for the victualling of his fleet. The terms of his commission from the Queen expressly empowered him "to do Us service in offending the King of Spain and his subjects in his dominions to your uttermost power;" all who sailed under him, or should afterwards consort with his fleet, are bound to give due obedience in whatever "you shall think meet to direct or undertake for the prejudice of the said King of Spain, or any of our enemies;" and whatever should be done under that commission, "as well by sea as by land, for the furtherance of this Our service and enfeebling of Our enemies the subjects and adherents of the King of Spain, you and all such as serve under you in this voyage shall be clearly acquitted and discharged." The terms of this commission have special interest in connection with subsequent events. The date of Ralegh's return to England is not recorded, but it appears to have been in August 1595. Within five months he had fitted out and despatched to Guiana a second expedition under Keymis, one of the captains who had served in the first, and whose name is so memorably connected with the fatal expedition of 1617.

CONTINUED REPRISALS AGAINST SPAIN.

THE SECOND VOYAGE TO GUIANA.

The exploring party under Captain Keymis (or Kemys—he seems to have belonged to the well-known Somersetshire family of that name) was far from having the strength or the appliances which in Ralegh's eyes were essential to an adequate expedition for Guiana, but it was all he could then achieve. The enterprise

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against Cadiz was in active preparation; and Ralegh's discoveries in the preceding year failed to make in England an impression at all corresponding to that which they had made on Spanish statesmen. A man who ran for so many prizes, and who crossed the paths of so many other men, was very sure to have an abundance of enemies. Some of his enemies were astute enough to see that their best chance of working him injury was to work under the guise of friendship. Others defeated their own purpose by the ludicrous exaggeration of their slanders.

DISCOVERERS AND SLANDERERS.

The voyage of 1595 was full of marvels, but none of them is quite so marvellous as is the fact that some of the ill-willers of its leader asserted, after his return, that whilst he had been pretending to explore Guiana, he had really been lurking in Cornwall. They did not deny that his ships had made the voyage thither, but they denied his own presence with his squadron; and they alleged, further, that the better sort of ores which had been brought home and assayed in London were, originally, "had from Barbary, and were carried into Guiana," and that only the almost worthless "marcasite" was the native product of that region. These and other slanders Sir Walter answered by publishing his *Discoverie of Guiana*. It passed through two editions, which bear the same date,[1] within the year.

[1] Comparison of copies made by Mr. Bolton Corney.

On the assertion as to the fraudulent ores, he condescends to make this pithy comment:—"The singularity of that device I do not well comprehend. For mine own part I am not so much in love with these long voyages as to devise thereby to cozen myself, . . . except the same had more comfort than the fetching of 'marcasite' from Guiana, or the buying of gold ore in Barbary. But I hope the better sort will judge me by

themselves, and that the way of deceit is not the way of honour or good opinion. I have herein consumed much time and many crowns; and I had no other respect or desire than to serve Her Majesty and my Country thereby. If the Spanish nation had been of like belief to these detractors, we should little have feared or doubted their attempts, wherewith we now are daily threatened."

KEYMIS' RETURN.

Keymis was absent from England about five months. Brief as the interval had been, he found that the Spaniards had established themselves in force, under the direction of Antonio de Berreo, near the mouth of the Caroni, expressly to defend the passage towards certain mines; "from whence," he says in the Report addressed to Ralegh on his return, "your ore and white stones were taken the last year. We all—not without grief to see ourselves thus defeated and our hungry hopes made void—were witnesses of this their remove." He found himself able to do very little in the execution of that part of his instructions which related to mining explorations; but he traversed a considerable tract of country which had not been explored in the previous voyage, and his Report made extensive and valuable additions to previous knowledge.

FATE OF DE VERA'S EXPEDITION.

The Spanish expedition under Domingo de Vera, which had created such excitement at Seville and elsewhere, and had given birth to such great hopes, failed as disastrously as any of those earlier expeditions which were noticed at the beginning of this chapter. Of the two thousand persons who left Spain under his charge, a great majority perished. The Indian hatred of Spaniards told with fearful effect upon forces already weakened by hardship and famine. Very few of the adventurers saw Spain again. But fresh companies continued to prepare a renewal of the desperate enterprise. Some

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were about to embark from Cadiz at the very moment of the attack upon it in 1596.

In the remarkable paper, entitled *Of the Voyage for Guiana*, which Sir Walter drew up with the view of further illustrating and enforcing the arguments for a vigorous effort at the colonization of Guiana, set forth in his *Discoverie*, he adds to the old arguments of commerce expanded and Spain checked, a new argument of religion:—"By this means," he says, "infinite numbers of souls may be brought from their idolatry, bloody sacrifices, ignorance, and incivility, to the worshipping aright of the true God, and to civil conversation." This, he adds, will "stop the mouths of the Roman Catholics, who vaunt of their great adventures for the propagation of the Gospel; it will add great increase of honour to the memory of Her Majesty's name upon earth to all posterity; and, in the end, be rewarded with an excellent starlight splendency in the Heavens, which is reserved for them that turn many unto righteousness, as the Prophet speaketh." And he clinches this argument by drawing a terrible picture of the cruelties which the Spaniards had committed while claiming the credit of doing God service.

Failing by any argument to bring about a national effort, he determined to keep the project alive, and to nourish a friendly communication with the Indians by despatching repeatedly ships of his own, and even by seeking to interest foreigners (in alliance with England) in the scheme he had so much at heart. Thus, before the eventful year of 1596 was over, he despatched to Guiana one of the smaller ships which had fought at Cadiz. This ship sailed from Weymouth, in December, under the command of Captain Leonard Berry; but his voyage had no important result. It is, however, one among the many pointed contrasts which stand out in comparing

the history of the English attempts with that of the Spanish, that very few English lives were lost, until 1617. In the earlier voyages, almost every man came back safe and sound, who was not already suffering from organic disease when he sailed.

RENEWED ATTEMPTS TO COLONIZE.

In 1598, an attempt on a greater scale than theretofore was prepared, but it, too, fell through. A diplomatic agent wrote to the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst from Finland, in the autumn of that year: "The Duke will send twelve ships for Guiana;"[1] adding that he will join with Sir Walter Ralegh "in any good order," for effecting the objects of the expedition. From another letter, which is preserved amongst the *Domestic Correspondence* of that year, it appears that the leading of the enterprise was to be committed to Sir John Gilbert, who is said to be "preparing with all speed to make a voyage to Guiana. His whole fleet will be thirteen vessels, whereof the most part shall be pinnaces, as *it is said he intendeth to inhabit it with English people*."[2] What were the particular obstacles which defeated this attempt of 1598 I do not find recorded.

There is some reason to think that Sir Robert Cecil encouraged Ralegh's plans of enterprise in Guiana when they seemed likely to withdraw him, personally, from the great stage of action in England, and discouraged them, when they were likely to be carried out only by deputy. Alluding, at a long subsequent date, to Cecil's behaviour in relation to this matter, Sir Walter has himself said: "At sundry times he seemed willing to embrace my project, yet always upon conclusion had his

[1] James Hill to Lord Buckhurst, "From Sandhaven in Finland," 25th September, 1598. (Rolls House.)

[2] R. Bayly to Colonel William Stanley, November 1598. *Domestic Correspondence*, Elizabeth, vol. ccxxvii. 157. (Ibid.)

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arrière-boutique into which he withdrew himself."[1] These transactions, however, are still in no small measure shrouded in mystery. To the last, it was Ralegh's belief that a grand opportunity had been thrown away. And it is very instructive to place side by side with some words of his, in which he sums up his arguments for making Guiana the seat of a great English colony, a few other words which came from the pen of an observant explorer of Guiana, two hundred and fifty years later.

"Guiana," wrote Ralegh in 1595, "is a country that hath yet her maidenhead. Never sacked, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not been torn, nor the virtue of the soil spent by manurance. The graves have not been opened for gold; the mines not broken with sledges; nor their images pulled down out of their temples. It hath never been entered by any army of strength; never conquered or possessed by any Christian prince."[2]

"Few countries on the surface of the globe," wrote Sir Robert Schomburgk in 1848, "can be compared with Guiana for vigour and luxuriance of vegetation. A constant summer prevails, and the fertility of the soil, the humid climate and congenial temperature, ensure a succession of flowers and fruits. . . . The numerous productions of this fertile province which are at present unheeded and unsought, do not profit mankind, and may be considered as buried riches."

Schomburgk, Notes to Ralegh's *Discovrie*, p. 113.

[1] Sir Walter Ralegh to Secretary Sir Ralph Winwood, July 1615. (Copy in Harleian MS. xxxix. 342, 343. British Museum.)

[2] *Discoverie of Guiana*, p. 115. Compare Ralegh to Cecil, in Dedicatory Epistle prefixed to the *Discoverie of Guiana* (Edition of 1848, pp. iii—x).

CHAPTER XI.

VICTOR AT CADIZ.

1596.

Original Proposal of an Enterprise against Cadiz by Sir John Hawkins in 1587.—Its Renewal by the Lord Admiral Howard in 1596.—Appointment of Essex to the chief Command.—His Letter to the Council.—An Admiral at the head of a Prize-gang.—Ralegh obtains the Consent of Essex to an Attack on the Spanish Fleet before assaulting the Town; and leads the English Ships into the Bay.—Incidents of the Sea-fight.—Results of the Victory.—Comparison of the English and Spanish Accounts.—Rewards of the Victors.—Renewed Rivalry at Court of Essex and Ralegh.

THE enterprise against Cadiz seems originally to have been projected by Sir John Hawkins, who addressed to Lord Burghley a plan of attack as early as in the December of 1587.[1] The great events of '88 postponed its consideration; but in the following year the scheme was again brought under the notice of the Council; although without immediate result. In 1596, it was effectively revived by the Lord Admiral Howard. In the issue, the Cadiz expedition was found to have done more towards the humiliation and permanent check of the Spanish power than any achievement of Englishmen during the whole of Elizabeth's reign—the defeat of the Armada of 1588 not excepted. And yet, like almost

[1] Letters and Enclosures of Sir John Hawkins; Deptford, December 1587, in *Domestic Correspondence*, Elizabeth, vol. ccxxiv. 14. (Rolls House.)

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every other enterprise of that reign, it was hampered, both in armament and in execution, by the Queen's personal indecision of character, and by her almost habitual caprice in the choice of commanders.

THE QUEEN'S CAPRICE IN CHOICE OF COMMANDERS.

It would seem, indeed, that at no period of Elizabeth's rule was the country free from grave peril, through selections to office and command for which it is hard to find other conceivable reason than womanly caprice. Her own natural shrewdness; her varied experience; the urgent remonstrances of her best advisers, were alike found insufficient to guard important trusts from dangers of this sort. In her legal appointments, she had already thrust aside Francis Bacon, in favour of Mr. Serjeant Fleming; and had made Sir Christopher Hatton Chancellor of England, in preference to Puckering and to Egerton. She had made Leicester generalissimo of her armies, over the heads of a crowd of veterans, and in the crisis of an invasion. Now, when she was about to strike a blow at the heart of Spain, she risked its success on the generalship of the Earl of Essex. By that choice, an expedition, for the lead of which the most consummate gallantry—never denied to Essex—was worthless without ripe experience in war, was put in great peril, save for the occurrence of some unlooked-for incident or other, such as we are wont, not very wisely, to call 'chance.' All merely human probability seemed dead against it. The veteran Lord Admiral, Howard of Effingham, was joined indeed in commission with Essex. But a divided command brought its own dangers; and, in this instance, they were not long in coming into broad light.

Nor was this all which came, by way of sore impediment, to a momentous enterprise. When large outlay

REPEATED CHANGES OF PLAN.

had been already incurred for the outfit of the fleet, and when the national honour was fully committed to the attack on Cadiz, a return of indecision on the Queen's part went near to overrule the settled plans of her Council. The Council Book shows that the letters, ordering extensive levies of men throughout the chief counties of England, issued at a meeting convened on Good Friday, 9th April, were revoked on the following day, the 10th of April. Nay, such was the precipitancy with which the Queen's change of mind was thrust upon the Council, that we find that on the very morning of that day, letters were sent by the Lords to Ralegh's deputies in Devon and Cornwall, for putting the levies in force, in accordance with the letters sent into other counties on the previous day; and the revocation of these instructions was sent by other messengers, before the day was over.

Regists. of the Privy Coun. Eliz. vol. xii. pp. 214 *seqq.* (Council Office.)

Essex, whose faults were usually at the opposite pole to those of Elizabeth, was so moved at the threatened discredit (or rather at the loss of the credit he had hoped to win), that he forgot, for the moment, all courtly decorum, in his angry expostulations with the Queen herself. When he became cooler, he wrote thus to the Council:—"I confess Her Majesty most graciously affords us recompense for all our charges and losses; but, my Lords, I pray your Lordships to consider how many things at once I should have sold for money. I will leave mine own reputation, as too small a matter to be mentioned. But I should have sold the honour of Her Majesty; the safety of Her State; the contentment of Her Confederate; the fortune and hopes of many of my poor friends and countrymen; and the possibility of giving a blow to that enemy that ought ever to be hateful to all true English hearts. I should

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have sold all this for private profit. Therefore, though I ask pardon of Her Majesty,—and pray your Lordships to mediate it for me,—that I was carried by this zeal so fast as that I forgot those reverent forms that I should have used; yet I had rather have my heart out of my body, than this zeal out of my heart."[1]

When the revocation had been itself revoked and the original purpose returned to, the gyrations were by no means ended. "The Queen," wrote to Anthony Bacon one of the secretaries of Lord Essex, Edward Reynolds, in May, "is daily in change of humour about my Lord's voyage; and [was], yesterday, almost resolute to stay it; using very hard terms of my Lord's wilfulness; insomuch as the wisest was fain to use his wisest reasons and arguments to appease and satisfy her." "My Lord's crosses," he adds, "are many, but his patience will the better overcome them, because he suffereth for the public good."[2] Essex himself was quite as earnest in his private letters as in his despatch to the Lords of the Council. To Bacon, he wrote:—"I pray you believe that, though your mind which so tenderly weigheth my danger be very dear unto me, yet for my sake you must be confident. If I be not tied by the hands, I know God hath a great work to work by me. I thank God I see my way both smooth and certain."[3] To Reynolds, on the same day: "I have racked my wit to get this Commission; and my means to carry that with which to do the feat, as they say. I will either go through

[1] Essex to the Lords of the Council, *Domestic Correspondence*, Elizabeth. Compare the contemporary letters in Bacon MSS. preserved at Lambeth Palace, vol. dclvii. 34, 89; and partly printed in Birch, *Memoirs of the Court of Elizabeth*, ii. 8.

[2] Edward Reynolds to Anthony Bacon; *Bacon Papers*, among Archbishop Tenison's MSS., vol. dclvii. § 34. (Lambeth Palace.)

[3] Essex to Anthony Bacon. Ibid. § 89.

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with it, or of a general become a monk, at an hour's warning."[1]

When a decision to send the expedition seemed likely to be held to, instructions were drawn directing that its efforts should be turned, first, towards "the taking and destruction of the King of Spain's ships and magazines;" secondly, towards "the intercepting of the East Indian carracks, and the Fleet of the West Indies." In the discussions between her Councillors and the leaders to whom the enterprise was committed, the Queen herself took a prominent part. When the question was canvassed what the commander should do in the event of "the taking of any rich town,"—whether to hold it or to release it after plunder,—Her Majesty, we are told, "objected the likelihood of the spoil of such riches, by the private soldiers, without preserving such wealth, towards the great charges of this voyage." Essex and Howard assured her that they would effectively "stay such spoiling;" and the promise was subsequently recalled to their recollection by the Queen herself, in very vigorous words. What it is important here to note is, that the stress of the Commission is laid on the destruction of the Spanish navy, rather than on the taking of Cadiz or of any other "rich town." And it is evident, alike from the Minutes of Council and from the letters of Essex himself, that to strike a great "blow by sea" was the object supremely intended and desired. Ralegh leaned, with all his might, to this view of the enterprise in hand.

FURTHER DISCUSSIONS ON THE PLAN OF OPERATION.

Regists. of the Privy Coun. Eliz. vol. xii. pp. 349, 350 (C.O.), and Lett. of June 13. (R. H.)

The attacking force was at length definitively organized, and placed under the joint command of Essex and of the Lord Admiral, Howard of Effingham, with whom were joined, in Council of War, Ralegh and Lord Thomas

[1] Essex to Edward Reynolds. Ibid. § 93.

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Howard. By an agreement with the States-General of the United Provinces, an auxiliary squadron of Dutch ships was to co-operate with the English fleet. That fleet was composed of four several squadrons, led respectively by Essex, by the Lord Admiral, by Ralegh, and by Lord Thomas Howard. Essex had the special command in chief of the soldiers, as well as the joint command of the whole force. Both of the Commanders-in-Chief showed anxiety for the immediate presence of Ralegh, whose experience of actual warfare was already longer and far more various than that of all his fellow-admirals put together. "I pray you, hasten away Sir Walter Ralegh," wrote the Lord Admiral to Secretary Sir Robert Cecil, on the 16th of April. The very same words occur in a letter written by Essex, twelve days later. The question naturally arises, What was the cause of Ralegh's delay to join the fleet, now about to attempt such an enterprise as he had himself repeatedly and urgently recommended, both to Queen and Council?

RALEGH'S DELAY, AND ITS CAUSES.

By one contemporary, who bore an illustrious name, and was deep in the counsels and confidence of Lord Essex, the question was answered offhand. With a malignant delight in imputing base motives to the actions of a conspicuous man,—a delight which has but too often marked a certain class of the enforced lookers-on at the doings of the busy world around them,—Anthony Bacon wrote to his brother Francis thus:—"Sir Walter Ralegh's slackness and stay by the way is not thought to be upon sloth, but upon pregnant design, which will be brought forth very shortly, and found to be, according to the French proverb, *fils ou fille*." By this clumsy effort at a witticism, the writer obviously meant to insinuate that Ralegh was plotting, by underhand means, to supersede either Essex or the Lord Admiral in his superior com-

Bacon Pap. in MS. Tenison, dclvii. 8. (Lamb. P.)

mand. But a letter written by Sir Walter himself to Cecil, almost at the same moment, has fortunately survived, to show the real cause of his delay. It throws light, too, on the way in which such enterprises as that now in hand were beset by other difficulties than those at Court, for it exhibits to us an Admiral working at the head of a prize-gang. "As fast as we press men one day," writes Ralegh, from Northfleet on the Thames, "they run away another, and say they will not serve. . . . The Pursuivant found me in a country village, a mile from Gravesend, hunting after runaway mariners, and dragging in the mire from alehouse to alehouse."

Ralegh to Cecil, *Ext. from Hatfield MSS.* in MS. Addit. 6177. (B. M.)

This disaffection to the service seems to have been general. The levies for foreign service were almost as distasteful as those for the defence of the coast at home had been shown, but a few years before, to be welcome. Whilst the ships were still at Plymouth, Essex found it necessary to try by martial law several soldiers of the land-force, for desertion and for attempts to excite a mutiny. Of two of these he is recorded to have directed the execution, immediately after trial, "on a very fair pleasant green called the Ho." The severity of these examples appears to have had a salutary and lasting effect on subsequent discipline.

Voyage to Cadiz, in Hakluyt's *Navig.*, ii. 19.

SAILING OF THE FLEET.

The fleet put out to sea on the 1st of June, but, the wind soon dropping, it got no further than to Dodman Head. It did not finally leave Plymouth Sound until the 3rd; and came to anchor, to westward of Cadiz, on the 20th. The four English squadrons were of nearly equal strength, and mustered, in the whole, seventeen Queen's ships, and seventy-six hired ships, chiefly for transport, besides some pinnaces and other small craft. Among the principal officers were Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, Sir Conyers Clifford, Sir Robert

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Southwell, Sir Anthony Ashley, Sir John Wingfield, and Robert Dudley (son of Leicester; afterwards, titular Duke of Northumberland, and a famous writer on Navigation). The Earl of Sussex, Sir Christopher Blount, Sir Thomas Gerard, and Count Lewis of Nassau were among the volunteers. The Dutch squadron comprised twenty-four ships, all told. The men were nearly 16,000, in all: namely, English sailors, 6,424; English soldiers, 6,530; and Dutchmen, about 2,600.[1] The force was none too large for the occasion, all things considered; although, in the event, but a small portion of the English force bore the brunt of the fighting; and on the Dutchmen hardly any call was made.

Of the strength of the Spanish fleet in the Bay of Cadiz the accounts vary even more than is usual in such cases. The English official narrative describes them as "being in numbers fifty-nine tall ships, with nineteen or twenty galleys attending upon them." Ralegh himself says:—"There were ranged under the wall of Cales, on which the sea beateth, seventeen galleys which lay with their prows to blank our entrance, as we passed towards the galleons." Of these, he enumerates four mighty Spanish galleons (SS. Philip, Matthew, Thomas, and Andrew); and "two great galleons of Lisbon" [these, according to the Spanish account, were large ships which had come to Cadiz laden with wheat]; "three frigates of war, accustomed to transport the treasure; two argosies, very strong in artillery; the Admiral, Vice-

Voyage to Cadiz, in Hakluyt's *Navig.*, ii. p. 23.

Relation of Cadiz Action, (Works, viii. p. 669).

[1] *Domestic Correspondence*, Elizabeth; May 1596. (Rolls House.) These statements are official. In contemporary but unofficial documents, preserved amongst the Bacon Papers at Lambeth, I find it stated: "There are for land service 10,000 foot. . . . By sea, 150 *men of war*, besides hoys and fly-boats;" curiously showing the vagueness of the reports which came even to persons close to head-quarters.

Admiral, and Rear-Admiral, of New Spain; with forty other great ships bound for Mexico and other places." The historian of Cadiz, Fra Geronimo de la Concepçion (who appears to have made elaborate use of the contemporary documents on the Spanish side), agrees with Ralegh as to the strength of the Mexican fleet, and acknowledges the presence of "seventeen galleons and frigates;" but makes mention of only eight galleys.[1] These great and strong ships were backed, and all the channels of approach were commanded, by the Castle, or by forts and curtains furnished with heavy ordnance.

The voyage had been prosperous. Few of the English ships had suffered, even from the smaller mischances of the sea.[2] They took several prizes. The only notable incident is thus told by Marbeck, who sailed with Essex: "Sir Richard Leveson, assisted with Sir Christopher Blount, fought with three Hamburghers, and in the fight slew two of the crew, and hurt eleven; and in the end brought them all three in; and this," he adds, "was the first handsel and maidenhead . . . that was done in the way outward of this honourable voyage." Strict watch was kept for stopping all vessels that might come out of San Lucar or of Cadiz, and seek to pass along the coast; and, for better security on this head, Ralegh's squadron was detached, towards the main, a day before the arrival of the fleet at Cadiz. "Sir Walter Ralegh," says his Instructions, "with the ships under his charge, and the Dutch squadron, is to anchor near the entrance of the

1 "Los galeones y fragatas, que por todas eran siete y diez, y ocho galeras, se pusiessen en escuadra," &c. "Las demas naos de flota que serain quarenta; y dos naos de armada estrangeros que avain venido de Lisboa," &c.—Geronimo de la Concepçion, *Cadiz ilustrada*, p. 415.

2 "The whole Navy had not lost, either by sickness or by any other manner of ways, six men to my knowledge."—Marbeck, in Hakluyt, as above, p. 23.

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harbour, to take care that the ships riding near Cadiz do not escape; *but not to fight, except in self-defence . . . without further direction.*"

Council of War to Ralegh, June 1596. (R. H.)

The good beginning thus made may, doubtless, have helped to put Essex and Howard into a somewhat over-sanguine humour. They determined to land the soldiers and to assault the town, before making any attack on the Spanish fleet in the bay. Such a determination put in extreme peril the success of the whole expedition. Ralegh, as we have seen, was absent on special service. Other experienced officers, as the sequel showed, saw the error and the danger, but were not of sufficient rank, or sufficient daring, to remonstrate with the Lord Admiral of England and the Earl of Essex. Happily, at the critical moment, Ralegh came back. By dint of earnest expostulation and entreaty to both chiefs, he had the glory of reversing a perilous decision; of obtaining the adoption of his own plan for striking instantly at the fleet; and of leading the van in the attack he had counselled. And in doing this he was acting in strictest conformity with the whole spirit of the Instructions given by the Queen in Council. His own account of this change of design, on which the fortunes of the enterprise were found to hinge, runs thus:—"When I arrived back again, I found the Earl of Essex disembarking his soldiers. . . . I came aboard him, and in the presence of all the colonels protested against the resolution; giving him reasons, and making apparent demonstration that he thereby ran the way of our general ruin, to the utter overthrow of the whole armies, their own lives, and Her Majesty's future safety. The Earl excused himself, and laid it to the Lord Admiral; who, he said, would not consent to enter with the fleet, till the town were first possessed. All the commanders and gentlemen present besought me to

RALEGH URGES AN ATTACK ON THE FLEET.

dissuade the attempt, for they all perceived the danger." At length the Lord Admiral, as well as Essex, was made to perceive it also. This occurred late in the evening of the 20th of June. As Ralegh, after his interview with Howard, passed the ship of Essex, in his boat, the Earl was eagerly watching for him. Always impressionable and impulsive, he was now as eager for the sea-fight as a few hours before he had been for the land-attack. Ralegh called out to him from the boat, '*Intramus!*' and Essex, in his joy, cast his plumed hat into the sea, with words of exultation. The ships were rapidly made ready for battle. The soldiers, still in their boats, were hastily draughted off to their respective vessels. Ralegh, having made all needful preparations on board his own flag-ship, wrote a hurried letter to the Lord Admiral, giving him his views as to the best order of battle,[1] and entreating him to supply fly-boats, suitable for boarding the great galleons, and to direct them to be in nearness to the ships of the leading squadron. *Who* was to lead had still to be decided.

Letter (undated), commonly entitled *Relation of Cadiz Action* (Works, vol. viii. p. 667).

Both Essex and the Lord Admiral claimed the post of danger. Not, it seems, until after ten of the clock in the evening, was it at length settled that Ralegh should lead the van, and the two generals-in-chief the body of the fleet. A like claim was made by Lord Thomas Howard, the Vice-Admiral; but the Council of War agreed that the Vice-Admiral, like the two commanders-in-chief, should keep with the main body. Ralegh, in *The War-spright*, was to be seconded by Sir George Carew, in *The Mary Rose;* by Sir Francis Vere, in *The*

[1] This fact may seem somewhat incongruous with their relative rank in the fleet, but is unquestionable. Ever since the Armada year Howard had shown remarkable deference for Ralegh's nautical skill, as well as what seems to have been a true personal regard for him. Yet Howard was a proud—sometimes an arrogant—man.

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Rainbow; by Sir Robert Southwell, in *The Lion;* by Sir Conyers Clifford, in *The Dreadnought;* and by Leicester's son, Robert Dudley, in *The Nonpareil,* or *Nonparilla,* as Ralegh calls it. Lord Thomas Howard could not reconcile himself to a place more remote from the first brunt of peril than the van, and he forced Dudley to change ships with him, in the hope that he should, by hook or by crook, find an opening to get the start of Sir Walter himself. "I was not unwilling," says Ralegh, "to give honour to my Lord Thomas, having both precedency in the army, and being a nobleman whom I much honoured; yet I was resolved to give and not take example for this service,—holding mine own reputation dearest, and remembering my great duty to Her Majesty. With the first peep of day, therefore, I weighed anchor, and bare with the Spanish fleet, taking the start of all ours a good distance."

Relation of Cadiz Action (Works, viii. pp. 667—669). Compare Marbeck's *Voyage*, 24.

THE ATTACK AND ITS INCIDENTS.

The Spaniards, too, were on the alert. The greatest of the galleons, the enormous *Saint Philip*, was the first to discern Ralegh's approach. All had been made ready to shift their stations, and they had the wind in their favour for the operation. The *Philip* leading, they sailed into that strait of the harbour which runs towards Puerto Real, and anchored there, under the fort of Puntal. The frigates took place on the right of the four galleons of Spain; those of Lisbon, with the "argosies," behind them. This arrangement had been determined on at a council of war held on the preceding day, at which were present, in addition to the Spanish officers already at Cadiz, Diego de Sotomayor, Admiral of the Fleet, and Pedro Gutierrez Flores, President of the Contratação of Seville, both of whom had hastened thither from Seville, on the alarm of the English approach. The galleys remained for a while under the walls of the town, watch-

Geronimo de la Concepçion, *Cadiz ilustrada*, p. 416.

ing the advancing English ships, with their prows bent against them, and ready to take advantage of any blunder or of any mishap which might be occasioned by the fire from the forts and curtain of the town. But *The War-spright* passed on, disdaining to notice "the wasps," as Ralegh calls them, which assailed them on their way, otherwise than by a blare of trumpets.[1] Pushing straight for the gallcons, Ralegh brought his ship to anchor close beside the *Philip* and the *Andrew*. Meanwhile, the galleys hastened to interlace, so to speak, the great ships, in groups of three.[2]

SPANISH ACCOUNT OF THE CAUSES OF THE DEFEAT.

The Spanish writers declare, with the after-wisdom of events, that to the unfortunate change of position, determined on in the council of the 20th, their countrymen owed their defeat, and Cadiz its ruin. And they allege that their view as to the fatality of the altered defence had the support of English contemporary testimony.[3] But no such statement is, I think, to be found in the current English narratives of the battle. It is certain that the assailants made a mistake, in their first plan, which might well have been fatal to their success. To learn that the Spaniards, on their part, made an opposite mistake, by abandoning their first and wiser plan of defence for a faulty one, would have been notable, if true. Anyhow, it is curious to observe, that if one of the English admirals had been absent a few hours longer, on his special duty, the mode of attack would have been

Geronimo, as before.

1 "Esteeming these galleys but as wasps, in respect of the powerfulness of the others."—*Relation of Cadiz Action*, p. 670. 2 Ibid.

3 "La ruina de Cadiz suvo su origen de el desacierto arrebatado y menos militas de el Presidente, y el Almirante, en la retirada de la Armada; pues dexando abierta y sur defensa la Puerta de la Canal: forzoso era que el enemigo (que ho deseava otra cosa) se entrasse por ella, y se apoderasse de todo, como quien no tenia embarazo, confessada por ellos mismos," &c. —Geronimo, p. 417.

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wholly different; as would also have been, by Spanish testimony, the position and tactics of the defenders, had it happened to their admiral, De Sotomayor, to have been, for a few hours longer, detained at Seville.

Be that, however, as it may, Ralegh began instantly to batter away at his great antagonists, the *Philip* and the *Andrew*. The first-named was the largest, the second, amongst the largest, of the whole Spanish navy. With both of them he had a terrible personal account to settle. When, in 1591, his dear friend and kinsman Sir Richard Grenville, in a single ship, was beset by a whole Spanish armada, off the Isles of the Azores, both the *Philip* and the *Andrew* had boarded Grenville's ship; and from their crews its gallant commander had received his final wound whilst fighting against fearful odds. Ralegh, in his own words, had to be "revenged for *The Revenge*, or to second her with mine own life." Grenville's dying words were, we may think, ringing in his ears, amid all the din of his own conflict. And Ralegh, too, had words at his command which were, at need, as incisive as weapons. He urged on his men to exertions almost more than human. The volleys of cannon and culverin came as thick, and as fast, as volleys of musketry. For nearly three hours, *The War-spright* was engaged with both galleons. Ralegh had received formal orders not to board till the fly-boats came; and they came not.

See above, Chap. IX. p. 144.

THE RACE FOR GLORY.

The thundering of cannon so excited Essex that he thrust his own ship through the fleet,—regardless of all order of battle,—until, heading all the vessels on his left, he brought his flagship very near to *The War-spright*. Ralegh, meanwhile, had wearied of waiting for the fly-boats, and, throwing himself into a skiff, met Essex on his approach. He told him that if the pro-

mised fly-boats were not sent, he would board with the Queen's ship; orders or no orders.—"To burn, or to sink, is the same loss; and I must endure one or other." Such were his words. At first, Essex tried to deter Sir Walter from incurring increased peril after such a fight, by warning him of possible consequences and responsibilities. That failing, he cried out, "I will second you, upon my honour." Ralegh rushed back to his ship, and found two other vessels—those of Lord Thomas Howard and of Sir Francis Vere—thrust ahead, or very nearly ahead, of it. "From being the first, I was but the third," he says. He instantly slipped anchor; forced *The War-spright* between *The Rainbow* and *The Nonpareil*, without fouling either; went right ahead, and thrust his ship fairly athwart the channel. "I was very sure that none would outstart me again for that day," he remarks, with a genial complacency, which the least friendly reader can hardly help sharing. "Sir Francis Vere," he adds, "*while we had no leisure to look behind us*, secretly fastened a rope on my ship's side towards him," in order to draw himself up abreast of *The War-spright*. "But some of my company advertising me thereof, I caused it to be cut off, and so he fell back into his place. I guarded him, all but his very prow, from the sight of the enemy."

Of the fly-boats there was now no present hope. With the wind as it was, there appeared no possibility of boarding from *The War-spright*, without help of some sort. Ralegh laid out a warp upon the side of the *Philip*, "to shake hands with her." His example was imitated by his comrades. The Spaniards now let slip, and came aground. The soldiers tumbled out of the ships into the sea, in heaps, "as thick as if coals had been poured out of a sack into many ports at once."

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Many were drowned. Others stuck in the mud. With a pinnace or two, a desperate effort was made by the English to board the *St. Philip*, but the Spaniards blew her up. The like fate befel the *St. Thomas*. Ralegh, with part of his crew, succeeded in capturing both the *St. Andrew*—one of the ships engaged with *The Revenge* in 1591—and the *St. Matthew*, before the Spaniards could effect their purpose of burning them also. These two were the only ships which fell into the hands of the victors, and their captor brought them safely to England, to serve against Spain on a future day. The scene in the Harbour became an awful one. Many Spaniards drowned themselves; many leaped into the water, half-burned; many hung by ropes' ends to the ships' sides, "under water even to the lips, . . . and grievously wounded." "Withal," adds Sir Walter, there was "so huge a fire, and such tearing of the ordnance in the great *Philip*, and the rest, when the fire came to them, as, if any man had a desire to see Hell itself, it was there most livelily figured." "Ourselves spared the lives of all after the victory; but the Flemings, who did little or nothing in the fight, used merciless slaughter; till they were by myself, and afterwards by my Lord Admiral, beaten off."

Relation of Cadiz Action, p. 672.

ATTACK ON CADIZ TOWN.

With the subsequent landing of the troops, and the brilliant attack on the town of Cadiz, we have here little to do. Before the conclusion of the sea-fight, Ralegh was so severely wounded that it was impossible for him to mount a horse. His spirit made it equally impossible for him to stay on shipboard; although assuredly his share in the work was fairly done. He caused himself to be borne by some of his men upon a litter, and in that fashion saw enough of the land-fight to enable him

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to bear his generous and warm-hearted testimony, as an eye-witness, to the valour and conduct of Essex, who, in such an onset, was at home. "The Earl," he wrote to Cecil, "hath behaved himself both valiantly and advisedly in the highest degree; without pride; without cruelties; and hath gotten great favour and much love of all." Essex had, in truth, many noble qualities, besides that of valour. But in true generosity of soul, he was as little a match for Ralegh as in longanimity, in military foresight, or in the sagacities which make a statesman. He wrote no despatch himself. He permitted, if he did not direct, his Secretary Cuff to draw up a narrative which, in all points of view, stands in discreditable contrast with the despatches both of Howard and of Ralegh, and also with the *Relation of Cadiz Action*, long afterwards published by the latter, and to which our present narrative is much indebted.

Ralegh to Cecil, MS. Cott. Vesp. C. xiii. fol. 290. (B. M.)

Ralegh remained with the fleet until the 1st of August. A great sickness had broken out in his ship, and it was thought desirable that he should hasten back to Plymouth. The *Roebuck* and the *John and Francis* attended him. They had a quick passage, and Sir Walter brought with him the first authentic details of what had been achieved. He found Queen and Council beset with doubts, and influenced by the wildest rumours.[1]

RESULTS.

The results, immediate and ultimate, of the short fight in Cadiz Harbour are memorable for all time. In a battle of little more than three hours' duration, eight English ships destroyed, crippled, or took, thirteen Spanish men-of-war, besides seventeen galleys, moored

[1] *Journall of all the Particularities that fell out in the Voyage under the Charge of the Lords Generals*, &c. MS. Lamb. ccl. fol. 362 (Lambeth Palace); and *Registers of the Privy Council*, xii. pp. 348, 349, 361 (Council Office).

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under batteries. In addition to the loss of this great Armada, Spain sustained a loss of forty great merchant ships and of merchandise which was, says the Lord Admiral in summing up the results, "confessed, by the Spaniards, to be [worth] eleven millions of ducats." It is scarcely conceivable but that this estimate was a greatly exaggerated one. The loss, however, was enormous; but, in the main, whatever its amount, it is ascribable to the pride of the Spanish General, the Duke of Medina Sidonia. On the intercession of the principal inhabitants of Cadiz, who had come in very humble guise to offer their submission to the generals, a ransom of 120,000 ducats was accepted for the lives of the combatants within the city, and fifty hostages were given for its payment within a fixed interval. The pride of the Duke of Medina did not hinder his making a delusive attempt to get possession of the hostages, by the substitution of mercantile bills for the stipulated payment.[1] Another sum of two millions of ducats was offered by a body of merchants of Cadiz and of Seville as the ransom of the great fleet for the Indies. That fleet lay then in the roads of Puerto Real. On this offer being made, the generals forbore all attack on the fleet. But either in the night, or on the next morning, the fleet was set on fire by the Duke's orders, and wholly consumed. The poor hostages, who had kept in heart until the arrival of "the uttermost day (July 2nd) which had been requested for the payment of the 120,000 ducats," that payment "not being then come, were distributed amongst the ships." They were

Ralegh, *Relation of Cadiz Action*, as above.

[1] *Journall of all the Particularities that fell out in the Voyage under the Charge of the Lords Generals*, MS. Lamb. ccl. fol. 357. The envoys sent by the Duke on the 3rd July are described as "a Canon of Cadiz and Matteo, Marquis de Gaetano." Ibid. (Lambeth Palace.)

brought to England. Some were ransomed after their arrival here; and a very unedifying dispute arose between the Queen and Essex as to their respective rights to the sums which were paid. Others of the humbler sort remained in this country, and were eventually subjected to great hardships. At first, the Spanish prisoners in England had been treated with comparative gentleness, but on complaint of the cost thus incurred, the Council made an order that the "said Spaniards . . . be sought out and delivered to Richard Owseley, . . . to be carried into the prison of Bridewell, or some such prison of severe punishment as shall be appointed for them." This order was made not long before the arrival of the captives from Cadiz. They remained in prison many years. The Council books contain allusions to their treatment almost down to the close of Elizabeth's reign. On the other hand, many hundreds of Spanish prisoners who had fallen into the power of the victors, had been freely and absolutely released by the generals.

Bacon Pap. in MS. Tenison, dclix. § 136. (Lamb. P.)

Regists. of the Privy Coun. Eliz. vol. xii. p. 272. (C. O.)

Ibid. vol. xvi. p. 122.

Bacon Pap. in MS. Tenison, dclvii. § 144. (Lamb. P.)

The question whether Cadiz should be retained and garrisoned for the Queen was discussed in a Council of War; opinions were divided, but the majority of voices at this meeting,—held "in the Munition House of Cadiz,"—was against its retention. It was determined that the fortifications should be destroyed. "And now the Castle, forts, and other places of strength," continues the Lord Admiral Howard, in his summary of the expedition, "are by us razed, and the most part of the town is also razed and defaced." It was as true a boast, and a much prouder one for an English Admiral fighting against the Spain of Philip the Second, that "the mercy and clemency that hath been showed here will be spoken of throughout the world. No aged or cold blood was touched; nor woman defiled; but were

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all with great care embarked, and sent to St. Mary's Port." Even Philip the Second repeated the praises of the English commanders on this score. But he was very far indeed from making their conduct a precedent for that of his own commanders.

The decline of Spain dates from the day when Ralegh, in *The War-spright*, marshalled the way into Cadiz Harbour, passing "the wasps" of galleys, with "a blare of trumpets," and making straight for the two great galleons, some of whose crews had heard Richard Grenville's dying words in 1591. To this day, the traveller may see in Cadiz itself tokens—many in kind—of that famous fight. But *they* are trivial indeed, in comparison with the tokens which occur on the pages of Spanish history, in an unbroken series, during two hundred and seventy years, from the June of 1596.

REWARDS OF THE VICTORS.

Although Essex, as has been said, bore no testimony to that rare union of sagacity with valour by which Ralegh had been enabled both to substitute for an unwise and perilous plan of operations a wise and safe one, and to take the lead in working out its complete success, the pens both of friends and of enemies were employed almost with one consent to supply his defect. Sir George Carew, for example, wrote to the Secretary on the 30th of June:—"For Sir Walter Ralegh, . . . I leave him to the vulgar; saving that in few words I do assure your Honour his service was . . . so much praiseworthy as [that] those which were formerly his enemies do now hold him in great estimation; for that which he did in the sea-service could not be bettered."[1] Nor were such tributes rendered by impartial pens alone.

[1] Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil, 30th June, 1596; in *Cecil State Correspondence*, MS. Hatf. Vol. xli. fol. 99. (Hatfield House.)

Sir Anthony Standen, whose devotion to Essex had sometimes been shown by detraction of Ralegh, felt himself now constrained to write thus:—"Sir Walter Ralegh did (in my judgment) no man better; and his artillery [had] most effect. I never knew the gentleman till this time: and I am sorry for it, for there are in him excellent things, beside his valour. And the observation he hath in this voyage used with my Lord of Essex hath made me love him."[1]

The news of a victory so brilliant excited great enthusiasm everywhere in England,—except at Court. The people were delighted that the King of Spain had suffered such a defeat as never before had befallen him at home. They had the gratification of giving a joyous welcome to many of their captive countrymen who had slaved in the Spanish galleys. They had the pleasant excitement of looking at some of the trophies and spoils of war. The Queen, on the other hand, was indignant, first, that the spoil was not greater; and, secondly, that what spoil there was seemed likely to be, in large measure, absorbed by the claims, or the foresight, of those who had taken it. In the streets, the victors were met with transports of applause and public joy. At Court, they met clouded looks, and haggling discussions about the amount of their prize-money. This degrading and petty avarice, and the consequent disregard of the claims of those who had nobly served her, seems to have grown with Elizabeth's advancing years, and the power it had now attained over her better qualities would almost pass credibility, were not the proofs numerous, cogent, and circumstantial. One such will be sufficient for citation in this place.

[1] Sir Anthony Standen to Lord Burghley, Cadiz, 5th July, 1596; in MS. Harl. 6845, fol. 101, verso. (British Museum.)

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Bacon Pap. in MS. Tenison, dclviii. 168. (Lambeth Pal.)

Lady Howard of Effingham (wife of the Lord Admiral) writes thus, shortly after her husband's return:—"It was told me certainly that my Lord should have for his part [of the Cadiz prize-money], five thousand pounds; and Sir Walter Ralegh, three; but, being yesterday at the Court, I heard that the Queen claimed *all!* and my Lord of Essex, it is thought, will yield his right to Her Majesty. . . . My Lord hath spent already 20,000*l.* in the Queen's service." Burghley himself was scandalized at augmentations of the Treasury obtained in such a fashion; obtained, too, under circumstances of common notoriety. And Burghley was now publicly called by the royal lips, "a miscreant" and "a coward."[1]

THE SPOILS; AND WHAT BECAME OF THEM.

The Queen, however, is entitled to such benefit of "extenuating circumstances" as may lie in the fact that the incidental opportunities of plunder at Cadiz had really been used, as we have seen, with great freedom; even by men of rank. And she had enjoyed the opportunity of cross-examining at her leisure Sir Anthony Ashley, on this point, before the arrival of any detailed despatches or reports from the Lords Generals. She had used her opportunity as astutely as her soldiers had used theirs; had learnt a good deal, and inferred more; of which the details came out in subsequent examinations, before the Privy Council. Essex, for himself, had a superb disdain of plunder. "*Tal*

[1] "I came from the Court, with the burden of Her Majesty's displeasure, expressed, as my Lord Buckhurst and Mr. Fortescue did hear, with words of indignity, reproach, and rejecting of me as 'a miscreant' and 'a coward,' for that I would not assent to Her opinion, that your Lordship ought not to have the profit of the prisoners; wishing Her to hear you both with what conditions your Lordship received them," &c.—Burghley to Essex, 22nd Sept. 1596. *Bacon Papers*, in MS. Tenison, dclix. fol. 136. (Lambeth Palace.)

hidalgo," Philip the Second said of him, "*non sia visto entre herejas.*" If the attractions of a peculiar kind of spoil proved—when the fine library of Jerome Osorio, Bishop of Algarve, came in his way—too strong for him, he put it to a noble use. Ralegh, too, was contented with less than the fair share of the spoils of Cadiz which fell to him as Admiral. Others of knightly rank were much less scrupulous. Many of the incidents recorded in the examinations are curious. In one instance, a very large amount of bullion fell—in a way of which the accounts are conflicting—into the hands of a mere soldier, who deposes that, as was his duty, he gave notice of it to the Lord General, who promised to send Sir Gilly Meyricke to take charge of it. But neither Sir Gilly nor any other officer from the Earl came. "As no one came to take it," says the captor, doubtless in terrible distress at the dilemma, "I gave two handfuls to two soldiers. Sir George Carew then came, and some was carried to Sir Arthur Savage's lodging by two men, going five times at least; first with two bags; then, with one large bag. *After Sir George Carew was gone to bed,* 1,500*l.* [worth] *was carried away on a horse, and given to Sir Gilly Meyrick.*"[1] When these delicate inquiries came to the ears of a well-known intimate of Sir Gilly Meyricke, Sir Christopher Blount, he thought it prudent not to wait his turn for examination, but sent to Mr. Secretary Cecil, "lest there should be after-inquiry about benefits received at Cadiz," a note of his own gleanings—"hoping," he continues, "that the Queen will think it a small reward for my great expense and adventure,—namely, plate

Sir C. Blount to Sir R. Cecil, 28th Sept. 1596. (R. H.) Comp. Report of Sir A. Ashley, in M.S. C. C. C. ccxcvii. § 3. (Oxford.)

[1] In a subsequent examination this item is stated at 1,723*l.*—*Account of Money, Plate, Jewels, and Goods taken at Cadiz,* September 1596. (Rolls House.)

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and money from the house where the generals lodged, two hundred and fifty pounds; and hangings, worth twenty pounds; taken by my soldiers, out of a well, three hundred pounds; and given to me, in gowns and women's apparel,[1] out of the spoils of my soldiers, a hundred pounds' worth." This, it will be seen, is Sir Christopher's own estimate of his gains, as volunteered to the Queen's Secretary. Without adding other instances not less suggestive, we may easily reach the conclusion that the spoils of Cadiz must have furnished a good many winter tales for a good many English firesides.

Most of the humbler sort of those who had risked life and limb at Cadiz—many of them for a very slender share of the good things which had there been going—were not even permitted to enjoy a brief interval of rest in England. They were instantly draughted off; some to the wars in Ireland; others to the Netherlands. On this point the following entry occurs among the Minutes of Privy Council of August 1596:—"Direction was given that that of the land soldiers, being about 5,000, 2,200 which were drawn out of the Low Countries should be sent thither again, in the shipping of that country, without touching land herein; and of the other 3,000, choice is to be made of 1,500 or 2,000 [?], to be sent into Ireland; because though the Earl of Tyrone had his pardon, yet O'Donnell continues with other rebels."[2]

[1] This taking of women's apparel and jewels was directly in the teeth of express orders given by Essex and the Lord Admiral. In one of his letters Howard writes as if under the impression that that order had been strictly observed.

[2] *Abstracts of Council Registers*, in Additional MS. 11402, fol. 65, verso. (British Museum.) In this instance I quote the Abstracts, from having

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RALEGH STILL UNDER THE ROYAL FROWN.

To the dissatisfied feelings on the Queen's part about the Cadiz business, which so obviously influenced measures and details that under ordinary circumstances, one inclines to think, would have been left entirely to her ministers and to the course of official routine, we may in part ascribe Ralegh's continued exclusion from Court. With those particular proceedings which had most excited the Queen's anger he had had very little to do. At the time when discussions about captures and prize-money had begun to wax warm, Ralegh wrote thus to Sir Robert Cecil:—"I hope Her most excellent Majesty will take my labours and endeavours in good part. Other riches than the hope thereof, I have none." But, at present, it was all in vain. Elizabeth had resolved that the service at Cadiz was to be no matter for reward or distinction to anybody. Essex was to be thwarted in all his applications for favour (and it is to his honour that, at all times, his applications were made much oftener and much more urgently, on behalf of his friends, than of himself), yet kept jealously in close attendance on the Queen's person. And Ralegh's most conspicuous offices were still to be discharged by his deputies. There is evidence, however, that the enmity of Essex was at this period a good deal more influential with the Queen than his friendship. If he recommended Sir Robert Sydney, already distinguished by great public service, for the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, it was given to the new Lord Cobham, then devoid of all distinction, and since infamous. But a long negotiation with Essex was found necessary to pave the way towards the resumption by Ralegh of his office of

Ralegh to Cecil; Copy in MS. Cott. Vesp. C. xiii. fol. 290. (B.M.)

overlooked the entry in the original Minute Books. Hereafter, they are quoted as now being, for the first seven years of the reign of James I., the only record of the Council proceedings. The original registers are lost.

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1596-97.
RETURN TO COURT.

Captain of the Queen's Guard; and when his assent was at length given, it was given ungraciously.

It was not until May 1597 that Sir Walter made his reappearance at Court. Rowland Whyte—at this time the most observant and acute of the courtly writers of news-letters — records that reappearance thus:—"Sir Walter Ralegh is daily in Court, and a hope is had he shall be admitted to the execution of his office as Captain of the Guard, before he goes to sea. His friends, you know, are of greatest authority and power; and Essex gives it no opposition, his mind being full . . . of conquering and overcoming the enemy."[1]

But Essex could not bring himself to grace Ralegh's first return to office, after a suspension of five years, by witnessing it. He could never brook nor forget that "competition in love," under peculiar circumstances, which had so stirred his gall at Theobalds.

Rowland Whyte, writing again to Sir Robert Sydney, thus tells the story, on the 2nd of June, 1597:—"Yesterday, my Lord of Essex rid to Chatham. In his absence Sir Walter Ralegh was brought by '200' [*i.e.* Sir Robert Cecil] to the Queen, who used him very graciously, and gave him full authority to execute his place as Captain of the Guard, which immediately he undertook, and swore many men into the places void. In the evening he rid abroad with the Queen, and had private conference with her; and now he comes boldly to the Privy-chamber, as he was wont."[2] Though this was done in the absence of the Earl, yet it is known it was

[1] Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sydney; in Collins' *Letters and Memorials of State* (from MSS. at Penshurst), vol. ii. p. 37. Sir Robert was at this time Governor of Flushing.

[2] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 54, 55.

brought about with his liking and furtherance. "Your Lordship," he adds, "knows that Sir Walter has the victualling of the land forces. I hear it is very well done, and that he hath let the Earl of Essex have much for his private provision. They are grown exceeding great, and often goes the Earl to Sir Robert Cecil's house, very private, where they all meet." And again, a little later:—"None but Cecil and Ralegh enjoy the Earl of Essex; they carry him away as they list." [1]

ESSEX, RALEGH, AND CECIL IN CONFERENCE.

These private and frequent conferences of Essex, Ralegh, and Cecil seem to have involved, along with the known business of the renewal of hostilities against Spain, other matters which continue to be mysteries. They boded, and could bode, no permanent good to Essex.

He had done nothing to win true friendly regard from Ralegh (now, it may be inferred, rapidly recovering his old influence over the Queen), and, do what he might, in dealing with Cecil he was ever dealing with an inveterate and little scrupulous enemy; only the more dangerous, perhaps, when seeming to have become placable. How reluctant the Queen had been to let Essex have his will in going to Cadiz has been conclusively shown. It was while he was serving the Queen at Cadiz that Cecil was made Principal Secretary of State, against the Earl's most urgent and vehement entreaties to Elizabeth before his outset. Now, the Secretary becomes Essex's very affectionate friend, and fans his ambition to head another Spanish expedition. Presently, that ambition will be directed (not without reluctance at first) towards the Lieutenancy of "the Common woe" of Ireland; and in that direction, too, it will be similarly fanned in turn.

[1] R. Whyte to Sir R. Sydney; in Collins' *Letters and Memorials of State* (from MSS. at Penshurst), vol. ii. p. 79.

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1596-97.
WARNINGS DISREGARDED.

Now-a-days, we look at these events in the lurid light of the catastrophe, and it needs but small insight to trace the thread. But one observer, at least, saw them in their inception, under the light of a keen and prescient intellect. Francis Bacon pointed out to Essex, in a well-known letter, precisely those perils which, in the sequel, proved fatal to him, and precisely those courses which—as far as human reasonings and probabilities go—would have avoided the perils. He warned him especially against an overweening fondness for martial enterprises and martial office, and for the outward shows of popularity; and also against that superb disdain of money which must, he tells him, tempt the Queen, "not only to think you more like to continue chargeable to her, but also to have a conceit that you have higher imaginings." And, alike in its mere side-touches as in its main lessons of policy, this letter of advice buoys out, with marvellous exactness, those safe channels which the rash adventurer would not follow. In marking, for example, the great offices of State which Essex had better not meddle with, and those which, on the other hand, were likely to add both to his greatness and to his security, he says in commendation of the office of the Lord Privy Seal:—"First, it is the third person of the Great Officers of the Crown. Next, *it hath a kind of superintendence over the Secretary.*"[1] Had these pregnant counsels been followed, it is a fair inference that not only the career of Essex, but that of Ralegh (so strangely and inextricably did they come to be linked together) would have been turned into quite

[1] Bacon to Essex, 4th October, 1596, printed in Bacon's *Works* (edit. Montagu), vol. xi. pp. 179—185. It is in this letter that we have not the least extraordinary of sixteenth-century applications of Holy Scripture.—"Martha, Martha, attendis ad plurima: unum sufficit.—'*Win the Queen.*'"

other paths. If Ralegh was indeed, as his enemies alleged, a conscious sharer with Cecil in preparing aforethought the Earl's ruin, he paid more than the penalty of his crime. But of that hereafter.

NOTE ON THE SPOILS OF CADIZ.

Since this Chapter was in type, I have seen another MS. account of the Cadiz business, preserved in Corpus Library, and, as I think, hitherto entirely unnoticed and unknown. It adds some curious details, and not a little of vivid 'local colour,' to the previously-quoted narratives; but at present I can use it only very sparingly. On the matter of Spoils, we have here, amongst other particulars, this :—"The common soldiers,—disdaining bags of pepper, sugar, and wine, and such gross commodities,—were seen by the space of four or five days, with their arms full of silk and cloth of gold, in as ample a manner as if they had been in Cheapside [where, by the way, as the narrator should have remembered, they would hardly have got their "arms filled" quite so quickly], offering a botte [*so in MS.—boite?*] for twenty or thirty shillings. Insomuch as, in their fullness, they forbare St. Lucar and two or three pretty villages." (MS. C. C. Coll. ccxcvii. B. 2. 2, fol. 24, verso.) It adds to the interest of this account to find that it is the narrative of Sir Anthony Ashley and of his colleague Sir Robert Crosse, and therefore the same which sharpened Her Majesty's own appetite and made her royal mouth to water for a taste of what was going. One little item of Sir Anthony's inventory is, "The spoils' worth in the town" were equal to half the spoil [*i.e.* the precious commodities and treasure] "that is in London." I hope to notice this and other interesting documents, bearing on our subject, contained in the little-known collections in this and in other Colleges, hereafter. My best acknowledgments, for permission to use the Corpus MSS., are due to the Rev. H. C. Calverley, a Fellow of that College.

The searches after concealed spoils, it may be added, extended over more than two years. As late as in the August of 1598, Sir Robert Cecil issued a warrant for the seizure of a considerable quantity of "goods," including rich hangings and "ladies' robes," at the seat of Sir Oliver Lambert, in Hampshire, on "suspicion of their being part of the Cadiz spoils," and "things that, in Master Drake's judgment, Sir Anthony Ashley brought home with him." The warrant, inventory, and other papers, respecting this seizure, are at Hatfield. There, also, is an elaborate report of "all such money, plate, jewelles, and goodes, taken at Cales in Spaigne" [as have been] "brought to light by Her Matie's Commissioners." (*Cecil MSS.*, vol. xliv. pp. 25, 36, 104. Hatfield House.) The estimated value of the plunder so "brought to light" was £28,284.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ISLANDS' VOYAGE.

1597.

Altered Relations of Ralegh with Essex.—Aims and Plan of the Expedition of 1597.—The Fleet driven back to Plymouth and Falmouth.—It sails again; and is again divided.—Capture of Fayal by Ralegh.—The Scene in the Flagship of the Earl of Essex, and its Results.—Ralegh on the Strength and the Weakness of Spain.

RALEGH AND ESSEX.

IN the interval between the expedition of 1596 and that of 1597, the Queen's attitude was commonly far less gracious towards Essex than it had, at length, become towards his old rival. We have seen that between themselves, on the other hand, more friendly relations had grown up,—at least to all outward appearance,—than had ever existed before. Essex, when at Court, had to lead a most unquiet life, and at times, we are told, would "keep his chamber" for a fortnight at a time. The bystanders watched him and his royal mistress with eager curiosity, and reported that the Queen had been heard to say: "I will break him of his will, and pull down his great heart." It is very probable that it was at Her Majesty's instance that Ralegh strove to bring about a good understanding between Essex and Cecil. But he must have known both of them too well to think that they could really become friends. In Ralegh's own nature there were many qualities which all that was best and noblest in Essex impelled him

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to recognise. And Ralegh's weaker points—whatever estimate we may form of them—seem to have been such as would not very frequently clash with those of Essex. A keen observer of both men has said :—"Though the Earl had many doubts and jealousies buzzed into his ears against Sir Walter Ralegh, yet I have often observed that both in his greatest actions of service and in the times of his chiefest recreations, he would ever accept of his counsel and company, before many others who thought themselves more in his favour."[1] Essex and Cecil, on the other hand, were men of natures mutually and essentially repellent. In their faults, as in their good qualities, they were born foes.

ENGLAND AND SPAIN.

One of the first results on the mind of Philip the Second of the bitter news from Cadiz was a passionate desire to attempt once more the creation of an "Invincible" Armada against England. After such a destruction of naval strength and naval resources, it is hardly conceivable that any Spanish statesman can have shared with the King the belief that such an attempt could soon be made with fair chance of success. He, nevertheless, was resolved to make it. Of his resolves, as of his hatreds, no length of delay seems to have dulled the sharpness. When the alarm of hostile preparations came, Ralegh drew up a paper entitled an *Opinion upon the Spanish Alarum,* in which he discusses both the probability of the rumoured invasion, and the best means of defending the coasts. He concedes that it will be safe "to provide for the worst." He is incredulous that any such attempt could be made speedily. "How the Spanish king can gather such an army and fleet together

[1] Sir A. Gorges, *Relation of the Island Voyage;* in Purchas' *Pilgrimes,* vol. iv. ff. 1938, *seqq.*

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Ralegh, *Spanish Alarum* (Works, vol. viii. p. 677).

in so short time, considering his late losses, I conceive not," he says. And he stuck always to his old text that, be the danger what it might, the cheapest and the surest way to defend England was to strike beforehand at Spain. Throughout the winter of 1596 and the spring of 1597, he was occupied alike in increasing the defences of the coast, and in preparing the new expedition against Philip. Both Essex and Ralegh acted as purveyors of the fleet which they were afterwards to lead.[1] This arrangement may have arisen from difficulties met with in the preceding year. Circuitous expedients, intended to evade expenditure, had been found ultimately to increase it; besides hampering commanders and putting in peril the success of great enterprises. How extremely circuitous had been the arrangements both for outfit of fleets and for payment of the purveyors is shown by the Council-books, as well as by the correspondence of Essex and of Ralegh. One Bagg of Plymouth, for example, appears as the Queen's creditor for disbursements in 1596 towards the Cadiz enterprise, for the sum of five hundred and fifty-six pounds. "Certain oils," brought thence, are assigned to him for payment. The Admiralty Court adjudges those oils to have been "no lawful prize." Thereupon the Council directs that he shall be paid out of the proceeds "of certain chests of sugar, and other things returned in the said voyage."

Regists. of the Privy Council, vol. xii. p. 255.

NEW SERVICE AT SEA.

At first, the levies for the new expedition were attended with difficulties similar to those of which we have seen Ralegh complaining in 1596. The Council

1 "Sixteen hundred and twenty pound is to be answered to Her Majesty for and in behalf of the Earl of Essex, and of Sir Walter Ralegh, Knight, . . . due for a proportion of biscuit, beef, bacon, and stock fish, which they are to use in the voyage presently intended."—*Registers of the Privy Council*, Elizabeth, vol. xiii. p. 267. (Council Office.)

minutes of 1597 record great abuses in the levy of soldiers, "for the service at this present intended." But soon a considerable number of volunteers offered themselves, and part of the levies destined for the Spanish expedition were sent to serve in Picardy. The first intention was to place the new fleet—consisting of only ten men-of-war—under the joint command of Ralegh and of Lord Thomas Howard. But, on new information, it was determined to equip a much larger fleet, consisting of three several squadrons, the first commanded by Essex, as Admiral and General-in-chief; the second by Lord Thomas Howard, as Vice-Admiral; and the third by Ralegh, as Rear-Admiral. Ralegh had the professional pride of including in his squadron the two great galleons he had captured at Cadiz,—the *St. Andrew* and the *St. Matthew*. The Earls of Rutland and Southampton, and the Lords Audley, Cromwell, Grey of Wilton, Rich, and Windsor, served as volunteers. An auxiliary Dutch squadron, comprising twelve ships of war, served under Admiral Van der Woord. The Instructions direct the fleet to proceed to Ferroll and to destroy the enemy's ships there. If the Spanish fleet believed to be at Ferroll should have sailed, it was to be followed and destroyed wherever found. That done, the utmost endeavour was to be made to intercept and capture the homeward bound fleets from the East and West Indies.

Regists. of the Privy Council, pp. 293, 305. (C.O.)

Instructions, &c., in *Dom. Cor.* Eliz. 15 June, 1597. (R. H.)

A GREAT STORM AT SEA.

The fleet gathered in Plymouth Sound, in July 1597, and put out to sea on the 10th of that month. But it met with very foul weather. The squadrons were driven far apart; and at length, as the weather grew worse rather than better, and great damage had been suffered, a large portion of the fleet was forced to put back to harbour. Part of Ralegh's squadron took refuge

Regists. of the Privy Coun. Eliz. vol. xiii. p. 215. (C. O.)

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at Falmouth; part of the Earl's squadron at Plymouth. Other ships were driven elsewhere.

Ralegh's own account to the Secretary (dated July 18th), after describing the unfortunate circumstances of the start, proceeds to relate that, on the third day, "the storm grew more forcible, the seas very exceeding lofty; but, [on] the Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, the storm so increased,—the ships being weighty and the ordnance great,—and the billows so raised and enraged, as we could carry out no sail which, to our judgment, would not have been rent off the yards by the wind. Yet our ships rolled so vehemently, and so disquieted themselves, [that] in my ship it hath shaken all her beams, knees, and stanchions asunder; insomuch that on Saturday night we made account to have yielded our souls up to God. Our ship [was] open everywhere; all her bulkheads rent; her very cookroom of bricks shaken down into powder." The experience of the other squadrons was not much unlike Ralegh's; but some of the ships were strong enough to keep the sea. In some of those which had been forced to put back, certain of the younger and more courtly volunteers, who had fairly laid their account to risk life against the enemy, felt less willing to face again "the boisterous winds and merciless sea;" and so took advantage of the protracted delay in port to make an unobtrusive departure. Others were forced by the Earl himself to return to land; "else," he says, "they would have been dead in a week." And some actually died at Plymouth, of what they had suffered already in the storm.

Ralegh to Cecil, 18 July, 1597; in *Domestic Corresp.* Elizabeth, Bundle 225. (R.H.)

The fleet was rapidly refitted and ready to set sail, but contrary winds blew without intermission until the 17th of August. The provisions—which, we are told, had been excellently purveyed under Ralegh's contract

and under his personal care—were becoming rapidly insufficient, and a change of plan was now inevitable. At first, Essex took these disasters much to heart. Ralegh, observing that to be the case, wrote to Cecil (with a generous impulsiveness and oblivion of old grievances which may fairly be said to have been constitutional in him): "I beseech you work from Her Majesty some comfort to my Lord General, who, I know, is dismayed by these mischances even to death; *although there could not be more done by any man upon earth.*" An active correspondence had been kept up between the Court and the wind-bound fleet, throughout this long interval of delay. And the correspondence is not without its curiosity. Before it closes, Cecil's tender affection towards Essex runs over into such fond expressions as this:—"The Queen is now so disposed to have us all love you, as she and I do talk every night, like angels, of you." Of such comfort, the Earl had to make the best he might.

Ralegh to Cecil, 18 July, 1597; in *Domestic Corresp.* Elizabeth, Bundle 225, § 177.

Ibid. § 190.

CHANGES IN THE PLAN OF THE ISLAND VOYAGE.

The adverse winds still continuing, Essex and Ralegh went together to London and obtained the assent of the Queen and Council to such a modification of the previous Instructions as enabled them to disembark part of the land-forces, and to lay the stress of the enterprise on the fleet. The Queen—now, it seems, with Burghley's support—took advantage of so excellent an opportunity of turning another penny. She ordered a sum of two thousand pounds to be issued for repairing the fleet; and left Essex without the means of paying the disbanded soldiers, otherwise than by diverting part of that sum (for which he had to account in the Exchequer), or else by raising the money at his own cost and risk. On such points as this, Essex is an unexceptionable and a conclusive witness. His openhandedness was princely. One

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feels, in reading his letters, that he writhes with wounded pride when forced to ask for money; yet now, under all the anxieties of a perilous enterprise, impeded by difficulties of a sort which human powers can never cope with, he is constrained to say to Lord Burghley:—"I assure your Lordship, I have beggared myself; for those things which I ask no allowance for have very far exceeded those which I account for here." Such a man might well leave—as his father had left—an inheritance impaired by public services. Not a few of his manors had virtually passed to the Crown long before his attainder; his "farm of sweet wines," his "contracts for cochineal," and the like, notwithstanding.

Essex to Burghley; Plymouth, 15 August, 1597; MS. Lansd. lxxiv. fol. 61. (B. M.)

At length, on the evening of the 17th August, the fleet again set sail; reached Cape Ortegal on the 23rd; and then immediately encountered another disastrous gale, the misfortunes of which are narrated in an official despatch from the Admirals and chief officers. And at this time the wind blew directly out of Ferroll. The collective despatch then proceeds to state that "where holding a Council, and missing Sir Walter Rauley, who, bearing off at sea, had no plying sails to get up; missing him, with thirty sail that in the night followed his light, and hearing that the *Saint Matthew*, which was our principal ship for the execution of our pretended enterprise, was returned," that ship having been utterly disabled by storm and mischance, despite the desperate efforts of her gallant captain, Sir George Carew, "and being barred to hazard any other in her place, it was by the whole Council of War concluded that the enterprise of Ferroll was overthrown; both because, if the wind had served, we wanted the ships destined for that service; and, if we had had the ships, we wanted wind to get into the harbour of Ferroll, for the wind blew strongly

DECISION OF THE COUNCIL HELD OFF CAPE FINISTERRE.

at East, which would have been full in our teeth as we had plyed in. And now we could only think of the intercepting of the Indian fleet, and the defeating of [the] Adelantado, if he did put to sea; for to take in Terçeira, our land army being discharged, we had no means. Whereupon we bare for the height of the Rock, hoping there (because it was our second rendezvous after Ferroll) to meet with Sir W. Rauley. Into which height, when I [Essex] came, a message was delivered me from Sir W. Rauley . . . that the Adelantado was gone from Ferroll, with his fleet, to Terçeira, to waft home the Indian fleet of treasure; and that he [Ralegh] would attend my answer at the Burlings; which message of Sir Walter's was grounded on the report of a captain of a ship of Hampton, which did confidently deliver it. I, the General, then calling a Council, took a resolution, both because we hoped to meet the Adelantado there, and because all our best-experimented seamen did assure us it was the likeliest course to meet the Indian fleet, to go for the Islands, and send out pinnaces both to the Burlings, and towards the South Cape (which was our third rendezvous), . . . to cause Sir Walter Rauley and all others of our fleet to follow, and, bearing with the island of Terçeira, looked into the road of Brazil, and saw there was no fleet. Whereupon we bare aloft betwixt St George's and Graçiosa for the island of Flowers [Flores], at which we might both water and take in victuals, ... [and] where, if the Indian fleet did come this year, they were likeliest to fall. But when we had spent at Flores some ten days,—in the which time Sir Walter Rauley and his company came unto us,—by a small pinnace come from the Indies, I, the General, was told that it was doubtful whether the Indian fleet came thence or not; and if they did, they would change their usual

Despatch of the Lords Generals to the Lords of Council, in MS. Harl. xxxvi. ff. 524, verso, *seqq.* (B. M. Copy.)

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1597.

course, and come in some height more to the southward . . . which news made us resolute in Council to go for Fayal, and so for St. Michaels."

ATTEMPTS TO CREATE A QUARREL BETWEEN ESSEX AND RALEGH.

We have the authority of Lord Essex himself for the fact that even at this stage of the business there had been a zealous attempt, by some of the officers immediately about his person, to excite a quarrel betwixt him and Ralegh, on account of this first separation of their respective squadrons; although it had plainly arisen from stress of weather, in its origin; and from the performance of a duty of convoy, in its protraction. When they dined together on board the General's flag-ship, after the junction at Flores, the Earl himself acquainted Sir Walter with the many "conjectures and surmises that had been vented of his absence, and withal named to him some of those men who had taxed him secretly with strange reports, yet pretended to love him; which [reports] he protested he never believed, but thereby the better observed their scandalous and cankered dispositions." The first separation entailed, incidentally, a second. Essex was to have been supported by Ralegh in the attack on Fayal. Ralegh's squadron had now to wait for wood and water. Essex sailed first, but Ralegh was the first to arrive. He waited three whole days in vain; and then, on the fourth day, attacked, and conquered. He thus gained the distinction of performing, single-handed, the one effective and conspicuous service of the expedition. When, a day or two after the achievement, a junction was again effected, the "scandalous and cankered dispositions" had a new opportunity. They advised Essex to try Ralegh by court-martial for disobedience to orders, in attacking Fayal without the presence of the Commander-in-Chief. The offence,

they said, well merited death.[1] The Earl's anger was great; but not great enough to induce him to run the risk of punishing a service which had redeemed the enterprise of the year from total failure. The Earl's party persisted in accusing Ralegh of treachery to his chief. The Queen thanked him for his gallant achievement.

There is here, in truth, small room for controversy. Sir Walter has told the story himself (episodically, and as illustrating, after his wont, a topic to which he was led in the course of his *History of the World*), and he has told it with both the directness and the point which, with rare exception, marked alike his writings and his speech:—"I landed those English in Fayal myself," he says. . . . "Some in that voyage advised me not to undertake it; and I hearkened unto them somewhat longer than was requisite, especially whilst they desired me to reserve the title of such an exploit for a greater person. But, when they began to tell me of 'difficulty,' I gave them to understand that it is more difficult to defend a coast than to invade it. The truth is, that I could have landed my men with more ease than I did,—yea, without finding any resisting, if I would have rowed to another place; yea, even there where I landed, if I would have taken more company to help me. But, without fearing any imputation of rashness, I may say that I had more regard to reputation in that business than of safety. For I thought it to belong unto the honour of our Prince and nation that a few islanders should not think any advantage great enough against a fleet set forth by Queen Elizabeth. And, further, I was unwilling that some Low-Country captains and

RALEGH'S ACCOUNT OF THE LANDING AT FAYAL.

[1] Sir Arthur Gorges, *Relation of Island Voyage;* in Purchas' *Pilgrimes*, pp. 1938, *seqq.* Comp. *Desp.* in MS. Harl. as above, fol. 327.

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others, not of mine own squadron, whose assistance I had refused, should please themselves with the sweet conceit (though it would have been short when I had landed in some other place), that for want of their help I was driven to turn tail. Therefore I took with me none but men assured. Commanders of mine own squadron, with some of their followers and a few other gentlemen volunteers, as Sir William Brooke [here he enumerates, with seven other knights, several officers; among them his old follower in Guiana and elsewhere, Captain Kemys], by whose help, with God's favour, I made good the enterprise I undertook. As for the working of the sea, the steepness of the cliffs, and other troubles that were not new to us, we overcame them well enough. And, these notwithstanding, made five or six companies of the enemy that sought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall whenever the musketeers lay on the rest for us, and won the place of them without any great loss." . . . "The enemy troubled us more," he adds, "in our march towards Fayal, than in our taking the shore; . . . . and such as, thinking all danger to be past when we had won good footing, would needs follow us to the town, were driven by him to forsake the pace of a man-of-war, and betake themselves to a hasty trot."

History of the World, vol. v. p. 1.

It is not undeserving of remark that the men by whom this achievement was (to use Sir Arthur Gorges' words) "wrested into an evil sense"—Sir Gilly Meyricke and Sir Christopher Blount being more especially conspicuous and sweeping, in their censures—were the very men who at length egged on Essex to his fatal enterprise, three years later. Gorges was a bystander at the interview between the two Admirals in the flag-

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INTERVIEW OF ESSEX AND RALEGH.

ship, and has given us a graphic account of it. "When Sir Walter," he says, "(not suspecting that anything had been ill taken in that matter, but rather looking for great thanks at the General's hands,) was entered into the General's cabin; after a faint welcome, the General began to challenge him of 'breach of Order and Articles.' To whom the Rear-Admiral answered, that he knew not of any such breach. My Lord replied that there was an Article 'that none should land any of the troops without the General's presence or his order.' The Rear-Admiral desired the General to give him leave to defend himself by those laws which himself, as well as others, had devised, and his Lordship, with the Council of War, had authorized; and that then his Lordship should find that he had not committed any error at all. 'For' (saith Sir Walter) 'there is an Article that no captain of any ship or company, if he be severed from the fleet, shall land anywhere without directions from the General, *or some other principal commander*, upon pain of death, &c. But I take myself to be a principal commander, under your Lordship; and therefore not subject to that Article, nor under the power of the Law Martial, because a successive commander of the whole fleet, in Her Majesty's Letters Patent, your Lordship and my Lord Thomas Howard failing.' 'And, besides,' continued Ralegh, 'your Lordship agreed that I should land at this island with your Lordship, whom I have attended these four days; and finding that your Lordship came not, . . . I could not but think that you thought me strong enough to take this island; and that your Lordship was gone, with some of the rest [of the fleet], to the other islands. I stayed so long,' he added, 'from landing, at Sir Gilly Meyricke's entreaty, as [that] I heard mine own com-

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pany, even at my back, murmur and say that I durst not adventure it.'" What ensued is too long and too minute for quotation. Essex himself seemed inclined to admit Ralegh's answer as a sufficient one, but Sir Christopher Blount found means to revive his wrath, and the consequences threatened to be grave; "for," continues Sir Arthur Gorges, "remembering the little trust that men ought to repose in reconciled enemies, and the strong malice borne him by others in greatest favour with my Lord, he [Ralegh] had meant to have put himself into his own squadron, and so to have defended himself, or to have left my Lord."[1] Another close observer writes thus:—"The act was urged with that vehemency, by those that hated Sir Walter, that if my Lord, who by nature was timorous and flexible, had not feared how it would be taken in England, I think Sir Walter had smarted for it."

Monson, *Narrative of Island Voyage*, in MS. Cott. Titus, B. viii. fol. 127, vers.(B.M.)

INTERVENTION OF LORD THOMAS HOWARD.

But the wise and timely interposition of Lord Thomas Howard healed the breach; at least for the present. The fleet kept the sea until nearly the middle of October; and then came home. The captures, we are told, were "but three good prizes that came from the Havannah, laden with cochineal and other rich merchandise, and a few merchantmen from the Brazils." A very rich carrack that would have fallen prize to Ralegh's squadron was burnt by its crew, in spite of a desperate effort by the English, in their boats, headed by Sir Walter in person; yet the King of Spain, according to the official reports, lost in this expedition eighteen ships, including "two of his best galleons."

Monson, as above, fol. 133.

[1] Gorges, as above, p. 1958. This narrative, by one who is little known as an author, is a masterly piece of writing. It came in MS. under the eye of Henry, Prince of Wales, and is said to owe its publication to his urgent request.

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RESULTS OF THE ISLAND VOYAGE.

Domestic Corresp. Elizabeth, vol. ccxxvi. § 21. (R. H.)

The captures were not large, but they were sufficient to affect some of the dealings of English merchants after a notable manner, and for a considerable time. In a royal warrant of the 10th of the following February, the cochineal and indigo which had been taken in the Islands' Voyage, and stored in the Queen's warehouses, are stated to be enough in quantity "to be used in this our realm for many years." And, in accordance with the then practice, a restraint of the importation of those articles was proclaimed, to continue for such a period as should afford the Queen a sufficient market for her wares, at satisfactory prices. Portions of them were sold in the ordinary way. Other portions were granted by "contract," at fixed prices and as marks of royal favour, to certain eminent persons, who in their turn sold their grants to merchants. In this way, Essex had a contract for fifty thousand pounds' worth of cochineal, at eighteen shillings a pound, the market price being then about thirty shillings a pound.

As usual, but a small proportion of the good things that were going fell to the lot of the soldiers and mariners who had borne the brunt of the service. Part of the former were draughted off for the manning of the fortifications at Falmouth, Plymouth, and Dartmouth, under Ralegh's direction, and that of his colleagues in office in the West. In the performance of this duty he found it necessary to remonstrate against the inadequate pay of the soldiers thus employed. It curiously illustrates both the variety and the frequent pettiness of the functions of Privy Councillors in those days to find Sir Walter writing to the Council, and receiving from their Lordships, in reply, a long and formal minute, on the weekly allowances of gunners. "By your letters," writes the Council, on the 18th November, 1597, "we

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perceive how scant the imprest of two shillings and sixpence the week will be to entertain the soldiers that were employed in the late sea-service and are appointed to remain there [*i.e.* in the forts], to find them their diet; and therefore we have thought meet they shall, from henceforth, have the allowance of three shillings and fourpence the week, as is imprested to the soldiers serving in France." The same Minute of Council imposes on Ralegh various other duties connected with the provisioning of the forts, and with the payments required for local services. The circuitous methods then employed must have made these duties not a little onerous. For example: "We pray you," write the Lords, "by virtue hereof to require Mr. Carey of Cockington to see you furnished of the loan money that already he hath received, or is to come to his hands, or by any other means by exchange; and order shall be taken here to see it forthwith repaid. We have seen a note of divers kinds of provisions demanded by you, of which we require you to see what sorts of them may be had there;" and much more, of like tenor.

Registers of the Privy Council, Elizabeth, vol. xiv. p. 73. (C. O.)

Ibid.

The exhausting sort of life and the multifarious labours of Ralegh, aggravated, it is likely, by the consequences of the wound he had received in the Cadiz battle, began now to tell visibly upon his vigour of body, which hitherto had been great. In another Council letter of this period, after instructions that he should, "upon view of the situation of the port of Falmouth, consult what place might be fitly chosen" for the purpose of raising some new fort "to command all ships that should ride in the Haven," the Council goes on to add, "We lately understood your journey is stayed for the present, by reason of your indisposition and want of

health, whereof we are very sorry to hear, and wish you speedy recovery." Their Lordships, however, impress upon Sir Walter the importance, at that juncture, that "some diligence be used in these matters to prevent the sudden attempts of the enemy." Paul Juy, a military engineer of skill and reputation, was sent down to confer with Ralegh; and works of considerable extent were undertaken.

Registers of the Privy Council, vol. xiv. p. 73.

Alarms of new attempts against the English coasts continue to recur, and are, at this period, prominent topics in Sir Walter's correspondence. He loses no opportunity of enforcing his doctrine that Spain must be fought and conquered at sea. Schemes for defending England by building costly forts along her shores were, in his eyes, worthy of "scribes, not of men of war." A memorable passage, in one of his subsequent writings, about the true seats of the strength and the weakness of Spain does but sum up, in briefer form, what in various ways he had repeatedly urged on Queen and Ministers, and had spoken (as we shall see hereafter), in happier days, from his place in the House of Commons. Of Spain, he was wont to say, in the words of a Spanish proverb, "The lion is not so fierce as he is painted." "His forces in all parts of the world but the Low Countries, are far under the fame. *If the late Queen would have believed her men of war as she did her scribes*, we had, in her time, beaten that great empire in pieces, and made their kings kings of figs and oranges, as in old times. But Her Majesty did all by halves, and by petty invasions taught the Spaniard how to defend himself, and to see his own weakness, which, till our attempts taught him, was hardly known to himself. Four thousand men would have taken from him all the ports of his Indies; I mean all his ports by which

RALEGH'S ESTIMATE OF THE STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS OF SPAIN.

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his treasure doth or can pass. He is more hated in that part of the world by the sons of the conquered, than the English are by the Irish."[1]

The treatise in which these striking words occur, was probably written by Ralegh in the year 1612, and therefore some sixteen years after the capture of Cadiz. Even after so long an interval, the full results of that one vigorous blow were not yet seen. What would they have been, had the blow been followed up with the whole might of England, as Ralegh had counselled, and "the scribes" had hindered? Whatever be the conjectural answer to such a question, it is certain that the account already registered against Ralegh himself, at the Escurial, was a sufficiently heavy one.

Almost his first exploit after attaining manhood had been to strike at Spain in Ireland. He had been one of the foremost in clinching the defeat of her great Armada, and in exacting stern reprisals. It was a ship of Ralegh's which, four years afterwards, had inflicted a deep and double wound—reaching Spanish greed and Spanish pride at a thrust—by the capture of the rich *Madre de Dios*. It was his skill and his valour which had made the Cadiz blow of 1596 to strike home. It was he who had captured the *San Matteo* and the *San Fçlipe*, and had afterwards led them against their old owners. But for Ralegh, the expedition against the Spanish Islands in 1597 would have been a total failure to England and a triumph to Spain. It was Ralegh who—in Parliament, in the press, and in Council; alike in season and out of season—had been the unremitting enemy of Spanish policy, wherever and in whatever shape he met with it. It was he who by vast colonial

[1] *Discourse touching a Marriage between Prince Henry of England and a Daughter of Savoy.* (*Works*, vol. viii. p. 246.)

enterprises, extending over twenty years, had defied Spanish pretensions, and spread alarm throughout Spanish settlements. If the time should ever come when a new and weak monarch shall be disposed to bend the policy of England to the policy of Spain; when a king of England shall lay bare to an ambassador of Spain his hatred of a free press and a free parliament;—a time when "the scribes" shall be in power, and the men of war in disgrace;—on whose head is it likely that Spain will seek to wreak her revenge for the Past?

CHAPTER XIII.

RALEGH, ESSEX, AND ROBERT CECIL.—THE COURT OF ELIZABETH IN ITS LAST YEARS.

1598—1601.

The Quarrel of Essex with the Lord High Admiral.—Ralegh persuades the Queen to create Essex Earl Marshal.—Mysterious Conferences of Essex, Ralegh, and Cecil.—A Game at Primero in the Presence Chamber.—More Court Honeymoons in the Fleet Prison.—Essex and the Government of Ireland.—Enmities renewed.—The Return from Ireland and its Results.—The Interview on the Thames between Ralegh and Sir Ferdinando Gorges.—The Attempt to assassinate Ralegh.—Blount's Confession and the Conference on the Scaffold.—The Letter to Cecil ('*Let the Queen hold Bothwell*') and its true Date.—Cecil's Correspondence with Sir George Carew in Ireland.—The Governorship of Jersey.—Near Approach of the final Crisis.

CHAP. XIII.
1598-1601.

WHATEVER may have been the personal readiness of the Earl of Essex to meet the friendly overtures of Ralegh in a friendly spirit, and so to carry himself on that the partial reconciliation on board the flagship of 1597 should have had time to ripen, there were always close about him men who found it, or who fancied it, to be their interest to hinder the reconciliation and to nurse the embers of the old enmity into a flame. It was not in the nature of things that Essex and Ralegh should be cordial friends. It was quite possible, but for intermeddlers, that their natural rivalry should have been the rivalry of men who respect each other. For more than a year after the return from the Islands, it wore that aspect. For a few months, it had seemed to be

even on the point of transformation into something resembling friendship. In 1598, the opportunity presented itself to Ralegh of performing towards Essex a really friendly office, and the opportunity was seized.

ELEVATION OF THE LORD ADMIRAL HOWARD.

Essex had quarrelled very bitterly with his former colleague, the Lord High Admiral, on account of his elevation (towards the close of 1597) to the earldom of Nottingham, and with the Queen herself for so creating him. Being now an Earl, Howard's great office of Lord High Admiral had given him precedence, under the provisions of a Statute of Henry the Eighth, over all Earls, of whatever standing, who should not be also holders of one or other of the four great offices of State specified in that Statute. Essex took the enhanced dignity of his old comrade so much in dudgeon, that he refused to attend either at Court or Council, and allowed great and public licence to his tongue. His friends—and he had at all times many—at first alleged his want of health, and specifically that he had a "violent throbbing in the temples, when exposed either to cold *or to long speeches*." One of them, after making these representations to the Queen, ventured to pledge himself that Essex would nevertheless attend, "if Her Majesty should be pleased to command his services." Her Majesty was pleased to reply: "His place and duty is sufficient to command him. A prince is not to be contested withal, by a subject." Nottingham himself wrote earnestly to Essex, trying to placate him, and to convince him that he had done nothing by underhand courses; nothing unworthy of old friendship. "I am not base," he said; "I know what belongeth to honour, and to such an one as you are. If my love were not to you, and that I desired the continuance thereof, your Lordship's earldom should not make me write this."

Domestic Corresp. Elizabeth, Nov. 1597. (R. H.)

CHAP. XIII. 1598-1601.

But Essex was implacable. The Queen, meanwhile, began to weary of his absence, and grew a little inclined to abate her first severity. Presently, it became apparent that she was not unwilling to think even of a modification of the terms of the new patent. The effect of the precedence clause in the Statute of Henry was, of course, beyond direct interference. But that was not the Earl's only grievance. For, in Nottingham's patent, services "at the taking of Cadiz" were expressly mentioned, and the mention gave additional offence to Essex. But, in his turn, the Lord Admiral, who had a long series of very real claims on the Queen's regard and honour, would listen to no proposal of alteration by consent. If his new dignity were in aught abridged, he, too, would become a truant from the Court. It is evident that, however sincere may have been his regard for Essex, his self-complacency had been gratified not a little by the elevation of Charles Howard over Robert Devereux.

RALEGH INTERPOSES IN THE QUARREL OF ESSEX AND HOWARD.

Ralegh now interposed. He tried on Nottingham, expressly at the Queen's request,[1] if we credit Rowland Whyte, the persuasions of a man who was at once a comrade, a kinsman, and a tried friend. Nottingham was still obdurate. Ralegh, as it seems (for the evidence is not quite clear), hit upon an expedient which won the Queen's sanction and satisfied Essex, although no rhetoric could reconcile the Lord Admiral to a step which virtually gave back to his fellow-soldier at Cadiz his old precedence. Essex was made Earl Marshal of England. Nottingham retired from the Court to Chelsea in a fit of discontent.

Essex, Ralegh, and Robert Cecil were again, to the great surprise of their fellow-courtiers, known to have

[1] R. Whyte to Sir R. Sydney, 21st Dec. 1597; in Collins, as above.

close and frequent conference. Essex House and Cecil House were in turn the scenes of meetings and discussions, which awakened a curiosity not destined, as it seems, to be, either at the time or since, fully satisfied. The still imperfectly known manuscripts at Hatfield might, perchance, throw some light on the subjects of conference; but as yet those subjects are little more than matter of conjecture. And, amongst mere conjectures, that seems not the least probable which points to new plans of warlike enterprise. Cecil would be none the less likely to busy himself in discussions about plans of that sort, even if he had already made up his mind to thwart them. A lively interest in debates about matters not intended, by him, to come to any practical issue, was, indeed, noted in him as a characteristic. And we have evidence that he so managed it as to make the practice not unfruitful.

Increased familiarity with Essex would naturally bring Sir Walter Ralegh into closer social relations with some of the special friends of Essex at Court. A small anecdote which connects Ralegh's name with that of one of the dearest of them, has its value as another illustration of character. On a certain evening in January 1598, Ralegh, with the Earl of Southampton and a courtier named Parker, were playing at the game called Primero, in the Presence Chamber. The Queen, it seems, had withdrawn to her bedchamber at an earlier hour than usual, and one of the gentlemen in waiting desired the party to bring their game to an end. "Sir Walter Ralegh put up his money, and went his ways," says the Court chronicler, but the young Earl resented the hint of the "esquire of the body, Master Willoughby," as an impertinence to a man of his quality, and there ensued between Earl and squire a very

RALEGH AND THE GAME OF PRIMERO.

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uncourtly scuffle, in the course of which "the esquire polled off some of the Earl's locks." Next morning the Queen herself thanked Willoughby for giving the too impetuous Southampton a lesson in due observance towards her officers. Presently, the Earl imitated Essex by incurring the Queen's anger for an unauthorized marriage. Elizabeth Vernon, "the new-coined Countess," as the gossips called her, was at first dismissed with much disgrace and contumely from Court, and then, if John Chamberlain's account to Dudley Carleton may be trusted, even committed to "the best-appointed lodging in the Fleet." Essex had countenanced and promoted the marriage, and so had given to the Queen fresh and grave offence. Before this was forgiven him, there came that strange outburst of passionate anger in which he so entirely forgot himself as to insult the Queen by a gesture of open contempt. That gesture, and some bitter words, were never either forgotten or forgiven. Ralegh, in a well-known passage of his writings, goes the length of asserting that no possible State offence could have wrought the Earl's complete ruin, but for these.

Whyte to Sir R. Sydney; in Collins, vol. ii. p. 79.

CECIL'S MISSION INTO FRANCE.

When Cecil went into France, on the mission he was so determined to make a brief one, he had gone reluctantly, and had made Essex pledge to him his word and honour that he would not seek to bring about at home, whilst that mission lasted, any changes opposed to Cecil's known interests and policy, or any unpalatable appointments. The exaction of such a pledge shows how superficial the union of counsels was already felt to have been. Essex kept his word. But from the date of Cecil's return, new disunion virtually began. Different views about Irish policy and Irish appointments gave occasion for its expression, more or

less openly. At first, Essex wished to send Sir George Carew to Ireland (who came, eventually, to be one of his own successors there), whilst Cecil, and the Queen herself, wished Sir William Knollys to go. But a different choice was to be made, and a fatal one.

ESSEX AND THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND.

Essex hesitated long, before accepting for himself the hard and dangerous task of governing Ireland. Every recollection and tradition of his unfortunate father's bitter experience there must needs, one would think, have increased his reluctance. Some of the Court gossipers of the day say that the onerous commission had been offered to Ralegh, and declined by him, before it was tendered to Essex. But I have seen no evidence that this assertion is more than one of the many floating rumours which commonly preceded and accompanied every change of administration in Ireland. And it is obvious that the acceptance by Essex,—howsoever reluctant it may have been,—creates of itself a presumption that no such offer to Ralegh had been made. Before Essex left the Court, he was already surrounded by dangerous advisers. Some of the chief of them went with him into Ireland, and the circumstances which there befell largely increased their influence and his danger. Here, our only concern in that fatal chapter of the Earl's history lies with those incidents of it in which Ralegh obviously took part or in some way influenced.

REVIVAL OF ESSEX'S ANIMOSITY TO RALEGH.

Lord Essex went to Ireland with all his ancient animosity against the rival of former years renewed, and, possibly, even heightened. He had reached the seat of his government but a very short time, when we find him writing to the Queen in such a strain as this:—"Why do I talk of victory or success? Is it not known that from England I receive nothing but discomforts and soul's wounds? . . . Is it not lamented of your

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1598-1601.

Essex to the Queen, 25 June, 1599; *Bacon Papers.* (Lamb. P.)

Majesty's faithfullest subjects, both there and here, that a Cobham and Ralegh—I will forbear others, for their places' sakes—should have such credit and favour with your Majesty when they wish the ill success of your Majesty's most important action, the decay of your greatest strength, and the destruction of your faithfullest servants?"

When this tirade was written, Ralegh was still the owner of a large estate in Munster, and the head of a great mercantile enterprise for converting his Irish woods into pipe-staves and wine-butts. Of the probabilities that a man so circumstanced—to look at the matter from that baser side only—should desire the success of the Irish rebels and the defeat of the Queen's forces, it would be idle to say a word. The worth of the despatch lies in the proof it gives that the Earl's administration of Irish affairs foreboded at its outset the issue which the foolish truce with Tyrone precipitated. He begins a task already overburdened with difficulty by creating new difficulties for himself.

Of Cobham's interference in Irish policy there is no evidence whatever. Ralegh, indeed, was repeatedly consulted about Irish affairs, both by the Queen and by her Ministers. But his advice was uniformly in favour of measures vigorous and decided.[1] Had any results of that advice, through its impression on the Council in England, been permitted by Essex to have an influence on his own measures, he would have been but a gainer. In Ralegh's view, the submission of rebels was the essential condition-precedent of their recon-

[1] *Registers of the Privy Council*, 1597-1600 (Council Office); *Letters*, hereinafter, under '1598.' It will of course be borne in mind, that Ralegh was never admitted as a Privy Councillor, though many times summoned to give his opinion and advice, chiefly on military affairs and on matters of Irish policy; and this at sittings of the Council, as well as to the Queen herself.

ciliation. That view Ralegh had always taken. It was the Earl's misfortune that he did not take it too.

Essex continued to nurse and to brood over his hatred of Ralegh, and of those who, at this period, were acting in unison with Ralegh; and when, after his hurried and ill-advised return to England, and the long period of disgrace and discredit thence entailed on him, he at last took his fatal step, his alleged danger "*from Ralegh*" was prominent among the pretexts for rebellion. He gave utterance to it both in the streets, when addressing the populace, and in the conference at Essex House, when animating his adherents in the pursuit of their mad enterprise. "The Earl pretended," writes Cecil to Sir George Carew, Lord President of Munster, who had then virtually succeeded Essex in the government of Ireland, "that he took arms principally to save himself from Cobham and Ralegh, who, he gave out, should have murdered him in his house, on Saturday night." A sentence or two which Cecil immediately adds derive deep interest from subsequent events: "He pretended also an intention to remove me . . . . from the Queen, *as one who would sell the kingdom of England to the Infanta of Spain;* with such other hyperbolical inventions." That the aspersion against Ralegh had not been without its effect is shown, amongst other proofs, by the statement made by Dr. George Fletcher to the Queen's Secretary, during his imprisonment for alleged complicity in the insurrection: "I have been abused by those fables and foolish lies of the Earl's danger and fear of murder, by Sir Walter Ralegh."[1] His heart, he adds, was untouched, and his hands clean of the Earl's wicked practices. But the strangest incident

Sir R. Cecil to Sir G. Carew; MS. Tenis., dciv. f. 69. (Lamb. P.)

Ibid.

[1] Fletcher to Sir R. Cecil, 14th March, 1601; *Cecil State Correspondence*, MS. Hatf. vol. lxxvii. f. 60. (Hatfield House.)

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which connects Ralegh's name with the dark history of the Essex conspiracy is that which was told by Sir Ferdinando Gorges (who had served repeatedly both under Essex and under Ralegh), and was confirmed by Sir Walter himself when he was under examination, during the proceedings against the Earl's adherents.

THE INTERVIEW OF RALEGH WITH GORGES ON THE THAMES.

Gorges, it seems, had, on the very morning of the insurrection in the city, received from Sir Walter a summons to attend him at Durham House. He was then at Essex House (hard by) in attendance on the Earl, whom he consulted on the question whether or not he should comply with the summons. The Earl advised him to have the interview, but to hold it on the river, not at Durham House. Gorges accordingly asked Sir Walter to meet him in a boat. Ralegh came alone. Gorges had two gentlemen in his company. Sir Walter told him, as an old friend, that a warrant was out for his apprehension, and urged him to betake himself to his proper post in the Queen's service as Governor of Plymouth. Gorges replied that the friendly advice came too late, as he had already engaged himself. Then followed the natural inquiry from Sir Walter what it was that the confederates intended. "I told him," says Sir Ferdinando, in the elaborate defence of himself which he drew up after his trial, that "there were two thousand gentlemen who had resolved that day to live or die freemen. Sir Walter protested unto me he heard not of it, until that morning; but did not see what they were able to do against the Queen's authority. My answer was, it was the abuse of that, by him and others, which made so many honest men resolve to seek a reformation thereof. His reply was, that no man is without a colour for his intent; and [he] advised me to look to myself and to remember my duty and allegiance.

Answer of Sir F. Gorges, &c. in MS. Cotton. Julius, F. vi. p. 423. (B. M.)

THE ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE RALEGH.

I answered that I knew not any man who did not more respect his allegiance than his life, as the end would make apparent: and thus we parted; he to the Court, and I to Essex House." "This is like to be the bloodiest day's work that ever was," is an additional saying of Gorges, at this interview, which is known by Ralegh's testimony. Sir Christopher Blount had strongly urged Gorges (whom he should better have known) to do the Earl the service of either seizing Ralegh's person or killing him. Gorges rejected the base advice, as scornfully as Essex would have rejected the "service." But Blount watched his opportunity, and himself shot at Ralegh four times, it is said, without result. Blount, when examined as to his own belief in the assertion that Ralegh and Cobham had plotted against the life of Essex, replied that he did not believe they ever meant any such thing; neither did he believe that the Earl himself had feared it. "It was," he said, "a word cast out, to colour other matters." Blount, when brought to the scaffold, in very contrite and earnest words entreated Ralegh's pardon. Sir Walter was present at the execution of Blount, as he had been at that of Essex, in the ordinary discharge of his duty as Captain of the Queen's Guard. For the imputation that there was anything of triumph in his demeanour, on either occasion, there is not a particle of proof.

When—in reply to the question asked by Blount in his last moments, "Is Sir Walter Ralegh here?"—Sir Walter came nearer to the scaffold, Blount thus addressed him: "Sir Walter Ralegh, I thank God that you are present. I had an infinite desire to speak with you, to ask your forgiveness ere I died. Both for the wrong done you and for my particular ill intent towards

you, I beseech you forgive me." Ralegh answered: "I most willingly forgive you, and I beseech God to forgive you, and to give you His divine comfort." And then, turning towards the bystanders: "I protest before God that, whatever Sir Christopher Blount meant towards me, I, for my part, never bore him any ill intent." He then again addressed himself to Blount, but what followed, full of interest as it is, belongs rather to the biography of Essex than to that of Ralegh. All that passed in this remarkable scene goes straightly and conclusively to the disproof of the charge that Ralegh found pleasure in the miserable death of his enemies. But there is yet another charge, made against him by several writers, which may, perhaps, require somewhat more careful and detailed notice.

The well-known letter which Murdin printed, many years ago, from the MSS. at Hatfield, in which Cecil is advised that "this tyrant," meaning Essex, should "be now kept down," displays a strong and stern animosity against Essex, and shows conclusively that at length—and for a time—hatred had been begotten of hatred. Ralegh had failed to learn thoroughly either the worldly wisdom or the Christian duty of forgiveness, irrespectively of the contrition of the offender. Essex had done his best, and worst, to thwart and to injure Ralegh. He had striven hard to ruin his career, and to tarnish his character. Ralegh, who on former occasions had shown towards Essex a wise and noble magnanimity, at length—more unhappily for himself than for his rival—repaid ill offices in kind. To the censure which attaches to a failure of generosity towards Essex, and to an oblivion of the Divine command, *Love your enemies; do good unto them who despitefully use you and persecute you*, he is justly and fully open. Thus far, there is no room

RALEGH'S LETTER TO CECIL ABOUT ESSEX; ITS DATE AND IMPORT.

for controversy. Happily, it is not less certain that his oblivion of the duty of forgiveness was only a temporary oblivion.

The letter printed by Murdin is undated, yet dates itself. It was written after the unauthorized return of Essex from Ireland, and whilst the question what was to be the Earl's punishment for the offences and misdemeanours in his Irish government was yet pending before the Council. Shall he be censured and left for the Queen's gracious pardon, when she thinks his "proud spirit" sufficiently humbled? Or, shall he be incapacitated from future martial and political office, and be kept a State prisoner? These are the questions to which every sentence of the letter plainly points, in tone, scope, and purpose. But more lies in the letter than this. There are sentences in it which become drivelling nonsense when it is interpreted to be a covert persuasion to Cecil to use his influence over the Queen to preclude her from giving Essex his life, after he had been condemned to die. The author of *Lives of the Devereux*, when he tries to wrest this letter from the correspondence of the year 1600, and to transfer it into that of the year 1601,[1] gives a very stong instance indeed of what Lord Macaulay has called the "disease of biographers." When Ralegh wrote, "*His son shall be the youngest Earl of England;* and, *if his father is now kept down*, Will Cecil shall be able to keep as many men at his heels as he, and more too," he very unconsciously put on safe record the conclusive answer to a charge which was to be made against him two centuries

[1] Devereux, *Lives of the Devereux*, vol. ii. p. 177. This book, I may be permitted to add, shows, in addition to its vigour and research, more impartiality on several occasions than might be inferred, by those who have not read it throughout, from the passage cited in the text. Ralegh, however, has almost uniformly to fare but ill in the pages of Mr. Devereux.

after his death. It needs, surely, to be an adoring biographer of Essex to enable a man to reach the conclusion that Walter Ralegh, after twenty years of Court life and of statesmanship, was ignorant of the effects of an attainder of treason.

SADNESS NOTICED IN RALEGH AFTER DEATH OF ESSEX.

Close observers of Ralegh's demeanour have handed down a tradition that more than usual thoughtfulness and sadness of face were seen in him when the Essex tragedy came to its end. It was believed that dark forebodings crossed his mind as he sat, moodily, in his boat, on the return from the Tower to Durham House. In the recollections most likely then to rise up in his memory, there was quite enough for pensive thought. The strange scene, long years ago, in the Presence-chamber at North Hall; the memorable moment in the Bay of Cadiz, when Essex threw his plumed hat into the sea, to greet Ralegh's own announcement of the decision to attack the Spanish Fleet; the angry debate, amid angry lookers-on, aboard the flag-ship in '97; the long conferences at Cecil House; and that final issue of all this, and of the thousand incidents that came between, which he had just beheld,—may well have brought over his spirits a mood of sadness. Quite as natural may have been the ominous thought—one dreaded competitor for future power removed, will the remover be reconciled with the quiet continuance of another?

CECIL'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH SIR GEORGE CAREW.

However that may have really been, the relations between Ralegh and Sir Robert Cecil continued, for a time, on their former footing; and, but for the recent publication of a selection from the papers of an old intimate of Ralegh and of Cecil,—Sir George Carew,—it would have been difficult to note the growth of the change in them. Sir Robert Cecil was most earnest

and persistent in impressing on his correspondent, Carew, the prudence of burning his letters, directly they had been read. To Carew's disregard of the injunction we owe a volume of no slight interest to readers in general, and of special interest to the biographer of Ralegh. In his copious letters to Sir George, Cecil is at first very earnest and open about another matter,—his strong and deep affection for Ralegh, the kinsman and, but for passing clouds, the life-long friend of Carew. Presently, it begins to be seen that his desire to be on the most cordial terms with Ralegh is inferior only to his passionate and supreme anxiety to promote the personal interest and the personal ambition of Carew himself.

Thus (to give only one example, from a letter of June 1601, and from its significant postscript), we find Cecil writing:—"If I did not know that you do measure me by your own heart towards me, which is likewise the rule of mine towards all other, it might be a doubtfulness in me that *the mutinies* of those I do love and will,—howsoever they do me,—might incite in you some belief that I were ungrateful towards them. But, Sir, for the better man [*i.e.* Ralegh], the second [*i.e.* Cobham] always sways him; and to what passion he is subject who is subject to his leading,[1] I leave to your judgment and experience. Only this I pray you: retain faith and confidence in me, and, when you and I speak, you shall see my studies have been and are, to make you the companion of my life in honour and comfort." And then he adds this pregnant postscript, which obviously contains the pith of the letter: "This day hath inflamed their minds, for now Shrewsbury and Wor-

[1] Mr. Maclean has printed this word "*lady*." I venture to supply the conjectural reading above, without authority, other than that of the context. Probably it may be a transcriber's mistake in reading a difficult hand.

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cester are sworn councillors. . . . Parliament will begin at Allhallow-tide, and till then, I think, there will be no new creations. Credit me he [*i.e.* Ralegh] *shall never have my consent to be a Councillor, without he surrender to you the Captainship of the Guard,* to which we will easily add some matter of profit, that we may once [more ?] live together some merry days." This attempt to imbue Carew with the persuasion that if his powerful correspondent should, perchance, be presently seen to be thrusting impediments in the path of Ralegh, it would be for the after-advantage of Carew himself, and out of a still warmer affection for him, may be traced as a thread which runs through the subsequent letters. Cecil's plans, whatever may have been their immediate aim,—for of the ultimate aim no careful reader of the Correspondence will have much doubt,—were probably furthered by Ralegh's frequent absences from England ; partly, when called away by his duties as Governor of Jersey; partly, when occupied, jointly with Lord Cobham, in a journey to Flanders, of which the precise objects are somewhat doubtful.

Cecil to Sir George Carew; *Letters*, as above, pp. 85, 86.

RALEGH MADE GOVERNOR OF JERSEY.

The Governorship of Jersey had been conferred on Ralegh in September 1600. He had had active competitors for it in Lord Henry Seymour, and in Sir William Russell. Rowland Whyte's statement, in one of his letters to Sir Robert Sydney, that Ralegh "hath dealt with Sir William Russell to give over his suit, and he would resign unto him the Wardenship of the Stannaries and the Lieutenancy of Cornwall," appears to have had no better foundation than the idle gossip of the Court, on some day when food for talk must have been sadly lacking. Whyte's subsequent statement that a reservation of three hundred pounds a

Whyte to Sydney; in Collins, as above, p. 210.

year to the Crown was made for the advantage of Lord Seymour, seems to have more authority. No sooner had he received his appointment than Ralegh set out for Jersey, which he had never yet seen. "He was two days and two nights on the sea with contrary winds; notwithstanding he went from Weymouth with so fair wind and weather," writes Lady Ralegh, "as little Wat and myself brought him aboard the ship. He writeth to me he never saw a pleasanter island, but protesteth unfeignedly it is not in value the very third part [of that] that was reported."

Whyte to Sydney; in Collins, as above, pp. 210, 212.

Lady Ralegh to Cecil; in MS. Addit. 6177, p. 123. (B. M.)

Ralegh was always ambitious, and he was often self-seeking. He was usually anxious as well for the profit, as for the honour, of office. He shrank from no accumulation of pluralities. But he had no love for sinecures. It may be said with exactest veracity of him, that wherever he had any post of duty, for how brief a time soever, he sowed the seed of some good harvest or other, for posterity to reap. He established for Jersey a trade with Newfoundland, which in aftertimes became very fruitful. He founded there a system of public registration of real property. Nor was he less zealous in removing existing abuses and oppressions. In the very month of his arrival (October 1600), he visited the grandly-placed Castle of Montorgueil, still one of the most interesting things which are to be seen in Jersey. He speaks thus of it, when writing to Cecil:—"Montorgueil is a stately fort; . . . it cost twenty thousand marks the erecting. If a small matter may defend it, it were a pity to cast it down." But he found there a mode of defence which was bad in principle, and oppressive in its working. The inhabitants of the village and district were subjected to compulsory service in what was called the *Corps-de-Garde*. This was abolished by Ralegh. Other

WHAT RALEGH DID IN JERSEY.

Report of Jersey Commissioners.

Ralegh to Cecil; in MS. Addit. 6177, p. 127. (B. M.)

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like boons made his name long grateful in the ears of the well-informed inhabitants of Jersey.

To the strictly public and political functions of government in that island very different and onerous functions were superadded. The Governor of Jersey had also to act as a sort of supreme judge in civil causes, as well as in Crown causes. The *Registers of the Privy Council,* and particularly those of the closing years of Elizabeth's reign, teem with minutes concerning matters in contention between inhabitants of Jersey, and orders of reference to the Governor to inquire and determine. As page after page containing entries of this sort is turned over in the Council Book, the searcher is apt to think that a spirit of more than usual litigiousness must have dwelt amongst the small population of an island which doubtless presented then, as it certainly presents now, the outward aspects of a beauty, more than usually quiet and peaceful. We know that Ralegh's mind was sensitive to the natural charms of his small dominion. He had, it would seem, more than his fair share of the contentious hearings which warred against its peace. It may not, perhaps, be a merely fanciful conjecture that some distaste for functions of that sort may have helped to multiply and to prolong his absences from Jersey. But the many warnings of a great crisis approaching in England would be more potential than aught else.

Registers. of the Privy Council, 1600-1602, passim. (C. O.)

The most diligent among students of the State Papers of this period will find, that whatever may be the amount of new light they throw upon the circumstances which accompanied the end of the Tudor race and the beginnings of the Stuarts, they leave a great many mysteries unsolved; and that the light thrown is often a cross-light. Perhaps the information most trustworthy,

under one point of view, is to be found in the correspondence, direct and indirect, of Sir Robert Cecil and of Lord Henry Howard with King James, an important part of which has but recently been published, in the volume so ably edited by Mr. Bruce for the Camden Society. But, assuredly, no political letters ever stood more in need of keen scrutiny and wary application than do these. That would be a new discovery, indeed, which would give warrant to the historical inquirer to assert roundly that a thing was so and so, simply because one of King James' correspondents of 1602 is found so to have stated it.

KING JAMES' DISTRUST OF CECIL AND "THE CECILIANS."

When this correspondence began, James was still under the full influence of a rooted distrust of Cecil and of his schemes. That distrust was, in a sense, hereditary. The son had become the object of feelings first excited by the acts, and also by the rumoured and credited acts, of the father. James believed that Robert Cecil had plotted the destruction of "my martyr Essex," as he sometimes called him. He also believed that Ralegh had been a fellow-worker with Cecil in that destruction, and that Cecil, Ralegh, and Lord Cobham were alike disaffected towards his own succession to the English crown, at least in its entirety. How was it that Cecil succeeded in shifting this distrust completely from off his own shoulders? How did he contrive to get James to draw, mentally, strong and permanent lines of demarcation between the Queen's Secretary, and the Secretary's old confederates and intimates? Some certainty on that point would perhaps do a good deal more than merely clear up a mystery in the chequered career of Walter Ralegh.

Certainty, however, seems to be more than can at present be hoped for. A careful reading of Cecil's

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THE SUCCESSION TO THE ENGLISH CROWN.

Correspondence with Scotland, and also of that of Henry Howard, will suggest some probabilities on the matter, not, perhaps, unworthy of attention. But to the appreciation of that Scottish correspondence some preliminary outline, how brief soever, of the state, at the close of the sixteenth century, of the facts, and also of the beliefs, which bore upon the Succession to the Crown, is essential. The quiet way in which the question, at its maturity, was settled is scarcely less apt to suggest that the perils were small, than the distorted representations of the Roman Catholic controversialists of the day are to suggest—to those who pay regard to them—that there was a wide diversity of opinion in the nation as to the person of its next rightful ruler. Neither inference would be true. The perils were great. The diversity of opinion about the Succession had come at length to be small. But every thoughtful student of English history is aware that the growth of agreement in the public mind which permitted the Crown to pass peacefully and instantly from Elizabeth to James did not cancel the real perils which the transfer involved to the nation. It merely postponed them.

As far as the subject of this biography is concerned, the matter of the Succession shapes itself into three distinct questions: (1) Did Ralegh at any time take part, and if any, what part, in the undercurrent of controversy—not less real because, in a measure, hidden—about the Succession to the Crown of England? (2) Did he ever form any plan for preferring the title of Arabella Stuart to that of James Stuart? (3) Did he contemplate the making the Succession to the Crown a succession upon certain prescribed terms and covenants?

When two of these three questions came,—in garbled

form, and with such an admixture of lies as is marvellous, even for the times of James the First,—to a public trial, the result closed to Ralegh for ever all, save one, of those channels of exertion in the pursuit of which he had won fame, and created fear. As Statesman, Soldier, Administrator, Colonizer, his outward activities were then substantially at an end. As Writer, the best part of his career was yet to be run. In all that followed the year 1602 we have in this book to do only with a great downfall, and with what grew out of that. As in thousands of unrecorded cases, so in this famous case, a great humiliation turned out to be a blessing in disguise, both to the man on whom it fell, and, through its effect on him, to the world. Long imprisonments have many times given birth to great books. Bitter sufferings have very often purged a noble character of its base alloy. Here, the degree of the gain is the thing memorable. What would have been the effect on the alloy in Ralegh's character of a new and a prosperous career in the Court of King James the First? Hypothetical biography is not worth much. But a biographer of Ralegh can hardly avoid asking, at least of himself, What are the probabilities that Ralegh would have breathed unhurt the atmosphere in which the weaknesses of Bacon grew so fatally?

One section of Sir Walter's public life has yet, however, to be noticed. His labours as a member of Parliament may fairly claim a chapter apart. They were spread over a period of almost twenty years.

CHAPTER XIV.

IN PARLIAMENT.

1585—1602.

Ralegh an Authority in the House of Commons on Points of Parliamentary Law.—His Speech on the Power and Resources of Spain in Debates on Subsidies.—Ralegh and Bacon on the Incidence of Taxation.—Speeches on the Brownist Bill and on Sabbath Observance.—Ralegh advocates a Free Trade in Corn and the Repeal of the Act for Tillage.—His Speech on the Pre-emption of Tin, and on the other Privileges of the Duchy of Cornwall.—Evidence as to his Management of the Stannaries and the Regard in which he was held by the Men of Devon and Cornwall.—His Contempt of Popularity.—Ralegh and the Marshal de Biron.

SIR WALTER RALEGH had been returned to Parliament as Knight of the Shire for Devon in 1585. His ancestors, direct and collateral, had sat in the House of Commons for the same county in many Parliaments, from the days of Edward the First to those of Henry the Sixth. Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign he was returned for Cornwall; so that in the later years of his public life he was both Lord Lieutenant and Parliament-man for that county, as well as Lord Warden of its Stannaries.

The Journals of the House show that he took a large share in what must have been, even in those days, the somewhat toilsome labour of Conferences and Committee work. To find that he even became an authority on precedents, and on points of parliamentary form and

usage, is but one instance the more of that versatility of power and faculty of which the instances were already abundant.

Ralegh's parliamentary efforts in debate are more conspicuous in the several sessions which took place between 1597 and 1602, than in any others. But he had acquired some distinction as a speaker at least as early as 1593, and in a famous debate on Subsidies. On that occasion he entered into an elaborate review of the power and resources of Spain; showed that those resources extended virtually over Northern as well as Southern Europe; that in France Philip had effectual command of important towns and havens; and that even in Scotland he had "so corrupted the nobility," that some of them had agreed to work with Spanish forces for the re-establishment of Papistry. "In his own country," continued Sir Walter, "there is all possible preparation; and he is coming with sixty galleons, besides other shipping, with purpose to annoy us. If he invade us, we must have no ships riding at anchor. All will be little enough to withstand him. At his coming, he fully resolveth to get Plymouth; . . . and Plymouth is in most danger." And then he goes on to contend,—as he always contended,—that the way to defeat Philip was not to wait for him: "Let us send a royal army to supplant him in Brittany, and to possess ourselves there; and send also a strong navy to sea, and lie with it upon the Cape and such places as his ships bring his riches to, that they may set upon all that come. This we are able to do; and we shall undoubtedly have fortunate success, if we undertake it."

Heywood Townshend, *Four last Parls. of Q. Eliz.* pp. 67, 93, 120, 270, 278, 293, 321, &c.

RALEGH ON ENGLISH POLICY TOWARDS SPAIN.

D'Ewes, *Journal of the Parl. of Q. Eliz.* p. 484. Compare Townshend, *Four last Parls.* fol. 65.

Eight years later, the same emergency recurred, under circumstances still more grave. In 1601, Spaniards were again in actual array in Ireland, as they had been in

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1585-1602.

ON SUBSIDIES AND THEIR INCIDENCE.

Townshend, ff. 197, 198.

Ibid. ff. 203, 204.

1582. "I now," said Sir Walter, on the 7th of November, 1601, "will only intimate thus much unto you. In the last Parliament only three subsidies were granted upon fear that the Spaniards were coming. But now, we see that they are come, and have set foot in the Queen's territories already. . . . I wish for my own part, as a particular member of this Commonwealth, that we may not do less than we did before; and that we also should bountifully, *according to our estates*, contribute to Her Majesty's necessities, as now they stand." Presently he spoke again (the House being in Committee of Supply) on the proposal that "three-pound men" should be exempted, and all above them pay *four* subsidies instead of three; and the debate grew warm. "If all alike pay," said Ralegh, "none will be aggrieved. And the feeling will be great to those three-pound men that feel anything; but it will be nothing to them that know anything." Subsequently, in the adjourned debate (Nov. 9th), a remark having been made that some poor people pawn "their very pots and pans" to pay the subsidy, Cecil rejoined, "Neither pots nor pans, nor dish nor spoon, should be spared when danger is at our elbows." Francis Bacon (reverting to the proposed clause of exemption) exclaimed, "That the three-pound men might not be exempted, I conclude it is *Dulcis tractus pari jugo*." Ralegh answered both Cecil and Bacon very pithily and characteristically, by observing: "I like not that the Spaniards, our enemies, should know of our selling our pots and pans to pay subsidies. . . . It argues poverty in the State. And, for the motion that was last made, '*Dulcis tractus pari jugo*,'—call you this '*par jugum*,' when a poor man pays as much as a rich? And peradventure, his estate is no better than it is set at, or but little better. When our estates are three or four

pounds in the Queen's Book, it is not the hundredth part of our wealth; therefore it is neither '*dulcis*' nor '*pari*.'"

D'Ewes, pp. 629—633.

Alike in clearness and closeness of argument, and in cool discriminating judgment amidst the very heat and impetus of debate, Ralegh is conspicuous. In the former respect, his speeches stand in striking contrast with those of Robert Cecil. In the latter, he will sometimes be found to have surpassed even the majestic intellect of Bacon. Nor is it less deserving of note with how much adroitness and ready wit he avoids breasting the current of an impetuous debate, whilst suggesting considerations and objections which tend nevertheless entirely to turn the tide. On one occasion, for example, when fierce measures were proposed against the unhappy Brownists, in the shape of new enactments "to retain the Queen's Majesty's subjects in their due obedience," Sir Walter spoke thus:—"In my conceit, the Brownists are worthy to be voted out of a Commonwealth. But what danger may grow to ourselves, if this law passes, were fit to be considered. It is to be feared that men not guilty will be included in it. *The law is hard that taketh life, or sendeth into banishment, where men's intentions shall be judged by a jury; and they shall be judges what another man meant.* But that law that is against *a fact* is just. Punish the fact as severely as you will. If two or three thousand Brownists meet at the sea-side, at whose charge shall they be transported? Or whither will you send them? I am sorry for it, but I am afraid there is near twenty thousand of them in England. When they are gone, who shall maintain their wives and children?" With like wisdom and timeliness, he pointed out the strange results which would follow from some of the

1593, April 4.

ON THE BROWNISTS.

D'Ewes, p. 76.

1601, 12th Dec.

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1585-1602.

ON SABBATH OBSERVANCES.

D'Ewes, p. 307.

stringent provisions of a Bill (introduced many years after this Brownist Bill, but by the same party in the House) "for more diligent repair to church on Sundays." Here he draws a humorous picture of a crowd of prosecuting churchwardens, and another crowd of accused Sabbath-breakers, besieging all the chief towns in the country at every quarter sessions.

In resisting some of the many measures of that day which proposed to teach men by compulsory Statutes how to practise the trades and callings by which they won their daily bread, Ralegh anticipated arguments which had still to be plied in Parliament by statesmen and orators more than two hundred years afterwards. On the second reading of *An Act for Sowing Hemp*, which excited a somewhat sharp controversy, Sir Walter said:—"For my part, I do not like this constraining of men to use their grounds at our wills. Rather let every man use his ground to that which it is most fit for, and therein use his own discretion. For hawsers, cables, cordage, and the like, we have plentifully enough from foreign nations. And we have divers counties here in England [which] make thereof in great abundance. The *Bill of Tillage* may be a sufficient notice to us in this case not to take the course that this Bill tendereth. For, where the law provideth that every man must plough the third part of his land, I know that divers poor people have done so (to avoid the penalty of the Statute), when their abilities have been so poor that they have not been able to buy seed-corn to sow it withal; nay, they have been fain to hire others to plough land, which, if it had been unploughed, would have been good pasture for beasts, or might have been converted to other good uses." In a subsequent debate, Sir Walter Ralegh contended strenuously, in opposition both to

ON FREE TRADE.

1601, Nov. 4.

D'Ewes, p. 188.

Cecil and to Bacon, for the repeal of the *Statute for Tillage* itself. France, he told the House, had offered to serve the Queen with corn in Ireland, at a rate at which the English farmer would be beggared. "The Low Countrymen and the Hollander, who never sow corn, have, by their industry, such plenty that they serve other nations. *I think the best course is to set corn at liberty*, and leave every man free; which is the desire of a true Englishman." To which Cecil made this profound answer: "Whosoever doth not maintain the plough, destroys the kingdom."

D'Ewes, p. 299.

Ibid.

Far-sighted and thorough as were usually Sir Walter's views of commercial polity, he blenched a little from their application to his own Cornish tin—"one of the principal commodities of this kingdom,"—as he told the House of Commons, in the course of the famous debate on Monopolies, in 1601. As there have, since that day, been prominent apostles of Free Trade, who thought it the very sheet-anchor of the country, in all things save corn; and others who never grew wearied of magnifying the saving virtues of an unrestricted commerce, in every article but paper; so Ralegh thought free corn excellent, but free tin worse than questionable. The chief mines of tin, he said, "being in Cornwall, it hath ever, so long as there was any, belonged to the Dukes of Cornwall, who held special Patents of Privilege. It hath pleased Her Majesty freely to bestow on me that Privilege and that Patent, being word for word the very same as the Duke's Patent is." His speech on this occasion excited considerable emotion in the House. "There was," says an eye-witness, "a great silence after it." The debate, ultimately, had large results. And it counts among the most memorable and best known events of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Thenceforward, the growth of a

ON THE TIN MINES OF CORNWALL. 1601, Nov. 20.

D'Ewes, p. 235.

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new policy is traceable, amidst whatever temporary variations and counter-currents. But, after all, it has also to be borne in mind that some of Ralegh's views as to the reasonableness of preserving the special legislation affecting the mines of Cornwall have been, substantially, affirmed by posterity up to this day. The Prince of Wales enjoys, in 1867, much of the substance of that which Sir Walter defended, "by a sharp speech," as his own rightful possession, in 1601. And, now as then, the transportation of the unmelted ores out of Cornwall is prohibited.

WARDENSHIP OF THE STANNARIES.

This speech of 1601, like most of the speeches of the day, is probably preserved but in part. It is full of biographical interest, yet is too long for quotation otherwise than by extract. One passage of it has special significance, in relation both to the spirit in which he discharged the duties of his Wardenship of the Stannaries, and to the contrast which subsisted between the love borne towards him by the West-countrymen, and the dislike in which it is manifest he was held by the populace generally. "When the tin is taken out of the mine," continued the speaker, "and molten and refined, then is every piece containing a hundred weight sealed with the Duke's seal. And by reason of this Privilege (which I now have), he ever had the refusal in buying thereof. . . . Now I will tell you that before the granting of my Patent, whether tin were but at seventeen shillings, and so upwards to fifty shillings a hundred, yet the poor workman never had but two shillings a week, finding himself. But, since my Patent, whosoever will work,—be tin at what price soever,—they have four shillings a week, truly paid. There is no poor that will work there, but may work, and have that wages. Notwithstanding, if all others may be repealed, I will give

my consent as freely to the cancelling of this, as any member of this House." This volunteered, but not unbecoming, statement of the spirit in which he had executed his office of Lord Warden of the Stannaries, and the Lieutenancy of Cornwall, is more than borne out —it may here be added—by contemporary and cogent testimony. Richard Carew, of Anthony, is not using the merely flattering phrases of a Dedication, but is both speaking from his own knowledge and giving expression to the common feeling of his fellow Cornishmen, when, in his well-known *Survey of Cornwall*, he says to Ralegh:—"Large as is your command, both martial and civil, over our persons and estates, by your authority; you possess a far greater interest in our hearts and loves, by your kindness." Carew, as we have seen heretofore, had a fellow-witness, and a reluctant one, as to the feeling of the West-countrymen towards their Lord Warden, in Robert Cecil. And the incidental testimony which occurs amongst the correspondence of the day is in harmony with both.

D'Ewes, as above.

Carew, *Surv. of Cornw.* Ded.

The concurrence of evidence is the more interesting, from the fact that the man whom it concerns was at all times far indeed from being, and by the necessities of his nature could not have been, what is called a "popular" man. His soldiers and his mariners followed him as men of action will always follow a born leader of men. But his conspicuous merits, and also his conspicuous faults, kept him at a very safe distance from the special perils of popularity. His bearing in public was as unlike as well could be to the bearing of his rival Essex. He took but small pains to conceal his contempt for the rapid decisions and the sweeping censures of those—

> "Who sit by the fire, and yet presume to know
> What's done i' the Capitol;—who's like to rise:
> Who thrives, and who declines."

Both in recorded speech and in writing he has left abundant proof that, as to the many-headed multitude, he was much of Coriolanus' opinion:—

> "Who deserves greatness
> Deserves their hate; and their affections are
> A sick man's appetite, who desires most that
> Which would increase his evil."

That the proud man had yet a loving and generous spirit, and that the ambitious man knew well the difference between a populace and a people, would perhaps never have become manifest to the world at large, but for the uses of adversity.

The Wardenship of the Stannaries, like the government of Jersey, is shown by the Council Books to have brought on Ralegh the duty of hearing and adjudicating many causes which had been sent up to the Council by petition, and then referred to the Warden for investigation. But, in Cornwall, the contentions are usually between Crown and subject, and relate to the special privileges of the Duchy and the general working of the Mines. As Warden, he had also, both in Devonshire and in Cornwall, within the limits of the Stannaries, to superintend the mustering and equipping of the trained bands. As respects Devonshire, the special jurisdiction of the Stannaries in this particular seems to have given rise to much jealousy and to some controversy between Ralegh as Lord Warden and the Earl of Bath, who was Lord Lieutenant of the County. Ralegh contrived to hold his own, and to hand to his successors the privi-

Regists. of the Privy Coun. MS. xi. 179, 180, 280, 301.

Ibid. xiii. 215. (C.O.)

leges he had received from his own predecessor, the Earl of Bedford, and from those who went before him.

Of Ralegh's private life in these closing years of the Queen's reign, the most significant and curious incidents belong to the history of his manor and seat of Sherborne, which will claim notice hereafter. Other and smaller incidents are sufficiently told in the *Letters*. There, also, will be found some amusing particulars about his intercourse with the Duke of Biron, and the train of Frenchmen who came in attendance on that statesman in his embassy to Elizabeth, just eighteen months before her death.

RALEGH AND THE DUKE OF BIRON.

Biron's suite was of unusual splendour, even for a man who doubled the part of an ambassador extraordinary with that of Marshal of France. Many of the French nobility accompanied him, and the number of the entire retinue is stated at three hundred persons. When Biron arrived here, the minds of Englishmen were still much occupied with the death, on the scaffold, of the great English favourite. Within ten months of that time, Frenchmen were discussing with like intentness the death, on the scaffold, of the famous favourite of Henry the Fourth. And the man to whose lot it fell to show to the Duke of Biron the sights of London, was Walter Ralegh.

When the Frenchmen came, the Queen was on a royal progress in Hampshire. She had given instructions for the suitable entertainment of Henry's ambassador and his company, but Ralegh's account shows that the Queen's instructions were very poorly carried out. He found them in an almost forlorn condition of solitariness, and did his best to make amends for it. Afterwards, when they had all gone to Basing to attend

RALEGH AT BASING.

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1601, Sept.

the Queen, he expresses naïvely to Lord Cobham his surprise at the contrast presented by the very quiet costume of the Frenchmen with that outward magnificence which had become almost a second nature to the courtiers of Queen Elizabeth: "The French wear all black, and no kind of bravery at all; so as I have only made me a black taffeta suit to be in, and leave all my other suits;" and he even repeats, by way of postscript, "I am now going, at night, to London, to provide me a plain taffeta suit and a plain black saddle." The new Marquess of Winchester entertained his large band of guests with the sumptuousness for which Basing was famed. The Queen remained there a fortnight. It was her last visit; and she was to make but one royal progress more.

CHAPTER XV.

UNDER-CURRENTS OF ENGLISH OPINION, DURING QUEEN ELIZABETH'S REIGN, ABOUT THE SUCCESSION TO THE CROWN.

1558—1603.

Difficulties which during the Reign of Elizabeth beset the Doctrine of Hereditary Right.—Romanist Anticipations of the Principle of the Act of Settlement.—The conflicting Statutory Enactments, on the Descent of the Crown, made by the successive Parliaments of King Henry the Eighth; and their Influence on subsequent Controversy.—The secretly-printed Tracts and Libels on the Succession; and Ralegh's Connection with some of them.—Essex and the Play of '*King Richard the Second*.' —The Queen's Conversation with Lambarde, the Antiquary.—Cecil's Correspondence with King James in Scotland.—Ralegh, Cobham, and Arabella Stuart.

BLACK-STONE'S ASSER-TION ABOUT THE TITLE OF KING JAMES.

HAD the contents of the old State Paper Office and of our other diplomatic repositories been as freely accessible in Blackstone's days as most of them now are, that learned Commentator might still, perhaps, have asserted of King James the First—though scarcely in terms quite so sweeping,—that he "united in his person every possible claim, *by hereditary right*, to the English as well as Scottish throne." But, assuredly, he would have found it needful to discriminate, more clearly than has been done in the often-cited Succession chapter of the *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, sixteenth-century views of 'hereditary right' from eighteenth-century views of it. In the sixteenth century, practised statesmen,—and among them the stanchest partisans

of lineal succession to the Crown,—found both the possibilities and the plausibilities of conflicting claims quite strong enough to create anxious doubts in the study, as well as angry debates in Parliament. They were so, even when looked at apart from all the incidents that had grown out of the discordant and tortuous enactments on the subject which had been made by Parliament itself. And these possibilities of a presentable claim, in opposition to the claim of James, had been by turns the hope and the dread of some of the ablest and most honest of English ministers. Burghley, and Nicholas Bacon, and Walsingham, and Fortescue, had been mixed up with several bold speculations about future contingencies; as well as Leicester, and Essex, and Robert Cecil. On the question,—'Did Ralegh, too, take his part in them?'—hinges, to some extent, one of the strangest episodes in his strange story.

Englishmen now hold, in simple accordance with the doctrine of the Act of Settlement,—and hold with almost universal consent, as if it were a law of nature,—that, to make a valid title to the Crown, "another element" must be added to the element of hereditary right. In Queen Elizabeth's days that was precisely the doctrine which broke her peace, and the peace of her wisest ministers. At the close of her reign, the perils thence arising had come to be far less formidable than once they had been. But they were still serious. The dangerous enemies of James, like the dangerous friends of his mother, clung at all seasons to the doctrine that "propinquity and ancestry of blood alone, though it were certainly known, is not sufficient to challenge admission to a Crown, except other conditions and circumstances requisite be found also in the person that

doth pretend; as, namely,—wit, reason, and, above all other things, true religion."[1] Many of the Romanists who asserted this as a prime article of their political faith deduced from it an absurdly wild inference,—which is still, however, memorable, were it only for the striking incident in the trial of Essex to which it gave occasion. "The Lady Infanta of Spain,"—the representative of the Conqueror through the line of Brittany,—is, they said, "the fittest person to end all controversies, to break all differences, and to avoid all dangers."[2] A Spanish succession meant, of course, simply a Repeal of the Reformation;—in Queen Elizabeth's days, a real and serious peril. Even in the days of Queen Victoria, it seems still to be the occasional day-dream of a few recluses and exiles.

ROMANIST ASSERTION AS TO THE INFANTA OF SPAIN.

But not only had the Romanist malcontents in England been divided into a 'Spanish faction' and a 'Scottish faction' (both prior to the death of Mary Stuart and after it); their differences amongst themselves had been further complicated by the various degrees of their participation in the ancient English jealousy of France, and consequent attachment to the continental enemies of France. And, long after Mary's execution, whilst some of them still clung to the claim she had transmitted to James, despite their knowledge of his heresy, and of the probability that the heresy was beyond uprooting, others disowned his claim absolutely; regarding it as altogether cancelled by the fact of heresy. Both these elements of intricacy in the question which had so often divided the councils of Elizabeth, and had

THE DIVISIONS IN THE ANGLO-ROMANIST PARTY.

[1] *Opinion and Judgment of Cardinal Allen concerning the late printed Book*, 'Of the Succession,' &c. MS. *Domestic Correspondence*, Elizabeth, Bund. ccxxix. No. 79. (Rolls House.)

[2] Ibid.

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put her life into new perils, are curiously illustrated in that remarkable address from a section of the English Romanists to Philip the Second, which Mr. Froude has lately printed amongst his many extracts from the treasures of the Simancas archives.

ADDRESS OF ENGLISH CATHOLICS TO PHILIP II. ON THE SUCCESSION.

"Your Majesty," say the Addressers, "knows well the many rights and titles which are pretended to the Crown of this country, and in what peril we all live by reason of them. The succession is claimed by the Earls of Huntingdon and Hertford and other notorious and ambitious heretics, with how little ground, either of justice or strength, appearing manifestly from the quarrels among themselves. Your Majesty knows also the right which is pretended by the Queen of Scots, and the many persons among us who support her claim. We acknowledge both her rights, and her deserts, as a most virtuous and Catholic Princess, and we are ready to accept her as our Sovereign, if your Majesty will place her on the throne, with due securities for the Catholic religion, *and for the maintenance of the ancient alliance between the houses of Burgundy and England.* But we are of opinion that if the Queen of Scots be set up by ourselves only in this Island, Her Majesty may marry some heretic either by compulsion or else for love,[1] and by this means, our country being infected, as it is, she may become her husband's thrall, and we and England be thus ruined for ever. That there is but too much likelihood of this, your Majesty may perceive from the purpose of marriage between her and the Duke of Norfolk, while it may be also that she will prefer her old friends in France and Scotland *to the prejudice and entire destruction of the connection with the House of Burgundy*, which thing we are determined at all costs not to endure.

[1] "Par amour."

"The Prince, her son," proceeds this Address, "is in

the hands of heretics, and is educated in the heretic belief. We fear that he cannot be extricated from among them, save on conditions which will be dangerous to the Catholic religion, and dangerous to the English Commonwealth. We admit the right of the Queen of Scots, *because she is a Catholic*, and as long as she survives these inconveniences may seem the less to be feared; but should the Queen of Scots die at no distant time, the case is altered. *The Prince, her son, will never be accepted by the Catholics, unless your Majesty take him under your protection, and unless he becomes himself a Catholic.*"

MS. Simancas, quoted in *Reign of Elizabeth*, vol. iii. pp. 545, 546.

But to estimate fully the extent of these internal dissensions amongst the Romanizing malcontents, a class of documents has now to be glanced at which was much more influential than addresses secretly sent to Philip and then locked up in Spanish archives.

The secretly-printed tracts about the Succession controversy — the surreptitious circulation of which in England ruined the fortunes of several men, and cost more than one life—have a close connection with the charges against Ralegh, and therefore have here a claim to some detailed notice; though it must needs be brief. It will be all the clearer, if the main points of the several conflicting enactments of the Parliaments of Henry the Eighth, to which they so often refer, be first recited. The resistless logic of Time had disposed of some of these enactments, before the first occurrence of Ralegh's name in connection with the matter of Succession; but not of all of them. These statutory provisions succeeded each other as follows:—

THE PARLIAMENTARY ENACTMENTS ON SUCCESSION.

I. By 25 Henry VIII. c. 22, it had been enacted: (1) That all the issue "between Your Highness and Your said most dear and entirely beloved wife Queen

Anne, shall be Your lawful children, and be inheritable and inherit, according to the course of inheritance and laws of this realm, the imperial Crown of the same;" . . . and (2) in default of any son by such marriage, then such Crown shall go, first, "to the eldest issue female, which is the lady Elizabeth now princess, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten." . . . And, for default of such issue of Elizabeth, "then the said imperial Crown, and all other the premises, shall be in *the right heirs of Your Highness for ever.*"

1533. *An Act*, &c. 25 Hen. VIII. (Berthelet's edit.), fol. 42.

II. By 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7, after recital (1) of the Act just quoted, as having been made "as it was then thought by Your Majesty, Nobles, and Commons, upon a pure, perfect, and clear foundation, thinking the said marriage then had between Your Highness and the said lady Anne in their consciences to have been pure, sincere, perfect, and good, . . . till now," &c.; and (2) that, notwithstanding the divorce from Anne, "the lady Elizabeth Your daughter, being born under the said unlawful marriage, by virtue . . . of the Act of Succession . . . above remembered, for lack of heirs males of Your body, should immediately succeed as Your lawful heir in the most royal estate of Your imperial Crown, . . . against all honour, equity, reason, and good conscience;" . . . which succession, it is afterwards said, "cannot [now] be sustained or tolerated;" it had been enacted (1) that the Act of the 25th of the King (and another Act of the like tenour) should be repealed; (2) that like provisions to those in that Act should take effect in behalf of "the issue [male] hereafter to be had and procreate between Your Highness and Your most dear and entirely beloved lawful wife, Queen Jane;" (3) that "if it shall happen . . . Queen Jane to decease without issue male . . . (which God defend), then the same imperial Crown . . . to be to Your Majesty . . . and to the son and heir male of Your body lawfully begotten by any other lawful wife," &c., and "for default of such sons . . . or of heirs thereto . . . then to the issue female between Your Majesty and Your said most

dear and entirely beloved wife Queen Jane begotten," and for lack of such . . . "to the heirs females . . . by any other lawful wife;" (4) that, in default of any issue, male or female, to the King, other than the Princess Elizabeth thereby disinherited, then "that Your Highness shall have full and plenar power and authority to give, dispose, appoint, assign, declare, and limit, by Your Letters Patent, under Your Great Seal, or else by Your last Will made in writing *and assigned with Your most gracious hand*, at Your only pleasure from time to time hereafter, the imperial Crown of this realm . . . to such person or persons, in possession and remainder, as shall please Your Highness;" and the Parliament binds itself by solemn pledge "alonely to obey such person and persons, males or females," and "wholly to stick to them as true and faithful subjects ought to do." The matter is clinched by further enactments (1) that any person whatsoever who shall in any wise accept or declare either Mary, or Elizabeth, or "any children born and procreated under any of the said unlawful marriages, to be legitimate," shall be, *ipso facto*, deemed guilty of high treason; and (2) that all the subjects of the realm being of full age shall take oath to observe and defend the provisions of this Statute.

1536. *An Act for the Establishment of the Succession*, &c. 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7 (Berthelet's edit. ff. 6, verso —11).

The Act of 33 Henry VIII. c. 25, recites that the Parliament had called to its "remembrance the manifold detestable conflicts . . . which heretofore have sprongen and grown in this realm by occasion of diversity of titles to the Crown of the same, which most chiefly grew and insurged by doubts of marriage," and then enacts that a determination already arrived at by "a Sinode universal of this realm," which affirms "Your Majesty not to be bound by the pretended marriage . . . . between your most excellent Majesty and the noble lady Anne of Cleves, . . . which is of itself naught and of no force,"

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shall have force of law; and that all persons calling in question such determination, or declaring the marriage to be a lawful marriage, shall be guilty of high treason. But this Act makes no new provision respecting the Succession.

III. By the Act of the 35th of Hen. VIII. c. 4,—after recital (1) of the provision of 28th of the same reign, c. 7, and (2) of the fact that "His Majesty hath now of late . . . taken to his wife the most vertuous and gracious Lady Katherine, now Queen of England, late wife of . . . Lord Latimer deceased, by whom as yet His Majesty hath none issue, but may have full well, when it shall please God;" and (3) of the provision for appointment of a successor, under certain contingencies, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal;—it is enacted that, in case the King and the heir apparent Prince Edward "decease without heir of either of their bodies lawfully begotten . . . then the said imperial Crown shall be to the Lady Mary" and her heirs, "with such conditions as by His Highness shall be limited by his Letters Patent," &c.; and, failing her issue, to the Lady Elizabeth, in like manner. If both fail, or if either of them keep not the conditions limited and the other fail to leave issue, then "the said imperial Crown . . . shall be and come to such person and persons and of such estate and estates as the King's Highness by his Letters Patent, sealed under his Great Seal, or by his last Will in writing, *signed with His Majesty's hand*, shall limit and appoint;" and like provisions, as to "remainder and reversion," to those contained in the Act first recited, are added.

1543. *An Act concerning the Establishment of the King's Majestie's Succession*, 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1 (Berthelet's edit. A ii. iii.).

This Act, passed in 1543, closes the series of "Succession Statutes" of Henry's reign.

Such enactments as these—when they are put side by side—form a striking illustration of parliamentary wisdom; and a curious commentary on the preambles with which some of them begin. But their collation has

only half its significance until it be remembered that not one of the eight next and immediate predecessors of the king in whose reign they passed, had come to the Crown, otherwise than by an impugned title; and that the open conflicts about the Succession had deluged England with the best blood of two generations. Henry's statutes, however,—although they helped diversely to cause not a little additional bloodshed during the reigns both of Mary and of Elizabeth,—had spent their force for evil before Elizabeth's reign was over. Of the ten sovereigns who successively followed her, the only *two* who came to the Crown by titles substantially unchallenged are the first two princes of that very Scottish line which it was Henry's passionate desire wholly to exclude. Of our twenty-three monarchs, during the four centuries from 1377 to 1760, so much as this can be asserted of none beside,—save of Henry himself and of his son. Nineteen out of the twenty-three were, in the eyes of some portion or other—and, commonly, of an influential portion,—of English society, usurpers. It would be hard to find a parallel instance in the annals of any other people. And the first half of the story was quite enough to rouse the anxiety of the statesmen of Elizabeth's day for some settlement of the question, by wiser legislation than that of their predecessors. The most curious evidence of this anxiety is to be seen in secretly-printed tracts, much more than in the parliamentary discussions or in formal State Papers. Often, obscure men held the pen; but the prompters were sometimes the veterans of ecclesiastical conflict; sometimes, the veterans of the Queen's Council-table.

Disregarding many minor tracts on this controversy—mere "lewd bills," as Burghley calls some of them in his

Diary—five several books stand out very prominently. The drift of three of these turns a good deal on the statutory enactments and on the validity or invalidity of Henry's Will. With two out of the five Ralegh's name is curiously though obscurely connected. Four of them had a Romanist origin. But the first of the five, in order of time, came from the ultra-Protestant party, and was probably, by the Queen, resented much more passionately than was the most offensive of the Romanist libels.

JOHN HALES' "INVECTIVE AGAINST THE SUCCESSION OF QUEEN OF SCOTS."

In or about the year 1565, John Hales, Clerk of the Hanaper in Chancery, and much in the confidence, as it has been said, both of the Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and of Lord Burghley (and known, it seems, to his minor contemporaries as 'Hales of the club foot'), wrote a treatise in support of the claim to succeed Queen Elizabeth, for default of heirs of her body, of the Earl of Hertford, in right of his wife the Lady Katherine Grey, daughter and eventually sole heiress of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, by Frances Brandon, niece of King Henry the Eighth. Hales lays the stress of his argument on these three propositions: I. No alien can inherit, by the common law of England; and, expressly, by the 25th of King Edward III. The Stuarts are aliens, and therefore cannot inherit the Crown of England; II. The Parliament of England empowered King Henry the Eighth, by Statutes of 28th and 36th of that king, to make disposition of the Succession to the Crown by choice amongst his kin, by his last Will; III. King Henry did so dispose of the Crown in favour of the descendants of Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk. The Queen punished this offence of Hales with great bitterness, and the book is believed to have envenomed her already well-known hatred of the unhappy Greys.

An Invective, &c. MS. Hatf. B. A. 7, § 2. (Hatfield House.)

THOMAS MORGAN'S DEFENCE OF MARY'S CLAIM.

Some years after the writing of Hales' *Invective* there came out, from a foreign press, the book attributed (but doubtfully) to Thomas Morgan, the well-known agent of Mary Stuart. This book was, it is believed, based upon collections made by Sir Anthony Browne, who had been Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in the reign of Philip and Mary. This also had a threefold argument. It contended, first, and by way of preface, that Mary Stuart was innocent of all complicity in the murder of Darnley;—secondly, that the maxim of law '*Aliens cannot inherit*' did not extend to, and could not bar, any rightful claim to the Crown by descent of blood; the Crown being "not holden by allegiance;"—and, thirdly, it addressed itself specially to the Scots in defence, against the famous treatise of Knox, of the "regimen of women."

BISHOP LESLEY'S TREATISE ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

Morgan's arguments, if they be his, were repeated and greatly amplified by John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, in the treatise entitled *A Defence of the honour of Mary, Queen of Scotland; with a Declaration of her right title and interest in the Crown of England.* This book was printed in English at Liège in 1571, and its substance was repeated in Latin and published at Rheims, nine years later, under the title, *De titulo et jure Mariæ Scotorum Reginæ, quo Angliæ successionem jure sibi vindicat.* Lesley repeats Morgan's argument as to the limitations of the Statute of Aliens, and, on that point, further alleges (1) an express exception, in terms, of "*infantes du roy;*" and (2) the practice which had obtained, in past times, in conformity with that exception. He then proceeds to argue that the alleged Will of King Henry the Eighth was invalid and null, for default of compliance with the terms of the Statutes empowering him so to deal with the Succession; and,

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specifically, for default of the sign manual, as well as for other reasons; and he concludes by an elaborate repetition of the old argument that in the Scottish line the claims of the Houses of York and Lancaster were irrefragably united; whereas all other claims were open to aspersion, in respect of legitimacy of birth, in some form or other.

ROBERT HIGHINGTON'S TREATISE ON SUCCESSION.

Then followed a Succession treatise more curious in some respects than any of its predecessors, drawn up by Robert Highington, who had been secretary to that Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who was for so many years intimately connected with Ralegh. On the argument as to Aliens, Highington does little more than reiterate the propositions of Lesley and Morgan. But he contends that John of Gaunt had a better title to the Crown than Richard the Second; that Henry the Seventh, nevertheless, had no title at all, otherwise than in right of his wife; and that by the ancient laws of England the true right of Succession had passed through the House of Portugal to King Philip of Spain.

See the Genealogical Table which faces this page.

In the year 1585, circumstances occurred in connection with the international affairs of England and Scotland which supplied some of our statesmen with new reasons for desiring to find arguments against the Scottish Succession, or at all events against the succession of James the Sixth. In or about that year, a remarkable tract was drawn up, of which a copy is preserved in the Cecil Library at Hatfield. It bears the title: *Reasons why the King of Scots is unacceptable to the People of England.* Amongst these reasons, the recent treatment of Walsingham and Randolph in Scotland is enumerated. This book derives its immediate interest in these pages from the circumstance that five copies of it appear to have been made by one John Peirson, who, in his

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A GENEALOGICAL TABLE,

SHOWING THE DESCENT FROM KING HENRY THE THIRD,

AND

THE RELATIVE POSITION IN BLOOD, OF THE SEVERAL PERSONS ALLEGED—IN 1602-3—TO HAVE CLAIM OF SOME SORT TO THE REGAL SUCCESSION, AND REFERRED TO IN THE

'BOOK AGAINST THE KING'S TITLE,'

ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN CIRCULATED BY SIR WALTER RALEGH.

[See CHAP. XIX. pp. 419-422.]

HENRY III. King of England = ELEANOR of Provence.

EDWARD I.

EDWARD II.

EDWARD III. = PHILIPPA of Hainault.

(1) EDWARD *'the Black Prince.'*

EDWARD, *b.* in Gascony, *d.* in infancy.

RICHARD II.

(3) LIONEL, Duke of Clarence. = ELIZABETH de Burgh.

PHILIPPA = EDMUND MORTIMER, Earl of March.

ROGER MORTIMER, Earl of March. = ELEANOR HOLLAND.

EDMUND MORTIMER, Earl of March.

ANNE MORTIMER (Sole Heir) = (2) RICHARD PLANTAGENET, Earl of Cambridge.

RICHARD PLANTAGENET, Duke of York; Earl of March [I.] and of Cambridge. = CECILY NEVILLE.

(5) EDMUND of Langley, Duke of York. = ISABEL of Castile.

(1) EDWARD, Duke of York and Albemarle.

(4) BLANCHE PLANTAGENET = JOHN of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.

HENRY IV.

HENRY V.

HENRY VI.

PHILIPPA PLANTAGENET = JOHN, King of Portugal.

EDWARD.

ALPHONSO V.

JOHN II.

FERDINAND.

JOHN DE BEAUFORT, Marquess of Dorset (Eldest Natural Son).

HENRY DE BEAUFORT, Earl of Somerset.

JOHN DE BEAUFORT, Duke of Somerset.

EDMUND TUDOR, Earl of Richmond. = MARGARET BEAUFORT.

JOHN of Dreux, Duke of Brittany, and Earl of Richmond. = BEATRICE.

RICHARD III. = ANNE NEVILLE.

EDWARD IV. = ELIZABETH WIDVILE.

GEORGE PLANTAGENET, Duke of Clarence. = ISABEL NEVILLE.

EDWARD, Prince of Wales.

EDWARD V.

RICHARD PLANTAGENET, Duke of York.

ARTHUR Plantagenet, Viscount l'Isle (Natural Son).

FRANCES Plantagenet = JOHN BASSET of Umberleigh.

Sir ARTHUR BASSET.

Sir ROBERT BASSET. [*See* CHAP. XXV. page 626.]

ELIZABETH of York = HENRY VII.

MARGARET PLANTAGENET, Countess of Salisbury (Sole Heir). = Sir RICHARD POLE, K.G.

EMANUEL, King of Portugal.

HENRY VIII.

JAMES IV. King of Scots. = MARGARET TUDOR = ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, Sixth Earl of Angus.

LEWIS XII. King of France. = MARY TUDOR 'the French Queen.' = CHARLES BRANDON, Duke of Suffolk.

EDWARD VI. MARY. ELIZABETH.

JAMES V. King of Scots.

MARGARET DOUGLAS (Born in England). = MATTHEW STUART, Fourth Earl of Lenox.

(2) ELEANOR BRANDON, = HENRY CLIFFORD, Second Earl of Cumberland.

(1) FRANCES BRANDON = HENRY GREY, Duke of Suffolk.

(1) HENRY POLE, Lord Montacute.

CATHERINE POLE = FRANCIS HASTINGS, Nineteenth Earl of Huntingdon.

(2) GEORGE HASTINGS, Twenty-first Earl of Huntingdon.

(1) HENRY HASTINGS, Twentieth Earl of Huntingdon.

(2) Sir GEOFFREY POLE.

GEOFFREY POLE.

ARTHUR POLE.

HENRY POLE.

(3) ARTHUR POLE.

(4) REGINALD POLE, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cardinal.

ISABEL of Portugal. = CHARLES V. Emperor.

JOHN III.

PHILIP II. = ELIZABETH of Valois.

ALBERT, Archduke of Austria. = ISABELLA CLARA EUGENIA, Infanta of Spain.

Archdukes of Burgundy, &c.

(3) MARY = HENRY STUART, Lord Darnley.

(2) HENRY STUART, Lord Darnley (Died in infancy).

(1) CHARLES STUART, Fifth Earl of Lenox. = ELIZABETH CAVENDISH, daughter of Sir WILLIAM CAVENDISH (Ancestor of the Dukes of Devonshire) by ELIZABETH HARDWICK.
(Born in England. Created Earl of Lenox by Charter 1572. Died, in London, 1576.)

JAMES I. = ANNE of Denmark.

ARABELLA STUART (Born in England).

(2) CATHARINE GREY = EDWARD SEYMOUR, Earl of Hertford. (Died 1621. Created Earl of Hertford 1559.)

EDWARD SEYMOUR, Lord Beauchamp. = HONORA ROGERS.

WILLIAM SEYMOUR, afterwards Duke of Somerset.

(1) JANE GREY, Titular Queen of England. = Lord GUILDFORD DUDLEY.

(3) MARY GREY.

Examination[1] (preserved at the Rolls House), describes himself as transcribing one of the five copies "for my Master, Sir Walter Ralegh;" and says that he obtained the book from that William Herle whose connection with Lord Burghley is not the least curious incident in the great statesman's history. The bare fact that a servant of Ralegh was employed in transcribing this tract of 1585 is the whole of what is known of his connection with it.

Examination of Jn. Peirson; in *Domestic Corresp.* Eliz. vol. clxxxiv. §§ 28, 29.

In 1594, appeared the most famous and the best-written of all the Succession books of this period; namely, the well-known *Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England*, the whole force of which is bent towards the destruction of the Stuart title —so long the dearest hope of the wide-spread party of malcontents from whom this new manifesto came— and the maintenance, in its stead, of the title of the Infanta of Spain. Its strong contention for limiting and hedging-in the kingly power obtained for it, in later years, the distinction of the endorsement of some of its arguments by Milton, although of all men who have

FATHER PARSONS' 'CONFERENCE ABOUT THE SUCCESSION.'

[1] In the Examination of Peirson, the *title* of the book is nowhere cited; but the tract against King James, of 1585, seems to be that which is meant. The point is a curious one; especially when it is noticed that three of the recipients of this mysterious book are Ralegh, Sir Philip Sydney, and Burghley himself. The original of Peirson's deposition, now in the Rolls House, reads thus:—"John Peirson, scrivener, being examined before the Right Hon. Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight, of certain books concerning matter of Estate copied out by him, doth confess that he received the said book of one William Herle; and hath made five or six copies: whereof he delivered one to Sir Walter Rawley his master; another to Mr. Cope, servant to the Lord Treasurer; another to a servant of Sir Philip Sydney's; and one likewise to a gentleman of the Inns of Court." In a subsequent document the man apologizes to Walsingham for his delay to give up the original book, "for that my wife [at] this present is very extreme sick," and adds to the names previously mentioned that, hardly less famous, of Sir Francis Knollys, one of the Queen's cousins. But he still accounts for five copies only.

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treated of government he, perhaps, must have least approved of the ultimate object which the argument of Parsons had constantly in view. This treatise was dedicated to the Earl of Essex in a prefatory Epistle which, in more ways than one, may well have caused him vexation, even in his days of power.

PARSONS' BOOK ADDUCED AT THE TRIAL OF ESSEX.

"The Crown of England is sold to the Spaniard." Such was one of the wild cries which Essex uttered to the astonished citizens, as he rode along the streets of London, on his fatal day. At the trial, he gave this explanation of his meaning: "I spake it not of myself, for it was told me that Mr. Secretary should say to one of his fellow-councillors: 'The Infanta's title comparatively is as good in Succession as any other.'" This assertion was made in the hearing, though not in the presence, of Cecil himself, who until then had stood behind the tapestry hangings of the Court. He now stepped forward, and, on bended knee, prayed the Lord High Steward to permit him "to answer this false and foul report;" then, addressing himself directly to Essex, he began what the Earl called "an oration against me"—in which, amongst many other like phrases, he said: "You have a wolf's heart in a sheep's garment." A conversation both angry and desultory ensued, in the course of which Sir William Knollys, Comptroller of the Queen's Household, was mentioned as the source of the Earl's allegation. Sir William, when sent for at Cecil's entreaty, gave this testimony: "I never heard Master Secretary speak any words to that effect; only there was a seditious book, written by one Doleman, which very corruptly disputed the title of the Succession, inferring it as lawful to the Infanta of Spain as to any other; and Mr. Secretary and I being in talk about

the book, Mr. Secretary spake to this effect, 'Is it not a strange impudence in that Doleman to give as equal right in the Succession of the Crown to the Infanta of Spain as any other?' Hereupon was grounded the slander upon Mr. Secretary, whereof he is as clear as any man here present." Cecil, in the course of another passionate address to Essex,—wholly uninterrupted by the Court, though he was neither judge nor juror, counsel nor witness,—said: "I pray God to consume me where I stand, if I hate not the Spaniard as much as any man living." On this topic Cecil had expressed himself almost as strongly, though in a merely diplomatic letter, but a few months before. In his correspondence with Nicholson, then resident, for the Queen, at the Scottish Court, he wrote thus, in April 1600: "I thinke there is no good Christian, nor man of valew or reputation, that would ever harbour a disposition to have England subject to a Spaniard." But he was then very anxious to learn in what light any rumours of a contrary sort—which he knew to be current in some quarters—might be regarded by those who were about James' person, and by the King himself. He therefore proceeds to instruct Nicholson "to learne, underhand, whether there be any such opinion in the wiser sort; and to informe yourself whether those words in the new 'Association,' wherein he [*i.e.* the King] saith, 'Divers persons upon frivolous and impertinent presumptions would go about to impugne his birthright, contrary to the most ancient and approved laws of both the realms,' do aim at such as he thinks to have any desire to advance the title of Spain; or whether this his doubt be of any other Pretender."[1]

[1] Cecil to Nicholson. Minute. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxviii. § 26 (Hatfield).

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'RICHARD THE SECOND' AND 'HENRY THE FOURTH.'

Another incident of the Essex conspiracy had made a deep impression on the Queen's mind, although it was scarcely more than glanced at during the trials of 1601. Sir Gilly Meyricke with many other of the adherents of Essex had, on the very day before the rising, commanded —quite out of the ordinary routine of the playhouse— the tragedy of *King Richard the Second;* whilst Essex himself had, a short time before, read in MS. Sir John Hayward's *History of King Henry the Fourth,* and had given furtherance to its publication. If we had not Hayward's own statement—afterwards made to James the First—that he wrote this book with special reference to passing and pending events, the fact would still be very apparent between the lines. When he put into the mouth of Archbishop Arundel the words: "It grieves me to speak, but it helpeth not to hide that which every man seeth. Our ancestors lived in the highest pitch and perfection of liberty, but we of servility, being in the nature not of subjects but of abjects; *not to one intractable Prince only, but to many proud and disdainful favourites,— not always the same, but ever new;*" it needed no unusual clear-sightedness to perceive that the words were spoken to other ears than those of Henry, Duke of Lancaster.

Direction for the Preachers: in *Domestic Corresp.* Elizabeth, Bund. ccxxxiv. § 169. (R. H.)

Both the performance of the play and the publication of the book strongly and durably affected Queen Elizabeth. Whilst Essex was still in the Tower a circular "Direction" was sent round to the London preachers, in which they were instructed to tell the people from the pulpit that the Earl had kept the MS. of Hayward's treasonable book in his hands during a fortnight, and had spent that fortnight "in plotting how he might become another Henry the Fourth." Bacon's jesting remark, "I find much felony in the book, but no treason,"

had no effect in lessening the Queen's anger; and it fared hardly both with author and printer. When James had succeeded to the throne, the former made a merit of his punishment, and said to the King, "My labours were undertaken with particular respect to your Majesty's just title of Succession in this realm;" although, if that were so, it is not quite plain why he should call Essex the "hope of the time to come," as he does in his dedication. As to the play, its repeated performance dwelt on the Queen's memory long after the death of Essex.[1]

There are—partly at Hatfield and partly in the Rolls House—materials, hitherto unused, for a much fuller account of the obscure controversies about the Succession to Queen Elizabeth than it would be fitting to give in these pages. Enough has been said, perhaps, to diminish in some degree the surprise which students of Ralegh's trial in 1603 have repeatedly expressed at the grave treatment given to pretensions which in these days look so absurdly visionary. It is certain that claims which now seem merely foolish were, at the time, believed to involve serious perils. Most of our historians have thought, in common with many of Elizabeth's advisers, that, whatever those perils may have really been, they would have been lessened by the open declaration of a Successor, whilst the Queen was still in life and health. Ralegh took a different view, and he expressed it, to Elizabeth herself in writing, at some time in the year 1600. "I have heard," he told her Majesty, "that divers ill-disposed persons have a purpose to speak of Succession." And he proceeded to say that, "fearing

RALEGH ON THE SUCCESSION, IN 1600.

[1] See Lambarde's Narrative in MS. Addit. 15,664, ff. 226-7 (British Museum), cited in "Prefatory Note to Letter LXXI." (Vol. II. p. 167.)

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the worst," he had "set down some reasons to prove any such proceeding to be merely vain, dangerous, and unnecessary." Of the fate of the paper which accompanied this letter there is no certain evidence. But there are several points of agreement between the statements contained in the letter and those that appear on the face of a document (otherwise anonymous) entitled *In defence of the Queen's not nominating a Succession*, which is still preserved among the State Papers at Hatfield.

Cecil Papers, vol. cxxxix. § 139.

When Sir Walter thus addressed the Queen, some notable change had already come to pass over her outward bearing towards Arabella Stuart. How far the change was also one of inward feeling and regard the evidence is lacking. The studied courtesies and the ostentatious hints about the possibilities of the future were long since at an end; and very possibly may never have been employed for other than an immediate purpose,—by way of stage whisper. When a few more months had passed, the project or alleged project of Arabella's marriage, in 1602, with William Seymour, converted coldness into wrath. The wrath was very bitter, and it lasted as long as Elizabeth's life. Some of the bystanders said that her life was shortened by it. A Venetian, for example, who was on an embassy in London during the Queen's last illness, tells his masters of Arabella's "ambitious projects," and calls her "*Omicida della Regina;*" but foreign testimony, if unsupported, is not worth much on such a point. Much of mystery still surrounds the subject of the projected marriage, and the care with which the papers relating to it were kept away from the State Paper Office tends to strengthen the probability that, whenever they come to be thoroughly examined, some reflex light will also be thrown on the plots of 1603.

Browne, Preface to *Calendar of Venetian State Pap.* p. c.

Meanwhile, it is a necessary preliminary to any the briefest investigation of those plots that a retrospective glance should be cast at some preceding incidents in Arabella's short history, and more especially at the projects which, in very early days, had been formed for her alliance, with the view, as it seems, of influencing all imaginable conjunctures that might, under any event, accrue from her connection with the English Crown.

Whatever may now be thought of her place in the Succession, or of the plots that may have been formed, in heads more conspicuous for craft than for strength, to turn that place to personal account, there is ample evidence that Arabella's pretensions were long looked upon with grave anxiety in Scotland as well as in England. Her position had induced the sovereigns of both countries, as well as several conspicuous personages abroad, to make propositions about her marriage which in this connection are notable, though they bore no fruit.

PROPOSED MARRIAGE OF JAMES AND ARABELLA.

Thus, as early as in the year 1585, Elizabeth instructed her ambassador in Scotland to propose the Lady Arabella in marriage to King James, as an alternative to Anne of Denmark. James, on the other hand, took steps to test the feasibility of an alliance between her and his relative and favourite, Esme Stuart, afterwards Duke of Lennox. He at the same time declared his intention to nominate Esme as his successor in the kingdom of Scotland, failing his own issue.

The terms of Elizabeth's directions to Sir Edward Wotton on the matter—whether serious or not—are significant: "Her Majesty," wrote Walsingham to Wotton, on the 28th of May, 1585, "hath now given me order by Mr. Woolley that I should direct you to deal more particularly therein [*i.e.* in regard to the contemplated marriage of the King of Scots]; naming the King of

Walsingham to Wotton, *Scottish Corresp.* vol. xxxvii. f. 47. (R. H.)

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Denmark's daughter, . . . for a foreign match; and the Lady Arabella, for a home match, unto the Master of Gray and the Justice Clerk there,—in respect of her birth, and years, and for her nearness of blood to Her Majesty, fit to be offered to the King's choice." Shortly afterwards, Elizabeth directed an assurance to be given to James that "She will not do anything to prejudice" his "pretended title to the Succession;" an assurance which was subsequently renewed under the slightly varied phrase "will not impair any title he may have." At a later period, it was repeated in a form still more significant: "We will never directly or indirectly," said the Queen, "do, or suffer to be done, anything, that We may let or withstand, to the diminution, impairing, or derogation, of any greatness, right or title that may be due to you in any sort, or in any time, present or future; *unless, by any manifest ingratitude, We should be justly moved and provoked*," &c. It was within little more than a year of the date of this skilful blending of threat with promise that the Queen, on occasion of the solemn presentation of the little Arabella at Court, —turning to the wife of the Ambassador of France,— said, "*Sometime, she will be Lady Mistress here, even as I am.*" Arabella was then too young to be greatly impressed with the brilliant prospect thus opened out to her. She must have felt much more interest in the doll which the most pleasing of her many portraits depicts her as nursing. Meanwhile, King James despoiled the orphan of her paternal earldom with its broad lands, and even of her mother's jewels, which had fallen into his hands on occasion of the death of Thomas Fowler, trustee for Arabella under Countess Margaret's will. Fowler died in Scotland, and his effects were seized in the King's name. Queen Elizabeth followed James'

Walsingham to Wotton, *Scottish Corresp.* vol. xl. f. 4. (R. H.)

example by seizing lands in England, some of which had descended to Arabella from her father, and others, as it seems, had been bequeathed to her by her mother.[1]

For more than ten years, Arabella led an uneasy sort of life. Her temperament was sanguine; her frame of mind seems to have been froward. She lived usually with her imperious grandmother—'Bess of Hardwick'—whose variations from sharp rebuke to capricious fondness could hardly tend to the improvement of a wayward and passionate girl. That she was somewhat precocious in love matters seems as apparent from her letters, as that she plumed herself much on her royal blood. But that she formed any definitely ambitious plans, or greatly brooded over fancied future possibilities, there is no evidence. Idle talk about such things she must needs have listened to. Meanwhile, she made repeated claims upon Elizabeth for the Lennox lands in England, and at length—according to her own account—obtained a promise of restitution. The jealousy incident to Arabella's birth had been intensified by a girlish flirtation with that very general lover the Earl of Essex. It led in Arabella's case, as in that of "fair Mrs. Bridges," to scenes un-

Extracts from Arabella's letters, Vol. II. App. v.

[1] There is at Hatfield (*Cecil Papers*, vol. lviii. § 89) a letter which was addressed, at the beginning of the year 1599, to Sir Robert Cecil by Lady Burgh, widow of Thomas Lord Burgh, K.G., Lord Deputy of Ireland. The writer begs hard for the grant of a lease "out of the Earl of Lenox his lands, now to be united to the Exchequer revenues." "There is," adds Lady Burgh, "about £3,000 by year, to be disposed of by lease the next term, of the same nature. Many are determined to beg, that hath not the great cause that I have."

Three years later, there occurs (amongst the records of the Receipt of Exchequer, at the Rolls House) an entry of the receipt of £5,356 11*s.* 8*d.* accruing from "lands of the late Countess of Lennox." This sum represents, it seems, four years' rents of the lands accounted for, up to the Michaelmas of 1602.

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courtly and unseemly. Arabella's life at Court can hardly have been happier than her life at Hardwicke or at Chatsworth. On two points both her royal relatives kept themselves anxiously informed about her, from time to time. They were alike watchful as to projects of marriage, and as to rumours about any such change in religious profession as might make Arabella the rallying-point of the Romish malcontents.

"I should not refuse the Princess Arabella of England,"—said Henry the Fourth to Sully, when discussing his marriage projects, in 1598,—"were she but declared heir-presumptive. For they say that the inheritance of that crown belongs to her. But we can no more expect such a declaration, than we can look to the acquisition of Flanders by a marriage with the Infanta."[1]

"That I had dealings with Secretary Cecil for Duke Matthias' matching with Arbella, I swear—if it were not that I eschewe to make them see here [*i.e.* in England] that your intelligence is so small—I should deal with Mr. Secretary to resolve you of that follie,"[2] wrote the Master of Gray to King James, not very long after the date of Henry's table-talk with Sully.

SCHEMES OF MALCONTENTS IN REGARD TO ARABELLA.

It was natural to the position in which Arabella was placed that malcontents of all sorts should busy their

[1] "Je ne refuserois pas non plus la Princesse Reibelle d'Angleterre, si, comme on publie que cette couroune lui appartient, elle en avoit été seulement déclarée présomptive héritière; mais il ne faut pas plus s'attendre à l'un qu'à l'autre."—*Mémoires de Sully*, vol. ii. p. 359. The '*no more than*' of this passage refers to previous parts of the conversation, concerning the advantage of a marriage with the Infanta of Spain, could she bring with her Flanders, by way of dower. Much of this conversation was, doubtless, something less than half-serious talk; but its illustration of foreign ideas about Arabella's position is none the less curious.

[2] Master of Gray to King James VI. (Undated Letters. Hatfield. Copy, endorsed by Lord Salisbury.)

brains with her "claims," and still more with the question how, in modern phrase, to make capital out of them. The written evidence of this fact is superabundant. Multitudinous schemes were formed for her and about her of which she never heard a syllable. In the whole mass of accessible evidence there is not a word which shows, or which suggests, that Ralegh was in any the slightest measure mixed up with these intrigues, or that he ever sought to improve the slight acquaintance which he possessed with her. "I never liked her," is his own statement, and there is nothing to impeach its entire sincerity. Cobham, on the other hand, asserts: "She had sought my friendship," but even for that we have only Cobham's word.

IMPRISONMENT OF ARABELLA IN 1603.

Lady Arabella's close imprisonment at the beginning of 1603, and its real cause, are among the obscurest points in her story. That the official correspondence about it was destroyed, has been repeatedly asserted, but the fact is quite otherwise. The letters are still at Hatfield. They dispel only part of the obscurity. But the brevity of the interval between Arabella Stuart's imprisonment, and the alleged discovery of a plot to raise Arabella Stuart to the throne, without her knowledge—to make of her, in a word, a second Queen Jane—renders even small facts of great interest. Arabella's own letters of this period are of marvellous prolixity, and the prolixity will be seen to have had its purpose. What is most to the point in these letters is printed hereafter. The reader who brings to them a previous acquaintance with the last act of Arabella's tragic story, will probably see little cause to doubt that the lover of 1608 had been the lover of 1603; and that the threatened conjunction was looked upon with much the same jealousy by Elizabeth on her death-bed, as afterwards

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by James, when enjoying the spring-time of his new kingdom. What in the issue proved to be small obstacles, in the path of James' hopes, still loomed large, even in eyes well accustomed to look below the surface of things. When Northumberland, in 1602, wrote to James: "Your competitors at home . . . are either, in their worth, contemptible, or *not liked for their sex;*—wishing no more quenes, fearing we shall never enjoy another like to this," he had said just before, "our State hath taken upon it a new face, *within this year past.*"

Other men, not less practised in matters of government, retained their feelings of uncertainty about an entirely peaceable succession until it had actually come to pass. Sir Henry Brouncker—to take an instance which brings us close to Arabella in person—wrote to Cecil from Derbyshire, some hours after Elizabeth was actually dead:—"I can hope for no contentment or safety, nor know how to direct my course, unless it may please you to advertise me *whether anything be resolved concerning a Successor,* that so I may show my faithfulness to the State, which, through my ignorance, . . . may be brought in question." Brouncker had, at that moment, the custody of the Lady Arabella. "I know not," he adds, "whether, after her Majesty's decease" (which he knew he might at any moment expect to hear of), "I may retain the Lady Arbella without a warrant under the Great Seal of England," and he expresses his fear that by doing so he might "come into danger." Sir George Carew, again (Brouncker's predecessor in the government of Munster), to whom Cecil affected to unburthen his heart as to a brother, and who really possessed a considerable share of the Secretary's confidence, wrote from Warwickshire, on hearing of the quiet proclamation of the King,—"My

Brouncker to Cecil, 25 May, 1603; *Cecil Papers*, vol. xcii. § 73 (Hatfield).

heart was before in anxiety, fearing many distempers in the State." And he then expresses his gratitude to God, "who of His goodness hath dealt so miraculously; *contrary to the opinion of the wisest*, who, for many years past, trembled to think of her Majesty's decease as if, instantly upon it, the kingdom would have been torn in sunder."

Carew to Cecil, 27 May, 1603; *Cecil Papers*, vol. xcix. § 54.

When Sir George Carew proceeded, in the letter which has just been quoted, to say to Sir Robert Cecil:—"You, in your particuler, have a lardge portion of honnour for itt, having bine a principall acter in the same," ne gave praise which was well merited. The perils of the country, it is true, were rather postponed than removed. But Cecil none the less did loyal and grand service to England, as well as to Scotland, in making James' succession to Elizabeth a peaceable succession. But for that, foreign war would have accompanied civil war. The civil war would have been fought—humanly speaking—both without the training, and without the leaders, which in the next generation made it a war pregnant with good to come. Like other men, Cecil toiled—and he 'toiled terribly'—for more than one object. He loved England much better than ease. He loved her better than wealth, though probably few of his contemporaries enjoyed with more zest than he the good things that wealth brings in its train. He was quite ready to shorten his life for England, by the most unremitting labour. The one thing he would not give up, even for the England he loved, was power. To retain power, he had to work with very base tools. History has punished him by charging his memory with the misdoings of the men he used, as well as with his own. The correspondence with the King of Scots, which so materially helped

THE "SECRET CORRESPONDENCE" OF 1601-1603.

his other labours in paving the way for the quiet union of Scotland and England, affords, in its sequel, a notable instance of this vicarious punishment. What is called the "Cecil Correspondence" prejudiced several eminent men in James' good opinion. It did so, without supplying any real evidence of their ill deserts. As respects Ralegh, it so entirely poisoned James' mind, that in regard to him no effort of the King could afterwards bring his own judgment into a condition of impartiality. The main channel of this poison was Ralegh's bitterest enemy, Lord Henry Howard. And Cecil has been made to bear the penalty of Howard's sin.

That in proportion as Queen Elizabeth's years advanced and her vigour obviously declined, her ministers should busy themselves with anxious forecasting of the feelings, and the views of policy, with which her successor was likely to wield his new power, was inevitable. After the death of Essex, Cecil had governed England very much at his will, though perhaps with even more than the old deference of demeanour. He well knew that no name in England had a less pleasing sound in King James' ears than his own. He knew, too, that besides the death of Essex, many minor causes of offence had been added to the long list which had accrued in the old days of Mary and Burghley. There were close about him men who had helped to pull down Essex, and also men who had stood aloof, in some measure, from that conflict, and who possessed strong claims on James' confidence for having withstood Cecil's father, in the effort to render service to James' mother. The thought that the one group might give useful aid in securing future favour, may surely have been conceived in Cecil's mind, without any set purpose of devoting the other group to destruction. He knew the strength of

the hold which the Howard family had always retained on James' prepossessions. He knew that Lord Henry Howard, in particular,—who had been to Queen Elizabeth an object of dislike and distrust, especially after the discovery of his implication in the later English intrigues on behalf of Mary,—had secured King James' entire confidence. It is certain also that he had found means to convince Howard that the surest way of making the King's confidence fruitful of benefit in the time to come, was to make common cause with himself now. Thenceforward, Howard's sedulous correspondence with Scotland has a double object. It aims at the gratification of his personal malice and the utter ruin of his personal enemies. It aims, also, at working in the King's mind a conviction that Howard and Cecil were the necessary agents of his quiet succession to the English throne; that they *only* were necessary; and that they were now inseparable.

Probably, few men at any period have taken such extraordinary pains to leave to posterity indubitable evidence of their own baseness as did Lord Henry Howard. His letters survive in large numbers. But, besides them, he left behind him, amongst his own papers, and especially in his 'Common Place Book,' many minutes and drafts of letters written at various periods of his career. The vilest passages, whether in those letters of his to the royal favourite Somerset, which were read at the trial of Sir Gervase Elwys for the murder of Overbury,—letters which, we are told, made some of the audience say that their writer died in bed, just in time to escape dying on the gallows,—or in those to the King himself, which are now to be quoted in relation to Sir Walter Ralegh, are scarcely worse than are passages in other letters, written in the morning of

MS. Cott. Titus C vi. fol. 382 (B. M.).

State Trials, 1615. Comp. MS. Cotton, cited above. (B. M.)

life, with the aim of working the ruin of men who, to him, had done nothing worse (for all that appears) than mortify his vanity. Alike in early manhood, and in advanced age, his animosities were held in check by only one curb—he was no swordsman. But by dint of long practice he acquired supreme dexterity in killing with a poisoned pen. While, as respects Cecil, the closest scrutiny of his letters—of which, as of Howard's, a long series is extant—supplies no real parallel, Howard's letters to King James contain internal and express evidence that *some* of them must have been written without Cecil's privity.[1] Yet, because it pleased Lord Hailes to give to Howard's letters the title of '*Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with King James the Sixth*,' many writers lay all Howard's malice to Cecil's charge. Some writers have gone a step farther. They have deduced from the '*Secret Correspondence*' proof that *Cecil* "invented the 'Ralegh Conspiracy.'" They declare him guilty—upon the evidence of Howard's letters—not alone of dooming Ralegh to disgrace and poverty, but of bringing an old comrade, by malice aforethought, within near peril of death at the hands of the headsman. Among the writers who have thus built a large structure on a frail foundation are men familiar with records, wont to weigh evidence, and who in treating other subjects have won merited fame as historians.

The prolixity of the '*Secret Correspondence*' is hardly second to its malice. It is, on this account, difficult to cite with any reasonable brevity, the statements which

[1] *E.g.* "You must not touch one word in your letter of 'the consultations and canons of Durham House,' *because I had not warrant to advertise them, although I was the instrument of bringing the chief things to discovery.*" —Howard to James VI., *Secret Correspondence;* edit. Lord Hailes, p. 50.

foredoomed Ralegh and Cobham, in James' mind, many months before the death of Queen Elizabeth. James' own style is a model of verbosity. But even he complains of Howard's "ample, Asiatic, and endless" flow of words. It is by sample only that the successive steps of the long process can here be indicated.

THE MISSION OF MAR AND KINLOSS INTO ENGLAND.

At the instance of the Earl of Essex, King James had sent into England, in February 1601, the Earl of Mar and Edward Bruce of Kinloss (afterwards Lord Kinloss, and Master of the Rolls). Essex was already dead when they set out, though the news had not reached Scotland. Their instructions had been drawn under the conviction that Cecil, Ralegh, and Cobham were still politically one. "Ye shall plainly declare," the ambassadors were told, "*to Mr. Secretary and his followers*, that since now, when they are in their kingdom, they will thus misknow me, when the chances shall turn, I shall cast a deaf ear to their requests; and whereas now I would have been content to have given them, by your means, a pre-assurance of my favour,—if at this time they had pressed to deserve the same,—so, they now contemning it, may be assured never hereafter to be heard." The King's agents had a hard task. They, naturally, tried to work at it by various channels. Amongst these, they relied for a time, as it seems, on Frances Howard, Countess of Kildare, now the wife of Lord Cobham, and who had the Queen's ear. They conferred also with the Earl of Northumberland, as well as with Lord Henry Howard. Their report, on returning to Scotland, induced the King to establish a correspondence with Cobham's wife, and with Northumberland (the known intimate of Ralegh), as well as with Howard. The first object of Howard's letters is that already indicated. He strives to root up all confidence in any one save himself

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HOWARD'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH KING JAMES.

and Cecil. A furious tirade against Lady Kildare precedes the statement: "She is now put into the vein of seeking by good means to draw Cecil[1] to favour King James." "I have advised Cecil," he adds, "to make her see her own idleness, *in aiming at impossibilities;*" and he entreats Lord Mar, in very earnest terms, to represent his unfavourable view of his kinswoman's character "frequently to the wisdom of King James, who will soon perceive what proportion there is between the good that can possibly grow from such a busybody, as understands no secret of the State, and the plunge she puts the King's friends and affairs to, by these passions and precipitations." In the next letter, Cobham also is denounced, but for a different reason. Lady Cobham, says Howard, injures King James with the Queen by striving foolishly to bring Cecil into open support of his claims to the Succession. Cobham, he also says, "in a dialogue with the Queen spiced Cecil as soundly, touching idle apprehensions of his inclining to the side of King James, as his wit would enable him." The Earl of Northumberland is represented, in the same letter, as having "told his own wife"—the sister, it will be borne in mind, of Essex—that "he had rather the King of Scots was buried than crowned." It is Howard's cue, throughout, to represent Northumberland as thoroughly weak and imbecile. He portrays him as the mere tool of "those wicked villains, Cobham and Ralegh." They, he proceeds, induced the Earl "to give his word to break these scandals to the Queen; to put

[1] Names in this correspondence with Scotland are usually denoted by cyphers ('3' is Howard himself, '10' is Cecil, '20' is Mar, '30' King James, and so on); but it would be of no service to the reader to use the cyphers in cases where no doubt has ever attached to their signification, resting, as that does, not merely on the internal evidence, but on a key to the cyphers written in Cecil's own hand, after King James' accession.

into her head a suspicion of Cecil's disposition towards James, 'by the society of the Howards.'" Lord Henry Howard then goes on to represent Northumberland's heart as failing him "at the pinch," and adds, "then Ralegh took him singly in hand, but with as small effect." Lest it should not be enough merely to convince King James that the three friends were alike the King's enemies—alike save for their varying degrees of courage—he winds up his long tirade in these words: "Hell cannot afford such a like triplicity *that denies the Trinity*." The last piece of slander was conceived with a consummate knowledge of the mind in which it was to lodge. It lodged deeply, as it was foreseen that it would. Many years afterwards, that particular slander bore its appropriate fruit.

In a letter of later date, Howard dilates again on "the perils of Lady Kildare's traffic." He points, as to a new source of danger, to "her strange affection to Cobham, whom never woman loved or will love, besides herself." Cobham, he adds, might, if he chose, "ingross the gain of all the voyages and discoveries which she hath made since the first day of her putting to sea."

Whilst this correspondence between James and Lord Henry Howard was in progress, the Duke of Lennox came to England, as an ambassador from James. The Duke had conferences with Ralegh, but what is known of them will be more fitly told presently,—in narrating some of the events of those quiet yet busy months of Ralegh's life which immediately preceded the stormy scenes of 1603. What came to Cecil's knowledge of the conversations between the Duke of Lennox and Sir Walter seems to have been told to Howard, and by him repeated, in his own fashion, either to the Earl of Mar or to Kinloss. Under the then circumstances, part of

the account thus retailed carries a probability of truth, notwithstanding its channel. For, at the Scottish court, the Duke's own account of the matter was sure to be collated with any English version of it.

Meanwhile, if Howard saw, in the Lennox negotiation, possible danger to his schemes, he saw also a means of warding off the danger. The King's actual Scottish ministers were as busy with their own forecasts of events to come, and with reckonings of the personal profit which ought to grow thereout, as were his English ministers in expectancy. If the Duke of Lennox had formed obnoxious views of his own about events and persons at the Court of London, was there not an obvious way of making Mar and Kinloss (who were now constantly with James) quite as jealous of Lennox, as Howard and Cecil could possibly be of Northumberland or of Ralegh?

Northumberland had already written to King James a long letter of counsel. "This fool," as Howard called him, had shown both the ability to advise on difficult affairs, and the skilled courtiership which puts upon free-spoken advice an acceptable garb. He had depicted the then condition of England with a degree of vigour and lucidity strikingly in contrast with the "ample, Asiatic, and endless" circumlocutions of his enemy. Northumberland's letter, and the King's answer, were communicated to Howard. Howard wrote thereupon jointly to Mar and Kinloss thus:—"Northumberland pretends to run his course with the Earl of Mar. But his purpose once again to deal with King James for his favour towards that accursed duality [Ralegh and Cobham] . . . makes me suspect that the hand of Joab is in the pie. Before this letter came, Northumberland began to rail of Ralegh to some good friends, but now they are again as

close as ever in the combination of incredulity." Was it a species of second-sight which prompted this man then to add: "I hope you shall see matters carried in so good a sort, as the only way to save his [Northumberland's] throat from cutting will be to keep in the best company"?

In so much of this Correspondence as is now known to exist, Howard ventures on no allusion to the Lady Arabella Stuart, or to any alleged intrigues on her behalf. The only instance in which he touches even upon the family connections of Arabella is found in the mention of Lady Shrewsbury as the intimate friend of Ralegh, and of Lady Ralegh. On the latter, as on her noble-minded father, he gives his foul tongue something of its wonted licence. "The league," he writes,—apparently in the April of 1602,—"is very strong between Ralegh and my Lady Shrewsbury, and Ralegh's wife. She is a most dangerous woman, and full of her father's inventions; *sed canunt surdæ.* There is a new invention among that crew, that Cobham should court his wife;" and so on. Lady Kildare was the daughter of the Lord High Admiral Nottingham, the close but (as regards this correspondence with Scotland) the latent ally of Henry Howard and of Cecil. It will be seen, hereafter, into what hands it was that the spoils of Ralegh and of Cobham fell in richest abundance. And the facts are suggestive. It may be noted, now, that in a subsequent letter, Howard assures Lord Mar that "my Lord Admiral, the other day, wished from his soul that he had but the same commission to carry the cannon to Durham House that he had this time twelve months to carry it to Essex House, to prove what sport he could make in that fellowship"—meaning the fellowship of Cobham and Ralegh. "Your Lordship may believe,"

Letter V. April? 1602; Lord Hailes' edit. p. 68.

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he continues, in the same letter, "that Hell did never show up such a couple." In another letter, of June 4th, 1602, he grows prophetic again: "The glass of time being very far run, *the day of the Queen's death may be the day of their doom*, if they do not agree with their adversary upon the way, lest he deliver them to the judge, and the judge to prison,—'*unde non exibunt, donec ultimum quadrantem solverint.*'"

Letter X. Lord Hailes' edition, p. 127.

When the writer of these marvellous epistles adds: "I wish sometime, with my soul, that your Lordship and Mr. Bruce were with me *and Cecil* to laugh at this conversion of the King's new followers," he shows convincingly what impression it was that he laboured to make on the minds of his correspondents. But it would be somewhat rash to infer that he truly represents the existence at that date of an entire identity of feeling between Sir Robert Cecil and himself. Cecil's aims are more fairly and reasonably to be gathered from his own words. Probably, the closest examination of his letters will still leave many points of obscurity. But why it was that, as time wore on, his mind became visibly more and more impressed by the views and projects of Howard, in relation to Ralegh and Cobham, will perhaps be seen hereafter.

CECIL'S SHARE IN THE SECRET CORRESPONDENCE.

Cecil's first letter to King James was written whilst Mar and Kinloss were still in London, and immediately after a personal conference with them. In that first letter, he strikes the key-note of his characteristically personal share in the whole correspondence: *e.g.* "Your Majesty .... will fynde it, in your case, that a choyce election of a feaw in the present, wilbe of more use then any generall acclamation of many;" and, again: "If the extraordinarye persons (though small in nomber)

whom nether base nor hawtye humours draw to love you, should fynde themselfes to be used as a motive to increase a publicke partye, . . . suerly the myndes of men of spiritt and vallew are so compounded, the addition that is sought of the greater part will be the privation of the other; *sed hoc nimis hic posui baculum.*"[1] The third letter begins with praise of the "wisdom and sincerity of 'faithful 3,'" *i.e.* Howard. It was written after the embassy of Lennox, and it is the first of Cecil's own letters in which there is express allusion by name to Ralegh and Cobham. The allusion is bitter enough. It ends with another reference to the "discretion and affection" of Howard. But the reader on collating the words of Cecil with the words of Howard will see, unless I greatly err, that there were still essential differences, both of spirit and of purpose.

"I do profess," writes Sir Robert Cecil, "in the presence of Him that knoweth and searcheth all men's harts, that if I dyd not sometyme cast a stone into the mouth of these gaping crabbs [Ralegh and Cobham] when they are in their prodigall humour of discourses, they wold not stick to confess dayly how contrary it is to their nature to resolve to be under your soverainty; thogh they confess,—Ralegh especially,—that (*rebus sic stantibus*) naturall pollicy forceth them to keep on foot such a trade against the great day of mart. In all which light and soddain humours of his, thogh I do no way check him, becawse he shall not think I reject his freedome or his affection, but alwaies (*sub sigillo con-*

[1] *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxxxv. fol. 57. This Minute is thus endorsed in Cecil's hand: "*A Copye of my first Letter to the Kinges Majesty in the Queene's life, uppon my Conference with the Erle of Marr and the Lord Kinlosse at the Duchy Howse.*" Some of the variations which he made from the original draft are very curious. But it would need a fac-simile to put them fully before the reader's eye.

CECIL'S ADVICE TO KING JAMES.

fessionis) use contestation with him that I neyther had nor ever wold, *in individuo*, contemplate future idea, nor ever hoped for more then justice, in time of change; yet, under pretext of extraordinary care of his well-doing, I have seemed to disswade him from ingaging himself to farr, even for himself; much more therfore to forbeare to assume for me or my present intentions. Let me, therfore, presume thus farr uppon your Majesties favour that whatsoever he [Ralegh] shall take uppon him to say for me, uppon any new humor of kyndnes,—wherof sometime he wilbe replete, uppon the receipt of privat benefite,—you will no more believe it, if it come in other shape, be it never so much in my comendation—then that his own conscience thoght it needfull for him to undertake to keep me from any humor of imanity; when, I thank God, my greatest adversaries and my owne sowle have ever acquited me from that, of all other vices. Wold God I were as free from ofense towards God in seeking, for private affection, to support a person whom most religious men do hold *anathema*."[1] Human language could scarcely supply plainer proof that among the things to which Cecil had already made up his mind was the total exclusion from places of trust and power, under James, both of his old friend Ralegh and of his brother-in-law Cobham. And King James had previously said to him: "*Your* suspicion, and *your* disgracing, shall be mine."

[1] Sir Robert Cecil to King James VI. Minute. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxxxv. § 65 (Hatfield). It is plain that Cecil is also pointing at Ralegh and Cobham when he says, of some who had made "their fonde and gyddie offering you themselves:" "They want power and knowledge in the mistery of this government, as if—unknown to them—many of their errours weare not palliated, they wold loose you that which is and wilbe your greatest safety, thogh it may try your patience." This passage is greatly softened from the first draft of the letter. (Ibid. f. 68, verso.)

But there is a wide interval between a purpose like that and the purpose not very dimly foreshadowed in Howard's prophetic 'day of doom,' and in his threat that Northumberland's safety from 'throat-cutting' would lie in his seeking better company than that of Cobham and Ralegh. Was Howard a prophet by an accidental coincidence of conjecture with fact? Or did he, when he wrote, early in 1602, about a 'day of doom' and about 'throat-cutting,' hold in his hand a rope or two of a net already a-weaving? A tolerably conclusive answer to that question will, I venture to think, be found in those rough minutes of his private letters of 1602 which may still be read in his own autograph. On the further question,—'Did those rough drafts of letters ever become parts of a real two-sided correspondence?'—hangs all decision about the extent, or the presumable extent, of Sir Robert Cecil's complicity in Howard's schemes. Of Cecil's share in such a correspondence nothing has been discovered. No replies from him appear among the Howard MSS. No such letters are visible at Hatfield, either in minutes or in drafts. None such are known to exist elsewhere.

Earl of Northampton's Common Place Book, in MS. Cott. Titus C vi. (B. M.)

CHAPTER XVI.

QUIET YET BUSY MONTHS.—THE CALM BEFORE STORM.

1600—1603.

Journey with Lord Cobham to Ostend.—Interview of Ralegh and Lord Cobham with Lord Grey of Wilton. — The 'Spanish Faction in Scotland.' — Invasion of Ireland by the Spaniards, and Ralegh's Counsels thereupon.—Florence MacCarthy.—Ralegh's Approval of the Assassination of Rebels.—His Counsel to the Queen on the Treatment of Cormac MacDermod.—His Conferences with the Duke of Lennox, the Emissary of King James, and with the Ambassadors of Henry the Fourth of France.—The private Correspondence of Lord Henry Howard with Sir Robert Cecil.—The Privateering Enterprises of Cecil, Cobham, and Ralegh, on joint Account.

JOURNEY OF RALEGH AND COBHAM TO THE CAMP IN FLANDERS.

RALEGH'S official occupations in the West country and in Jersey were diversified, during the last years of Queen Elizabeth, by other pursuits than those "Durham House consultations," and those private conferences with James' ambassador, the Duke of Lennox, which were watched with such eager eyes, and reported with so much of murderous comment. He accompanied Lord Cobham into Flanders, in the hope of seeing something of the 'pomp and circumstance of glorious war' abroad. He was repeatedly called into council with the Queen and her ministers, about the means of prosecuting more effectually at home that difficult, tedious, and always inglorious war, in which the power of England had been repeatedly put forth against Irish insurgents and their Spanish and Italian auxiliaries,

without adequate result. Conference about the suppression of an Irish rebellion had first made Ralegh known to Elizabeth. The same subject was the topic of discussion at some of the last audiences which the Queen is recorded to have granted him. In 1601, it was even a more anxious matter than it had been in 1582. Those nearest to the Queen's person in her declining days mention the unsatisfactory course of things in Ireland —within a year after the great victory of Kinsale— as being one of two chief sources of vexation which hastened her path to the grave. "Jealousy of Arbella" was the other,—if the testimony of the Earl of Northumberland, confirmed by that of more than one of the bystanders at Court, is to be believed.

Earl of Northumberland to King James VI. 17 Mar. 1602-3; *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxxxv. § 99 (Hatfield).

The journey to Ostend was undertaken in July 1600. Its single point of biographical interest lies in the fact that it brought together Ralegh, Cobham, and Grey. There is no evidence,—nor is there, I think, any suggestion,—that they had ever met before, or that they ever met afterwards,—until they were brought together as fellow-prisoners, first at the Tower and then at Winchester Castle, in the autumn of 1603.

At Ostend, Ralegh and Cobham were the bearers of a message from Sir Robert Cecil to Lord Grey. Hereafter there will be occasion to mention the circumstances under which Grey had incurred the royal displeasure. Cecil's message was intended to assure him that, through the sender's mediation, the Queen's favour was in a fair way to be recovered. The message was responded to in these words:—"My Lord Cobham hath at full discovered unto me your favourable intercession, and the Queen's gracious opinion and esteem of my poor desert; accusing his hasty departure of my misfortune

INTERVIEW OF COBHAM, RALEGH, AND GREY AT OSTEND. July 1600.

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in missing the princely token you write of, which, could I receive, I should esteem most unvaluable, and of proof against all peril, all misfortune."

"These two gallants" [Ralegh and Cobham], Lord Grey proceeds to say, "have been entertained with much honour and extraordinary respect, but have seen little. For, as the Sun, after his highest elevation and warmest reflection, beginneth to decline, so our army, after that supreme step of our unexpected honour, hath ever decayed in opinion and strength."[1] Grey was then in command of a contingent raised for the service of the United Provinces, and he was in presence of an army commanded by that Archduke Albert whose name was to figure so soon, and so strangely, in a trial destined to cut short the careers of three men, all of whom, when thus incidentally brought together in Flanders, were in the full pride and glow either of martial enterprise, or of high employments in their country's service.

INVASION OF IRELAND BY THE SPANIARDS.

A year later, anxieties about a probable invasion of Ireland by Spaniards, and the renewal, under arduous circumstances, of the internecine strife, were occupying the attention of all English statesmen. Nor were those anxieties unconnected with others arising out of the still uneasy relations between England and Scotland. "The dangers which may grow by a Spanish faction in Scotland," concerning which Ralegh drew up a State Paper[2] (not now known to be extant), and sent it to the Queen, gave not a little occupation to other minds and pens than his. At this time, James had, or professed to

[1] Thomas, Lord Grey of Wilton, to Secretary Cecil; Ostend, July 1600; *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxx. § 84 (Hatfield). See also Lord Cobham's letter to Cecil of July 19, from which it appears that the Earl of Northumberland was to have been of the party. That letter is printed in Appendix iv. of Vol. II.

[2] See Letter CXV. in Vol. II. p. 259.

have, views about Irish policy which differed much from Elizabeth's. He was in known intercourse with the Papal Court, and the possibilities—in respect of the future conduct of affairs in Ireland as well as in England—which might naturally accrue out of that intercourse added something to the many existing complications. But when the Spaniards had landed, James offered to send to the Queen's succour a force of three thousand Scottish troops.

Cecil to Winwood, Oct. 1601. (Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 359.)

The invasion had been expected from the beginning of the year.[1] It did not occur until the 21st of September.[2] The prevalent belief was that the disembarkation would take place either at Cork or at Limerick, and this belief had been encouraged by the Irish allies of the invaders.[3] When Ralegh heard that it was at Kinsale that the Spaniards had really landed, he wrote to Cecil: "I am of opinion that either Kinsale was not the place purposed to be undertaken, or else [that] Florence was the cause thereof; for the port bordereth his country." Almost at the same moment, Cecil heard, from one of his Irish correspondents, that "upon their arrival, the Spaniards especially demanded for Florence MacCarthy. They demanded where Florence MacCarthy was, and James FitzThomas;" and were answered, "'In the Tower of London,'—upon which answer the man turned back again to his general." Ralegh had hit the blot. Florence MacCarthy had long been profuse in his offers of service to the English government; but Ralegh knew what such professions usually meant, and had a special knowledge of Florence himself, who was an acquaintance of many years' standing. By one of

Sept. 1601.

Ralegh to Cecil, Oct. 1601. See Letter CVI. in Vol. II. p. 244.

Sir John Dowdall to Cecil, Sept. 1601 (*Irish Cor.*: R. H.).

[1] Ralegh to Cecil, Feb. 2, 1601. See Letter XCVI. in Vol. II. p. 224.
[2] John Meade to Sir G. Carew, Sept. 21, 1601 (*Irish Corr.*: R. H.).
[3] Ralegh to Cecil, Sept. 26, 1601. See Letter CIII. in Vol. II. p. 240.

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those strange coincidences of circumstance in which Ralegh's story abounds, they were destined to renew the old acquaintance of the days of the 'Fort del Oro,' in the Tower of London, as fellow-prisoners during many years to come.

RALEGH'S COUNSEL ON THE INVASION.

Lord Deputy Montjoy and Lord President Carew, when reporting the invasion, agreed in assuring the Queen and Cecil that they would make 'short work' of it. "I am not altogether of that mind," was Ralegh's comment, "and yet I do not think that Spain will supply them [*i.e.* the invaders] in haste; neither will those Spaniards already there find such a party as they hoped." Both forecasts were right. The Spaniards were dispatched with exemplary speed. But the restoring of peace and good order in Ireland proved far from being a 'short work.' Ralegh was also of opinion that, if the invasion had come sooner, it would have had disastrous consequences,—disastrous to the obvious and vital interests of England at once; and not a whit less disastrous to the truest interests of Ireland herself, in the long run. With these last, indeed, Ralegh gave himself no trouble. He looked at Irish affairs,—just as his fellow-soldiers and fellow-councillors looked at them,—with pre-occupations exclusively English. In Ireland, he was an English soldier, and an English planter; and he was nothing more. "Sure I am," he wrote, "if these Spaniards had come in the beginning of the wars, the kingdom had been once lost. You shall find, I warrant you, that Tyrone will bestir himself in the north, and every rebel in his quarter. For this is the last of all hopes."

Ralegh to Cecil; Letter CVI. Vol. II. p. 245.

Other statesmen took views scarcely less grave of the imminence of the peril. "I thank God," wrote Sir George Carew, a few weeks later, "that James Fitz-

Thomas and Florence are in England. . . . Upon them two the whole Province [of Munster] would have relied, and no doubt but a general defection would have ensued. By the example whereof it is very probable that the other provinces," he thought, would have burst into flame. "As yet," he continues, "in Munster there is none gone into rebellion, but Florence's kinsmen and followers, and those which in former times did ruin his fortune."

HIS VIEWS ABOUT THE ASSASSINATION OF REBELS.

On one other important matter, Ralegh, Carew, and Cecil were at one. In regard to what, in the phrase of their day, were called "practices against rebels," they were as little troubled with scruples of conscience as Sir Humphrey Gilbert, or Sir Henry Sydney, or Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton, had been a few years earlier. In plain English, "practices against rebels" meant the deliberate assassination of rebels, or even of persons vehemently suspected of an intention to rebel. Cecil, indeed, avowed that he had a rooted objection to the killing of a rebel by poison,—as some scoundrel had once proposed to him to kill Tyrone. But an ambush, for the purpose of throat-cutting, he thought legitimate enough. Thus, of a scheme for removing the much dreaded Florence MacCarthy, he wrote to Sir George Carew: "True it is that to take a rebel alive, *or to bring their head*, I was contented to hear his [the proposed assassin's] promise; though, for mine own part, I never believed him." Ralegh wrote to Cecil,—apparently in relation to a nearly contemporaneous attempt on the life of John FitzThomas FitzGerald (brother of the titular seventeenth Earl of Desmond, the 'Sougaun Earl,' or 'Earl of Straw,' of Irish history), although the proper date of the letter is very obscure,—"It can be no disgrace if it were known that the killing of a rebel were practised. . . . For yourself, you are not to be touched

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Letter LXXXV. Vol. II. p. 198.

in the matter. And, for me, I am more sorry *for being deceived*, than for being declared in the practice." Words of more plain and emphatic approval of such an act could scarcely have been used. The uncertainty lies only in the particular occasion to which they really refer. That there should be a multitude of such incidents to pick and choose amongst; still more, that statesmen like Cecil, Ralegh, and Carew should (in the quiet hours of council, as well as amidst the turmoil of insurrection and civil war) regard such deeds as necessary steps in the path of good government, are facts which throw a terrible significance into Ralegh's own phrase, 'that Commonwealth of Woe.'

If the attempted assassination thus endorsed by Ralegh be really that made upon the noted Geraldine, John FitzThomas (who is identical with the Spanish 'Count of Desmond' of James the First's time), the crime was prevented by one of Ralegh's own servants; and in that fact a gleam of light may possibly lie, helpful towards explaining Sir Walter's sorrow "for being deceived." By Sir George Carew himself the attempt on John FitzThomas' life, and its failure, were thus narrated in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil:[1]—

Having first apprised the Secretary that the writer himself had "found out one called Nugent, who promissed him to do Her Majestie service uppon the person of John MacThomas," and that he had duly equipped the intending assassin for its performance, "with a horse, a pistoll, some munition, and ten pounds in money," he goes on thus:—"Nugent, with a resolved intent, did purpose to kill him; and the same day that I had viewed Loghgier, Nugent and John MacThomas came

[1] In this, as in many other letters, Sir George Carew writes in the third person, using for his own name the cypher '2049.'

thether. There was allso one Coppinger, sometime a footman to Sir Walter Raleghe, unto whome Nugent did reveale his purpose, who promised him faythefullye to assist him in the enterprize. Not longe after, John MacThomas departinge thence toward Arlow Woods, havinge but onlye these tow above-named on horsebacke and two footmen with him, Nugent tooke his pistoll in his hand, tellinge Coppinger that now he woulld kill him. And as he was readye to shoote, Coppinger snatcht his pistoll out of his hand, and cried 'Treason!' Nugent, spurring his horse to have escaped, by misfortune his horse stumbled, and so he was taken." Carew then consoles himself, and his correspondent, for the fellow's speedy death on the gallows, by the naïve reflection: "He was but a protected traytor; and I do thinke he woulld, uppon the least occasion, have relapsed." That this Irish incident of the summer of 1600 may, possibly, be identical with that to which Sir Walter Ralegh refers, in Letter LXXXV., can only be matter of conjecture, until other evidence be discovered.

1600. August.

Carew to Cecil, 17th August, 1600; *Irish Corresp.* Elizabeth (R. H.). Vol. II. p. 198.

Of the consistency with which Ralegh, on almost all occasions, counselled an unrelenting demeanour towards Irish rebels, the evidence is superabundant. The exceptional instances are but rare. He did this alike in open conference with the Queen, and in his private advice to her ministers. His last distinctly-recorded interview with Elizabeth occurred about three months before her fatal illness. At this interview, Cecil was present. The Queen, in the course of the conversation, referred to some recent occurrences in Munster, and especially to the behaviour and presumed intentions of one of the chieftains of the great sept of MacCarthy, Cormac MacDermod, Lord of Muskerry (ancestor of the Viscounts of that name, created by Charles the First,

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and of the subsequent Earls of Clancarty). The President of Munster had drawn, a few months before this conference, a very unprepossessing picture of Cormac as "a subtile fox," who, "under the habitt and pretexte of a subjecte, was workinge more villainy against the State than he were able to do if he were in rebellion," and the picture had made its impression on the Queen's mind. Special offence had been given by a project, or alleged project, of Cormac's for the marriage of his sister with that James FitzThomas FitzGerald who, a few months before, had become Earl of Desmond, now an 'Earl of Straw,' but nevertheless, in Irish eyes, the true owner of the greater part of the counties of Cork and Kerry. Cecil told her Majesty that the President had already spoiled the country and taken the castles of the Lord of Muskerry, and had taken "such good pledges upon him" that he was now willing to submit to her government. The Queen asked Ralegh's opinion of the course to be followed with him. "Whereupon," Cecil tells Sir George Carew, "Sir Walter very earnestly moved Her Majesty of all others to reject Cormack MacDermod: first, because his country was worth her keeping; secondly, because he lived so under the eye of the State as that, whensoever she would, it was in her power to suppress him." The Queen, he adds, was so wrought upon by Ralegh's advice as to give a special charge to the Secretary about the next dispatches to Munster. The Lord President, she commanded, was to be told that whatsoever might be done with others, no pardon should be given to Cormac MacDermod.

Cecil to Sir George Carew, 4th Nov. 1602; MS. Tenison, dciv. f. 216 (Lambeth Palace).

It is significant to note the variations of tone about Ralegh in Secretary Cecil's more private letters to Sir George Carew, written at this period, which often supply

a striking commentary on the official dispatches. There is more significance still in a collation of those passages which relate to Ralegh in the correspondence with Carew, and those, on the same topic, which occur in the correspondence with King James. No hypothesis of mere jealousy, or even of nascent hatred, arising within the writer's own mind, will prove sufficient to explain them in a coherent way. In regard to Ralegh, these two groups of letters combine, with strange points of difference, one salient point of agreement—they both harp on the string 'ingratitude.' They contain no clue, however, either to the ground on which gratitude was due from Ralegh, or to the way in which its absence had been evinced towards Cecil. Apparently, the key to part of the mystery lies in the negotiations of the Duke of Lennox, on James' behalf, at the beginning of the year 1602; and especially in the version of them which Lord Henry Howard, as he tells us himself, gave to Sir Robert Cecil. Cecil's own letters, as well as Howard's, represent all his knowledge of the Duke's proceedings as coming to him at second-hand.

THE EMBASSY OF THE DUKE OF LENNOX.

Lennox came to England in November 1601. He had been, immediately before his arrival, charged with a mission from James to the Court of France, whence he was suddenly summoned "to hasten into England with such speed that, if it were possible, he might arrive in London before the beginning of the Parliament." Winwood adds to this intimation,—which he sent to Cecil, from Paris, on the 22nd of October,—"The Duke is gone from hence not the best satisfied with his treatment at this Court." . . . "He hath sent one in post to Sir Thomas Erskine, to meet him presently at Calais, who, accompanied by the Lord Burley,[1] upon Sunday last did

Winwood to Cecil; *Memorials*, i. 357.

[1] Sir Michael Balfour, afterwards Lord Balfour.

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go towards the Archduke's camp, to whom they were recommended by Ayala, *and for address to the Count Arembergh.*"

When the Duke reached London, and had discharged his commission to the Queen, he conferred on his master's affairs both with Cobham and with Ralegh. Sir Arthur Savage, an old comrade in arms of Ralegh, was the means of introducing Sir Walter to the Duke. In King James' own phrase about it, Savage acted as 'trucheman.' According to Howard's statement, Lennox had an interview with Cobham, before he saw Ralegh. Cobham, he says, began by endeavouring to remove from the Duke's mind any unfavourable prepossessions "touching the conceit which many hold of his affection towards King James,"—meaning, of course, by that term his want of affection,—and then gave abundant assurances of his earnest attachment to the King. Howard reported the conversation first to Cecil, and afterwards to Mar and Kinloss, adding elaborate arguments to prove that Cobham's motives must needs be these: "First, to get an advantage over Cecil. Second, to secure himself from hurt by Cecil. Third, to search by insinuation into the King's courses. Fourth, to hold Cecil in awe. Fifth, to breathe himself upon this tree until he might make a further flight. Sixth, to embark with one who doth not much affect Mar and Bruce,—whom Cobham doth mortally hate. Seventh, to draw from King James such effects of love and confidence, by communication of intelligence, as might raise his present fortune with the Queen."

CONFERENCE OF COBHAM WITH LENNOX.

Lord Henry Howard goes on to assure his correspondents in Scotland that Cobham himself afterwards gave his own version of the interview to Cecil, and that Cecil answered him in accordance with Howard's views and

advice; and he adds that Cecil reminded Cobham of "his own axiom, that it was not possible for any man to be a loyal subject who respected King James, in any degree,—present or future." He also represents Cecil as saying to Cobham that, for his own part, "Setting aside conscience, which ought ever to favour right, I am indifferent which way soever it shall please God to dispose of the Monarchy."

Howard to Lord Mar. January? 1602. (Lord Hailes' edit. pp. 44, *seqq.*)

"The very next day," continues Howard, in narrating, for King James' present ministers and (by his own assumption) the future rivals of the Duke of Lennox, what was then passing in London, "Ralegh came to Cecil, with the same brave flourishes of confidence and love, but—touching the main point—more reservedly. For he denied any kind of proffer of devotion or kind affection to have been made to King James from him by the Duke. But he protested that the Duke had sent earnestly to crave conference with him privately; which he had denied, with a gallant answer that he had been over-deeply engaged and obliged to his own mistress to seek favour anywhere else, that should either divert his eye or diminish his sole respect to his own sovereign." Cecil is then represented to have answered Ralegh's statement by saying: "You did well; and as I myself would have made answer, if the like offer had been made to me." Ralegh, proceeds the story, "without any long discussion, went roundly to the point; desiring Cecil to let the Queen know the particulars;—what had been offered; what answered." But "from this course Cecil dissuaded him by many reasons;—as that the Queen would rather mark a weakness that gave the Duke encouragement, than praise his resolution, and again that it would be thought a motive to pick a thank." Howard then tells Lord Mar that Ralegh and Cobham have thus

Ibid.

"entered into a kind of treaty, without admitting the Earl of Northumberland;" and asks him to be the means of procuring and sending into England the particulars of these conferences, in the form in which they should be reported by the Duke of Lennox to the King. It is in this letter that Howard warns his correspondents against any allusion whatever, in their reply, to the "consultations and canons of Durham House," because he had reported them without Cecil's warrant, and because the reply of Mar and Kinloss to his letter must be shown to Cecil. He entreats them to prevent any advice that Lennox might give to the King, in favour of a correspondence between Ralegh or Cobham and the King himself, from taking effect, because, he says, "the King may find that their intentions are traitorous." He begs that Mar and Kinloss will but "let us understand the scope of their proceedings, *out of which if we make not good use for the King, and with as good workmanship as you can wish, then conclude that you deal with bunglers.*"

Lord Henry Howard was a 'sacred poet,' for he had versified the Psalms of David. He was also a profound commentator on other parts of Holy Scripture. We may look, however, in vain for his exposition of the Psalmist's denunciations of those who "imagine mischief in their hearts upon the earth," or of the prophecy that upon such "their own tongues" shall bring destruction, unless that exposition may be thought to lie in the collocation of his entreaty to Lord Mar—"*When you have perused these particulars, let them die for ever in your breast, . . for they touch all the arteries of our anatomy,*" with the real fate not only of the letters he was so desirous that his correspondent should burn, but of other and more secret "particulars," so much nearer the main arteries of his own anatomy that a timely diffusion of

them might have gibbeted the man, instead of merely gibbeting his memory. The volume that has preserved the letters provocative of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury contains other letters which are, in their aim, as unmistakably provocative of the murder of Ralegh and of Cobham. Whether it shall eventually be thought that the writer of the letters about Ralegh in the Cotton MS. sent them, or refrained from sending some of them, to their destination,—their *evidence* is the same. And the gist of it is, that long before Queen Elizabeth's death the preferability, on the whole, of constructing a plot adequate to the ruin of Ralegh and Cobham out (1) of the past negotiation with the Duke of Lennox, on behalf of the King of Scotland, or of constructing it out (2) of some future negotiation, to be thereafter undertaken by Lord Cobham with some foreign statesman, on behalf of the King of Spain, was deliberately weighed in Lord Henry Howard's mind. The reasons in favour of either course were set down in writing by his own hand. On the review of the whole, it was finally thought more surely conducive to the desired end to make Cobham the leading instrument of his own and of Ralegh's ruin, "in some cours the Spanish waie;" by "ingaging him in traffick with suspected ministers." Maturely reflecting on the *pros* and *cons*, Howard's mind was at length happily at rest. "For my own part," was the triumphant summing up of his cogitations,—on some day before the midsummer of 1602,—"I account it unpossible for Cobham to scape the snares which wit may sett, and weakeness is apt to fall into." And what 'weakness' would entail on Cobham, wrath and wounded pride, it was thought, would as surely bring upon Ralegh.—"Assure yourself," he says, "it will [so] enflame him with some violent desir uppon the sodain," . . . . as to "bring him

MS. Cott. Titus C vi. ff. 386—392.

Ibid. Howard to Cecil (printed in Appendix vi. of Vol. II.).

Minutes of Letters to Cecil; in MS. Cott. as above (printed in Appendix vi. of Vol. II.).

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into that snare which he wold shunn otherwise." Before the autumn of the next year is over, we find the writer of these sentences sitting on the bench at Winchester, as a Judge, upon the two subjects of them, and dooming both Cobham and Ralegh to the block, for "traffic with a suspected minister" of Spain.

RALEGH AND THE DUKE OF SULLY AT DOVER.

A trivial incident in a negotiation which was almost contemporaneous with that of the Duke of Lennox brings Ralegh's name into momentary connection with that of the famous minister of Henry the Fourth, the Duke of Sully. Shortly after the almost resultless mission of Marshal Biron, Sully had been sent across the Channel on a special and sudden errand. The new ambassador flattered himself that he had managed his passage so skilfully, that his arrival at Dover was as yet unknown. "But I had scarcely," he says,—when narrating this incident in his *Memoirs*,—"entered my room, and was in the act of speaking to my attendants, when I found myself approached, behind my back, by some one who said to me—'I arrest you as my prisoner, in the Queen's name.' It was the Captain of her Guard, whose embrace I returned, telling him I should consider such an imprisonment as a great honour." Sir Walter, he adds, "took me instantly to the Queen." Elizabeth had come to the coast—not for the first time with a like purpose[1]—in the hope of meeting Sully's master. Her long desire for such an interview had now become a passionate one. It had been told to many ambassadors, and to the King himself, in many letters. Henry preferred to send loving messages and ardent compliments;

Sully, *Mémoires* (edit. of 1814,) vol. iii. p. 29.

[1] See the notes of a curious conversation with her, in Hurault de Maisse's *Journal d'une Ambassade en Angleterre*, MS. p. 258; cited by Prévost Paradol, *Elisabeth et Henri IV.*, p. 214.

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although once, as it seems, he was worried into the promise of a visit. Just before Sully's coming to Dover, the Queen had sent the King of France word that she had something to communicate which was too important to be entrusted either to a letter or to an ambassador. But the bait was ineffectual, although Henry was then within sight of the Kentish cliffs. It may be gathered from Sully's account of this brief mission of 1601, that his acquaintance with Ralegh had commenced in France, and was of long standing. It is also evident that on this occasion they had some conference together on political subjects, which less than two years later was destined to be resumed, at a momentous conjuncture. Ralegh had a more intimate knowledge of France and Frenchmen than was possessed by most of his contemporaries at the Court of Elizabeth. He could now observe the slow recovery of our nearest neighbour from the ravages of forty years of war with complacency, so long as he regarded Spain to be an enemy still powerful. But at no time had he been so warm a friend of the French alliance as Essex had constantly been. A year or two after the talk with Sully at Dover,—when watching the growth of political change on the Continent from 'the loop-holes of retreat,'—we find him writing: "France is already one of the greatest kingdoms in Europe, *and our farthest friend*."

Hurault de Maisse. (See footnote to p. 330.)

Discourse touching a War with Spain; addressed to King James, shortly after his accession.

RALEGH'S CONTINUED EFFORTS AT COLONIZATION.

Whatever the extent to which forecasts of coming changes, both abroad and at home, may have occupied Ralegh's mind in these last years of the Queen, his energies were never quite turned aside from plans of colonization. He continued to press the Secretary and the Privy Council for facilities towards resuming the Virginian enterprise; and in repeated communications

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pointed out the unwisdom of being deterred, even by a series of mishaps, from new efforts to establish an English settlement in a land so rich in the gifts of nature that a commerce very profitable to the mother country, as well as to the colony, could not fail to reward perseverance. Nor was the renewal of the exploration of Guiana, at any period of his career—after 1595—long absent from his thoughts. His plans both for Virginia and for Guiana were pondered, at intervals, in the busiest times. They appealed to all his instincts. They had a strong pull alike upon the ambitious hopes of the adventurer, and upon the mature reflections of the statesman, whose mind had taught itself to find relief from routine toil in weighing the causes of the rise and fall of nations. Nor did they appeal less successfully to Ralegh's love of aggrandizement in its most common form. There is much more than a probability that but for his greed, the utmost efforts of his enemies would have failed to work his ruin. For a man who knew when (to use his own expression) 'Fortune had dealt liberally with him,' those spider-webs, over the ingenious construction of which Lord Henry Howard was already gloating, would have been woven in vain. But the thirst for gold which brought him at last within the toils, had previously fructified his genius for enterprise. If he gathered overmuch, it was to spend liberally, not to hoard. His greed, no less than his ambition and his public spirit, made him a persistent colonizer, when men less ardent and less keenly bent on profit were tired out by repeated disappointments. That it should also have made him persevere in a less honourable branch of industry,—a branch to which the Queen's system of government, and something, it may be, in her personal nature, had always been friendly,—causes no surprise. That Ralegh should be a large owner of

privateering cruisers down to the very last days of Elizabeth, and that the captains of those cruisers had not made their mark as persons over-scrupulous in the study of prize-law, is in strictest sequence with antecedents. It may be thought, however, a little startling to find that his partners (as late as March 1603) in privateering speculation were Lord Cobham—and Secretary Sir Robert Cecil. That the fact was so the papers at Hatfield prove conclusively. And in one such enterprise, at least, the Lord High Admiral Nottingham was also a partner, with Cecil, Cobham, and Ralegh; as he had previously been with Sir John Gilbert and with Ralegh.

At what date Sir Robert Cecil first became Ralegh's partner in the outfit of privateers, I am unable to state. The extant correspondence shows that they had several transactions of this sort, and it suggests that there may have been others, of which the evidence is not now at hand. The trade had its contingent dangers, but its profits, taken in the long run, were certain. When the Lord High Admiral dabbled in it, he had a chance of twofold gain. He had already an old-established connection in the sale of protective passports, against rovers. He had now a new branch of business, as part-owner or part-outfitter of one at least of the rovers, whose cruises created so brisk a demand for the passports.

One of these joint ventures was made at the close of the year 1601. Sir John Gilbert then writes to the Secretary of State (21st December, 1601), that he had heard, through Sir Walter Ralegh, of Sir Robert's purpose to set forth a ship and pinnace "for the coast of Spain, which accordingly," he continues, "shall be performed with the greatest expedition that may be." He suggests that it "will be a good course to imprest the

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company, as ensuring the saving of the greatest part of a hundred marks' charge;" and then he adds: "If your Honour be not pleased to stand wholly to the hazard of their pay during the voyage, then the captain may, at sea, make them the offer of half-pay and half-thirds, or put them to the choice whether [of the two] they will take; wherein I desire to stand to the one half, as of the ship and her victuals." Not long before, Ralegh and Sir John Gilbert had had a sharp quarrel about the due distribution of the 'thirds' and 'fourths' of the profits accruing from some of their joint adventures in this way. But those differences had now, it seems, been ended.

Sir J. Gilbert to Sir R. Cecil; *Cecil Papers*, vol. xc. § 17 (Hatfield).

Sir W. Ralegh to S r J. Gilbert; Vol. II. p. 193.

About a year afterwards, one of the cruisers in which Ralegh had an interest of some sort made captures for which it was found that not even a colourable defence could be set up in the Court of the Admiralty. "The spoils," wrote Sir Robert Cecil to him, on this occasion, "which have been committed by the ship wherein Gifford went have worthily deserved her confiscation, as now she is, by judgment, to my Lord Admiral; and the parties who have confessed themselves to be owners in the Court of the Admiralty are now forthcoming with their bodies to answer their offences." Sir Robert then continues his letter thus: "Till which time, and [till] that the Lord Admiral had past away his interest, as we understand, to one Fawlkenor, I was resolved—as I am in all cases—to have nothing to do with her, or anything thereto belonging. But now, the bearer hereof having order from Mr. Falconer[1] to venture her carcase and all those things that belong to the ship (whereof she is well furnished), there remaineth now no more but that she be presently manned, and victualled to sea. For which purpose the bearer hereof, who is her master, hath been

[1] So in MS.

appointed to carry her to the port of Weymouth, from whence he is directed to advertize you, to whom this is now our request: That you will presently give order for her victualling; choose her a master—if you like not him—and mariners, fit for the purpose. If you think the bearer hereof, Captain May, able to discharge the trust we shall commit, then we know no more to be done but to proceed with all expedition; wherein for that which he is to do we leave it wholly to your direction, to whom satisfaction shall be made, upon such account as you shall deliver, for her expenses: in which I will be contented to be half-victualler, and the rest may be borne between my Lord Cobham and you; or, for such part as any of you will not receive, let it remain upon my head. But now, Sir, that you know all these particulars, I pray you, as much as may be conceal our adventure, or at the least my name, above any other. For though, I thank God, I have no other meaning than becometh an honest man in any of my actions, yet that which were another man's *Pater noster*, would be accounted, in me, a charm."

Sir R. Cecil to Sir W. Ralegh. (Minute.) *Cecil Papers*, vol. xci. § 45 (Hatfield).

It is the date of this letter which gives it much of its significance. Within less than ten weeks of its dispatch to Sherborne, Queen Elizabeth was dead, and King James was about to set out for London. A few months before it was written, Sir Robert Cecil had complained in strong terms to Sir George Carew, the common intimate of himself, of Ralegh, and of Cobham, that "our two old friends"—with both of whom Carew was wont to keep up his correspondence from Munster—"do use me unkindly." "But," he proceeds to add, "I have covenanted with my heart not to know it. . . . In shew we are great.[1] All my revenge shall be to heap coals

[1] "Mr. Secretary Cecil wrote to the Lord Cobham and Sir Walter

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on their heads." In another letter, he had expressed to his correspondent an earnest wish that no allusion to his own complaints of their conduct should be made in any letter that might be written by Carew to Ralegh or to Cobham. And it was then that he mentioned to Sir George Carew a trait of character, as being common to Cobham and to Ralegh, which readers of history will be apt to think a very notable trait, when looked at as marking the habits of two plotters already busy with schemes of treason: "They shew all men's letters to every man." Such was the Secretary's friendly caution to the President of Munster in 1602.

It would be rash, however, to draw from such passages and such apparent incoherences as these, a positive conclusion that the real and main plotter must needs have been Sir Robert Cecil, though there is much precedent for taking that line. It is probable that some of the mysteries which underlie this part of our story will never be quite cleared up. Evidence has survived that was long thought to be lost. Other and not less essential evidence seems really to have perished. Perhaps, the closest study of what remains will be likely to impress the student with a growing conviction that the communications made—orally, no doubt, as well as in writing—by Lord Henry Howard to Cecil, in 1602, contain the key of the matter. Of these we have, and we can have, only fragments. How far Cecil was the conscious, how far the unconscious, agent of Howard's schemes, it is hard, from such fragments, even to conjecture. And the difficulties which accrue from the gaps in the evidence are far from being the only difficulties.

Ralegh, and sent them the news of the overthrow of the four galleys." This entry occurs in Cecil's own *Diary*, under the date of Sept. 26, 1602 MS. Harl. xxxi. fol. 391 (British Museum).

Ralegh himself attained—long before the death of Cecil—to some considerable knowledge of the undercurrents and of the hidden rocks which had conduced to his wreck. But there is no passage in his correspondence—so far as it is now discoverable—which on this point contradicts the striking language employed towards Sir Robert Cecil, at the close of the year 1603: "Nothing shall ever weigh down the memory alone of your Lordship's true respects had of me; respects tried by the touch; tried by the fire; true witnesses in true times, and then only, when only available." It will be hard to make such expressions as these appear consistent with even the suspicion that Cecil had contrived the plot which had already brought Ralegh to the edge of the scaffold. That Cecil had, for reasons of his own, resolved that his old friend's employment in affairs and offices of State should cease soon after the death of Queen Elizabeth, is now certain. It can scarcely have been matter of doubt, at the end of 1603, to the man concerned. But Ralegh must have had the consciousness that Cecil was taking exactly the same course towards him, in 1603, that he had himself urged Cecil to take towards the Earl of Essex, in 1600. Had he also a consciousness that he, like Essex, had formed some project or other for putting a stop to the political career of Cecil?

Letter CXXIV. Vol. II. p. 288.

To the obscure proceedings, in several different parts of England, of two or three groups of men, who were hoping to put the impending change of government to their own profit, in various ways, we have now to turn. Their plans and aims were of the most incoherent and conflicting nature. Yet there was a point of convergence in store, which involved some strange meetings. Men were to come together at Winchester, as alleged par-

ticipants in one criminal purpose, in whose breasts there were, and had always been, mutual hatreds. Men who had nothing whatever in common,—save an uneasy feeling that things without, as well as things within, might be better than they were,—had to figure upon a stage constructed for scenes and transformations, at some of which the actors must have felt at least as much surprise as the spectators.

CHAPTER XVII.

PLOTS AND COUNTERPLOTS.

1602—1603.

Conflict of Parties amongst the English Catholics.—Watson and Clerke, and the other Contrivers of '*The Priests' Treason.*'—Diversity of the Counsels given to King James, about a Toleration of Roman Catholic Worship.—Anthony Copley and his Confessions.—Sir Griffin Markham and the Conference in Beskwood Park.—Lords Grey and Southampton in the Presence Chamber of Queen Anne of Denmark, at Windsor.—Lord Grey's Conference with Sir Griffin Markham.—A Plot within a Plot.—Watson's Conference with Sir Edward Parham.—Negotiations between Priests and Jesuits.—Arch-priest Blackwell's Pastoral.—Lord Cobham's Correspondence with the Count of Arenbergh.—The Emissaries employed between Cobham and Arenbergh.—Frequent Meetings between Cobham and Ralegh.

THE English Catholics had long looked forward to the death of Queen Elizabeth as to an event which could not fail to bring them relief from the pressure of obnoxious laws, even if it brought them nothing more. They had had, as we have seen, bitter quarrels amongst themselves about the right of succession to the Crown,—of the chief of which the accidents of time at home, and the growth of political change on the Continent, had quietly disposed. They had quarrelled with even greater bitterness about their internal Church discipline, and about that necessary leadership in the expression of their prevalent opinion on public affairs which alone could give weight of any sort to the views of the majority. Those among the

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Catholics at home who still looked to Spanish interference of some kind as to a means at least of freedom from the penal laws, though it could no longer be trusted in as a means of establishing a Romanized government in England, had to struggle with conflicting influences exercised by refugees, whose long exile had made them foreigners as much in mind as in abode. Some of those who looked rather to amicable negotiation with King James for terms which should secure the public celebration of Catholic worship, and open the way for Catholic laymen, generally, to aspire to their fair share in secular government, were at the same time striving to advance the fortunes of one clerical faction against another. Others were using agency trusts, conferred by their co-religionists, as the means of repairing personal losses or a squandered patrimony. In proportion as the obstacles to James' quiet succession were seen to diminish, assurances of prospective favour to Catholics also diminished. Many agents had been at work. At such a conjuncture some of them were sure to be conspirators, ready-made by disappointment. It would have been strange if others had not been discoverable among them who were plainly fit to be used by the government of the day as tools against their old comrades.

THE CONTRIVERS OF 'THE PRIESTS' TREASON.'

Among those who had acted as agents, or pretended agents, of the English Catholics at the Court of Scotland, were two priests, named William Watson and Francis Clerke. Both of them belonged to that section of the Romish clergy which had protested against the original appointment of the 'Arch-priest' Blackwell, in 1598, and which had formally appealed to the Pope against his conduct in that office, in 1600. That Watson had been admitted to conference with King James, about a toleration, seems to be true. That he had obtained, as he

asserted, any distinct promises of favour from the King, there is no proof, and much improbability. Cecil gave the whole weight of his influence with James to the contrary side. Speaking of that section of the Catholic clergy to which Watson belonged: "I will affirme trewly," he wrote to the King, "that most of them do declare their affection absolutly to your title, and some of them have lernedly written of the validity of the same;" and then he instantly adds: "It wold be a horrour to my hart to imagin that they that are enemies to the Gospell shold be held by you worthy to be frends to your fortune." Presently, he hints that he should deem it an insult to the King to imply, by his advice, that he thought it likely his Majesty could hesitate for a moment, "how you should deale with the messingers from Antichrist." A little later, he wrote to the Archbishop of York: "I love not to yield to any toleration; a matter which I well know no creature living dare propound to our religious Sovereign. . . . I will be much less than I am, or rather nothing at all, before I shall ever become an instrument of such a miserable change."

Cecil to K. James, 1602; *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxxxv. § 78 (Hatfield).

Cecil to Archbp. Hutton; *Talbot Papers*, K, fol. 257 (printed by Lodge).

Lord Henry Howard's opinion on the same thorny question was very different. One of the expressions about it, which he used to King James, brings to mind the well-known saying of Lewis the Fourteenth on James' grandson,—as he saw him pass from a terrace at Versailles,—'There goes the gentleman who has given three kingdoms for a mass.' Such a kingdom as England, said Howard to James the Sixth, in 1602, is worth the allowing of 'a mass in a corner.' Howard was all his life a Romanist in secret, and he died an avowed one. Between the two councillors, James took such a course as created a wide-spread belief that he would make large concessions; without having committed himself to

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particulars. To the English government he expressed his astonishment that "Jesuits, seminary priests, and that rabble," should be treated, practically, with so much mildness, despite the severity of the law. To the Pope, at the same time, he used language which implied that personal gratitude, as well as liberality of sentiment, would so influence his own dealings with English Papists as to make his accession an era of joy to them. It was natural that in many breasts disappointment should give place to rage. Those who had been most rash in hopes and in assurances were little likely to wait with patience for their realization. The Romanists who had chiefly busied themselves with negotiation, or with attempts at negotiation, had long been under close scrutiny in England. Spies were employed to mix with them. Their old enemies of the opposite Romanist faction watched them more keenly still. That flux of moody speech and angry threat which in like cases has so often invited discovery was not wanting here; and the plotting priests were ere long denounced to the Government by men of their own faith and of their own cloth, although there is not a little probability that the denunciation was already superfluous.

Watson himself had been held in custody, in London or its neighbourhood, before the death of Queen Elizabeth. During part of his confinement, he had been under the charge of Bancroft, Bishop of London. Afterwards—as the Bishop wrote to Cecil, in July 1603—he was made "a prisoner at large, *as was convenient for the service of that time.*" When freed from restraint, he consorted with his old acquaintance Clerke, and with several discontented laymen; some of whom seem to have been really Catholics, whilst others were of no religion in particular. Among the most conspicuous of these lay com-

Bancroft to Cecil, July 16, 1603; *Cecil Pap.* vol. ci. § 33 (Hatfield).

rades were Anthony Copley, George Brooke, and Sir Griffin Markham. Brooke was the dissolute and spendthrift brother of Lord Cobham—a Lord of the Council, and Warden of the Cinque Ports. Copley was the scion of a Catholic family of some provincial note. Before he was twenty-five years old, he had been a student of law in London, a pensioner of the Pope in the English College at Rome, a soldier fighting for the King of Spain against the Dutch and their English auxiliaries, and a prisoner in England, under the custody of the notorious Sir William Waad. There is no proof whatever that Copley was employed to be 'a conspirator;' although for such a part he seems to have been marked out by nature. But there are three notable facts plainly recorded about him: (1) That his arrest, as a conspirator, at the end of June 1603, led to the arrests of all the other persons who were eventually to be tried together for the conjoined treasons of that year. (2) That the Commissioners for examining into 'the Priests' treason' wrote to the Principal Secretary of State, in July 1603, in these terms: "Copley's declaration now sent is so ample and full, as we omit to send the former examinations taken by us, being many, and serving only as a preparation that made way to this main work." (3) That the man whose "main work" came, by slow degrees, to be thus satisfactory, had, many years before, besought one of his present examiners to "recommend him to the Council," and to find him an opportunity to make proof of his "faith and truth to Prince and country, in whatsoever they shall please to employ me." All this may, possibly, be mere coincidence. There is no evidence at all to connect overture with deed. The curiosity of the coincidence is, that as we find Copley offering services of this sort at home, many years before 1603, so we find him engaged

Commissioners to Sir R. Cecil; *Cecil Pap.* vol. ci. § 44.

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in performing them abroad, many years after 1603. An ambassador, writing to Secretary the Earl of Salisbury, in 1608, from the Hague, apologises for some difficulty into which an employment of Anthony Copley had brought him, by saying, "I never willingly acknowledged him, but when the necessity of my charge here required it."

Sir H. Cheke to Earl of Salisbury; *Cecil Pap.* vol. cxcv. § 35 (Hatfield).

Like George Brooke, Sir Griffin Markham was a member of a conspicuous English family, and was himself a needy spendthrift who kept bad company. Less brilliant for past achievement than the long line of Cobhams and Brookes, the Markhams had this in common with the great Kentish house,—they had rendered noted service to Queen Elizabeth. Part of the reward had been a lordly park, cut out of the great forest of Nottinghamshire. Despite his impoverishment, the owner of Beskwood was a potentate within his domain; and to seek to arrest him there[1] was to enter on a task scarcely less formidable than that of seizing Robin Hood, his long-ago predecessor in the possession of some of the finest glades of old Sherwood.

THE CONFERENCE IN BESKWOOD PARK.

Within two or three weeks of James' arrival in London, Beskwood Park had been the scene of a singular after-dinner conference. Sir Griffin Markham had invited two of his brothers to dine with him, and then had propounded a brave scheme by which they were at once to serve their religion, and to repair their fortunes. Before telling them in what way objects so desirable were to be attained, he led them, it seems, into the Park—lest walls should have ears—and made them take an oath of secrecy. He then told them that the plot was to seize

[1] "We think it not possible for a thousand men to apprehend Sir Griffin Markham in Beskwood, if he be disposed to resist."—Sir John Byron and Sir P. Lascelles to Sir R. Cecil; July 16, 1603. *Cecil Pap.* vol. ci. (Hatfield).

the King, and to seize the Tower,—both at the same hour of the coming midsummer night. He represented the strength of the confederates who had already entered into the plot as being sufficient for the raising of at least five hundred men. Part of these were to 'surprise' the King at Greenwich in the evening, and part were to overpower the Tower guard, and get possession of the fortress, in time to receive the King and those who were near his person, at the hands of their comrades, who should bring him thither from the Palace at Greenwich. Sir Griffin told them, also, that the King was to be kept, by way of hostage, and kept from all harm; and that amongst the confederates were "Master Brooke, and several nobles." Who these "several nobles" were, Markham's brothers were anxious to know. Sir Griffin told them he was sworn to secrecy. As they paced along the Park, one of them named this and that nobleman, interrogatively. When the name of Lord Grey of Wilton was mentioned, Sir Griffin Markham acknowledged, it is said, that he was one.

Confession of Thomas Markham; *Cecil Pap.* vol. ci. § 114. Comp. Coke's Abstract, *Domestic Corresp.* 1603 (R. H.).

CHARACTER OF THOMAS, LORD GREY OF WILTON.

Lord Grey's real part in this notable scheme is not the smallest of those mysteries which the trials of November were destined rather to thrust into deeper gloom, than to elucidate. Grey belonged to the Puritan section of the Church of England, and he seems to have shared both the higher aspirations and somewhat of the narrow exclusiveness of Puritanism. He certainly hated 'Popery' at least as much as the most devout among the discontented plotters of 1603 could love it; yet it is proved that he took part in some of their conferences. The little gleams of light which are cast on so strange a conjunction in conspiracy by Lord Grey's own extant letters show, indeed, that he had looked with great distrust on the inroad of the Scots who came in James' train; and

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that among the aspirations of his fervent and ambitious mind there lay a longing for greater freedom, in civil matters as well as religious, than England had enjoyed under Elizabeth, or appeared likely to enjoy under James,—should James be seated, entirely without covenant or conditions. But these gleams do not shed their light far.

The Greys of Wilton were among the most noble houses in the grand old Peerage of England. Their once great possessions had been abridged by a long series of unselfish public services. Grey after Grey had narrowed his fortune, as well as shortened his life, at the head of English armies abroad, or in Ireland, whilst newer men were fast laying manor to manor, as the reward of less perilous labours at home. Their then representative in 1603 conjoined with many fine qualities of mind and heart a somewhat ungovernable temper. He had quarrelled both with Essex and with Southampton in Elizabeth's time. He renewed his quarrel with Southampton in the immediate presence of James' queen, and under circumstances which are historically memorable.

GREY AND SOUTHAMPTON IN THE PRESENCE CHAMBER OF QUEEN ANNE.

Not many hours after Queen Anne's first arrival at Windsor, she was conversing with the Earl of Southampton about the circumstances of the Essex conspiracy. Lord Grey was amongst the bystanders, in the presence chamber. The Queen having expressed her astonishment "that so many great men did so little for themselves" on the fatal day, Southampton replied that the course skilfully taken by their opponents to make any attempt of theirs appear to be a treasonable attempt against Queen Elizabeth's person had paralysed them. But, said he, for that false colour given to our action, none of those with whom our quarrel really was "durst have

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir T. Parry; July 3, 1603 (*Carleton Letters*).

opposed us." Grey—taking fire at the word 'durst,' and forgetful of the Queen's presence—answered fiercely that the daring of the adversaries of Essex was not at all inferior to the daring of any of his friends; and, with like oblivion, Southampton replied that the assertion was a lie. Both were in imminent peril of being sent to the Tower, in company, on the last day of June, for infringing on the sanctities of the palace. Twelve days afterwards, Grey was sent thither for his alleged design to seize the Sovereign, and to dictate to him, at the head of armed men, conditions of government,—just as Essex would fain have done to Elizabeth two years earlier.

The original design for 'surprising' the Court at Greenwich on the night of midsummer day appears to have been abandoned, in favour of another scheme for laying an ambush for the King, on his leaving Hanworth upon some later day. The depositions, when they are collated, are found to present a mere imbroglio of confusion, as to the most material points. Part of this obscurity may doubtless be ascribed to that muddle-headedness which seems to be an ingredient in political conspiracy, the absence of which is as rare as the absence of subornation. Part, it is certain, must be ascribed to the official industry subsequently expended on the preparation, or concoction, of the documents themselves. It is only with much hesitation, therefore, that an epitome of what had passed between Lord Grey and his Romanist confederates can here be given. But the reader, by turning to Appendix vi., will be able to check the narrative with its new evidence. Intrinsically, that intercourse bore no real relation to the proceedings even of Cobham, —unless it be assumed beforehand, that Cobham is to answer for his brother, and that his brother is to speak for him. As to Ralegh, the introduction of his name

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into this part of the story will be found—so far as regards the deponents—not so much a conjecture as a raving. Subsequent events, however, supplied certain links of connection, which have whatever of solidity may lie in the one fact that the memorable scenes within the walls of Winchester, on the 17th and following days of November, become unintelligible, as a whole, without some previous account of the frantic talk and more frantic projects of men like George Brooke and William Watson, in the preceding June and July.

Brooke, Watson, and Copley appear to have had conference together about the means of contriving to surprise the King, and seize the Tower of London, before Lord Grey's name was mentioned between them. Their first reliance for raising the needful force was, it seems, upon Markham. When Brooke told Watson that a great but discontented nobleman, who had held an important command in the Low Countries, and who was at that time preparing to lead a new English regiment thither, was ready to join in their enterprise, Watson listened with distrust, rather than with satisfaction. The strength of Lord Grey's religious opinions was well known to him. It was also known that Grey's family connections were numerous and influential. Should the plot succeed, by means of a force led by Grey, the power of turning the success to account would necessarily pass, in a large degree, into Grey's hands. That was a consummation to which nothing could reconcile the priests, or any of those conspirators who were entirely at their orders. Brooke insisted, and brought Lord Grey into communication with Sir Griffin Markham. They were men of very different natures,—even apart from their utter disagreement in religion. When they met, Lord

LORD GREY'S CONFERENCE WITH SIR GRIFFIN MARKHAM.

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Grey is reported to have said to Markham: "Sir Griffin, there hath been some strangeness between you and me, though my father and yours[1] were ever great. . . . And you and I differ in our religions; the which notwithstanding, in this action I will as willingly join with you as any man." Watson found that he must needs be fellow-plotter with Grey, as well as with Markham. He consoled himself by resolving that, instead of one plot, he would have two. Whilst working with Grey, Brooke, Markham, and Copley, to surprise King James, he would get new confederates, wholly of his own faith, to work together with him to surprise Lord Grey.

Cecil Papers, vol. ci. (Hatfield).

PLOT WITHIN PLOT.—WATSON'S CONFERENCE WITH SIR EDWARD PARHAM.

Among the Catholic laymen of mark and social position who were known to regard the actual course of public affairs with dissatisfaction, without being prepared either to give up their old obedience to the Crown, or to hazard their necks and estates for the Pope,—as so many of their co-religionists had done, in the preceding reign,—was Sir Edward Parham. Watson chose him as one of the participants in his precious scheme of a plot within a plot. Having first obtained the usual oath of secrecy, he told Sir Edward that he had found out a design, contrived by the Lord Grey, to set upon the King with an armed force, in order to get his Majesty within the power of himself and his fellow-Puritans. 'Will you not,' he asked, 'be ready to draw your sword against Lord Grey, and, if the King's servants be overmastered, help to carry the King to the Tower, for his

[1] Thomas Markham, to whom Queen Elizabeth had given Beskwood, in reward of long and faithful service. Sir Edward Coke will be found to have asserted, in his '*Abstract of the Treasons*' (see Vol. II. Appendix vi. No. 13), that Grey refused to confer with Markham, otherwise than through a third person; but the fact is as I have stated it in the text, after careful comparison of several narratives and letters preserved amongst the *Cecil Papers* at Hatfield with others now in the Rolls House.

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relief from Lord Grey's control, and for the advancement of the Catholic religion?'

Whether Parham bethought himself, or not, that more than one brilliant fortune had been really built up at the Scottish court, a few years earlier, precisely on such a foundation as the "relief of the King from the power of an armed force," we are not told. But he answered Watson that, if he could be satisfied that Lord Grey had such an intent on foot, he was quite ready to adventure himself on the contrary part, "making no doubt that he and other Catholics, adventuring their lives for the rescuing of the King from the Lord Grey, and for conveying him safely to the Tower, could not but merit some grace from the King towards Catholics." The desired satisfaction was afforded. Encouraged by his conference with Sir Edward Parham, Watson warmed to his work of conspiring against his fellow-conspirators. "I altered my motives," he says himself, "to urge men on to be in a readines for his Majesties defence and furthering of the Catholike cause, according to the diversityes of chaunges in mens opinions." And, again: "I used, to some, the same perswacion as before to be reddy to defende the Kinge, against the Lord Gray and the Puritanes' faction; —partly to make Catholikes more reddy to joyne, in the Kinge's behalf, but moste especyally, indeede, for that I still doubted of my Lord Gray what his intent might be, even when he was joyned to ours, as well against the King's person as also against Catholikes, in gennerrall, if he and his had prevayled."

Examination of Sir Edward Parham; *Carew Papers*, vol. lxxvii. (Bodleian Library, Oxford).

Abstract of the Declaration of W. Watson: Cecil Papers, vol. ci. (Hatfield).

It is not apparent, on the face of the evidence, either that Grey suspected, or that Markham had shared in, Watson's double dealing. Grey and Markham, however, had, as was so natural, a personal quarrel, before the time came for setting their ambush. The embroilment

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would seem to be now slab enough. But other hands were still busied with the task of thickening it. Meanwhile, the King's councillors were quietly profiting by their 'secret notices' (as Sir Robert Cecil afterwards said to the King's Ambassador at Paris). They strengthened the guard, and took good order for the doors and corridors, wherever the Court might be. The 'secret notices' continued to come in from the old informants, and a fresh negotiation which had been opened by Markham and Watson, conjointly, had the effect of supplying the Government with new informants, possessed of all the zeal of novices.

Cecil to Sir T. Parry, 4th Aug. 1603; *French Corresp.* (R. H.).

Sir Griffin Markham, as well as Watson, belonged to that party among the English Romanists which had opposed the Arch-priest Blackwell, and his Jesuit friends of 'the Spanish faction,' as it was called. A little while before, the mere names of 'Jesuit' and 'Spanish' seem to have moved Watson to frenzy. He and Markham now invited conference, with the view of healing the old disputes. Blackwell and his fellows listened to all that was said; and they quietly prosecuted their inquiries till they possessed a good deal of information as to the pending plots. Blackwell forthwith issued an Address to the English Catholics, in the nature of a Pastoral, in which he enforced the duty of loyalty to the King. One of Blackwell's friends wrote to Sir Robert Cecil an explanatory letter on the causes which had led to the issuing of the Pastoral, and enclosed to the Secretary some correspondence which had passed with Blackwell on the subject. This writer was the brother-in-law of Copley.[1] He appears to have set

John Gage to Blackwell and to Cecil; *Cecil Pap.* vol. c. § 138 (Hatfield).

1 And his intervention in the plot was probably the real origin and source of the strangely wild story told by De Thou (*Historiarum sui temporis liber* cxxix.) of Ralegh and "Ralegh's sister."

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out from the country to give verbal information against the conspirators; but upon his arrival in London, he found that his news was anticipated. Copley was already in custody. A priest named Barneby had disclosed his knowledge of what was passing to the Bishop of London. In communicating with Cecil on the subject, Bishop Bancroft wrote thus: "He had not come unto me at all, but that he suspected Blackwell had laid a bait to have catched him." Another useful man,—a namesake of the Secretary,—contributed his quota. Dr. Cecyll had already rendered like services on other occasions, in Ireland and in Flanders.

Bishop of London to Sir R. Cecil; *Cecil Pap.* vol. ci. § 108 (Hatfield).

FUTILITY OF THE CHARGE THAT COBHAM SHARED IN THE TREASON OF THE PRIESTS.

When Copley was known to be in custody, Markham went to George Brooke, and asked him to procure such a passport from Lord Cobham, in his Lordship's capacity as Warden of the Cinque Ports, as might enable Markham himself to escape unquestioned to the Continent. In all the extant correspondence connected with 'The treason of the Priests,' this is the first instance in which we get into anything approaching towards direct contact with Cobham. His name occurs often enough before; especially in those of the documents which had been prepared by Sir William Waad. But it is uniformly in the shape of something said, or thought, or intended, by Cobham, as Cobham's doings were reported by Brooke to the open ears of Watson. Judged by his own statements, Brooke must have been at least as familiar with his brother's thoughts as with his words. He must also have had considerable intimacy with the deep projects and inmost cogitations of Sir Walter Ralegh. Thus, to take but a brief example or two:—

"Wee had withall," says Watson,—as edited by Waad, and speaking of himself and George Brooke,—"some speeche of his brother my Lord Cobham, and

Sir Walter Rawley; at what time something, as I take it, was spoken concerning Sir Walter's surprizing of the King's Fleete, *as Mr. Copley hath noted.*" Ralegh's design to surprise the King's fleet figures in Waad's summary of the treasons of 1603, but not in Sir Edward Coke's *Abstract.* Coke, it is possible, thought the surprise of the King, and the surprise of Lord Grey, were enough in that kind. A plot, by Sir Walter Ralegh, to seize the King's fleet, might somewhat too much have 'surprised' the Middlesex Jury.

Once again, before dismissing this most instructive of deponents:—"Master Brooke, being with his brother my Lord Cobham, my Lord tould him then, as I take it, that one Miles Gerrard . . . whispered him in the eare, and bid him be of good comforte, for his Lordship should see the Catholikes very shortly ease both his Lordship and others, and send redresse. About which time, as I take it, my Lord Gray and Sir Walter Rawley were there, at the Black Fryers, and shewed, every one of them, great discontent, but especially the two Lords; my Lord Cobham discovering his revenge to no lesse then the depriving of his Majestie and all his royall issue both of crowne, kingdome, liff, and all, at once. And my Lord Gray—to usé Master Brooke's owne words unto me—uttering nothing but treason at every worde." It may be inferred from this passage with much safety—despite the source—that the conversation between Brooke and Watson here recorded gave birth to the famous phrase '*Destroy the fox and his cubs*,' for the malicious invention of which Brooke begged pardon of God and man before partaking of the Holy Communion in his last moments. That phrase the reader will hereafter find Sir Edward Coke employing, with the utmost ferocity of his rhetoric, to destroy Ralegh. It is

Abstract of Declarations of W. Watson; *Cecil Pap.* vol. ci. (Hatfield).

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probable that its invention by Brooke, and its use by Sir Edward Coke, have tended, in course of time, to soften, somewhat unduly, the general apprehension of that treasonable or technically treasonable practice which Cobham had really entered upon, though in a quite different direction.

COBHAM'S PROJECT IN FAVOUR OF ARABELLA STUART.

Cobham had been one of the most bitter and most persistent of the enemies of Essex. He had shown at the crisis, and after it, neither relenting nor remorse. It is evident, under his own hand, that as time wore on he looked forward with real dread towards James' accession, on the score of a personal disfavour which he had the consciousness of having already earned. He brooded about a possible successorship of Arabella Stuart. When his thoughts first busied themselves about that, James' kinswoman was personally unknown to him. He found an opportunity of seeing her. What it was in Arabella that disappointed his hopes and expectations cannot, it seems, be known. Cobham's position at Court was for a short time that mysterious one of Queen's favourite. A letter of Ralegh, written to him in 1601, shows how much of the royal favour he had won, and how curiously appropriate to the position were the alternations of cloud with sunshine. It is hardly probable that Cobham's abandonment of his foolish project concerning Arabella was caused by, or connected with, her altered relations to the Queen. There is a certain air of sincerity and of truth about the remarkable letter to Sir Robert Cecil in which Cobham speaks of that project retrospectively, and both the occasion and the date of the letter tend to accredit it. "When I saw her," he tells Cecil, "I resolved never to hazard my estate for her." The interview occurred a considerable time before the Queen's

Cobham to Cecil; *Cecil Pap.* vol. c. and ci. (Hatfield).

Ralegh to Cobham; 12th Sept. 1601 (R. H.). (Letter C. in Vol. II.)

Cobham to Cecil; *Cecil Pap.* vol. ci. § 87 (Hatfield).

death. It is hard to build, with only the words of a man like Cobham as foundation. The probabilities of the case, however, concur—in this instance—to support his assertion. It is equally probable that when he said of Arabella, on another occasion, "She sought my friendship," he was speaking not so much with a deliberate intention to deceive, as under that reckless sort of momentary excitement, which so often makes the coward a liar. The introduction of Arabella's name into the November trials at all was an official afterthought. The steps of the process cannot now be minutely traced. But Coke's *Abstract* was drawn after the concoction of the 'Milford Haven' story, and in that paper itself there is still no word of Arabella Stuart and her elevation to the throne.

Abstract of the Treasons, as above (R. H.). Comp. Ralegh to the Lords (Letter CXIX. in Vol. II.).

COBHAM'S INTERCOURSE WITH THE COUNT OF ARENBERGH.

The vagueness which attaches to the existing evidence about Cobham's project—or his day-dream—of making Arabella Stuart Queen of England, attaches also to the evidence about his intercourse with the Count of Arenbergh. But its degree is less. Some part of that intercourse can be traced with distinctness. Like the Arabella scheme, it belongs substantially to the history of the closing months of Queen Elizabeth, although it suited the instructions under which Sir Edward Coke drew up his '*Abstract of the Treasons*' to assign to it the very circumstantial date of "five days after Arremberg's coming to London." In truth, the key to the whole trial—as far as Cobham and Ralegh are concerned—would be found, were it now possible thoroughly to disentangle statements about obtaining foreign bribes for the promotion—partly before and partly after the death of Queen Elizabeth—of a Peace with Spain and with the Archdukes, from statements about the application of

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foreign bribes to the promotion of alleged plots for surprising the person of King James,—first, on his journey from Scotland,—then, in the Court at Greenwich,—finally, on his leaving Hanworth. The production of oral evidence in an open court would doubtless have caused such a disentanglement. Instead of producing witnesses, certain parts of certain written confessions and 'declarations' were produced. Lest the embroilment should still be insufficient, three several plots, or alleged plots, were mixed up in the indictments, the links being the mutual talk of one or more alleged participants in one plot, with one or more alleged participants in another. How the device told, will be seen in a subsequent chapter. The fact of the intentional entanglement is one which it is needful to bear in mind now.

The acquaintance of Lord Cobham with Charles, Count d'Arenbergh, Minister of the Archduke Albert (now the sovereign of the Spanish Low Countries, jointly with his wife the Infanta Isabel), was already one of long standing, when, in November 1602, the Count wrote to Cobham from Brussels, entreating his continued co-operation in the effort to bring about a Peace between England and Spain. He asked Cobham if his presence was so imperatively required in England that he could not come once again into the Netherlands, to resume their former conference about the means and conditions of peace. Cobham's answer is not preserved. But the desire of the Archdukes and of the Spanish statesmen for peace with England continued to increase.[1] And

D'Arenbergh to Cobham (Letters 2 and 3 of App. vi. in Vol II.).

[1] Contemporaneously with the resumption by Arenbergh of the correspondence with Cobham, the Archduke Albert wrote to the Duke of Lerma about the Peace, in these words: "El negocio de Inglaterra es de harta consideracion; pero á me parescer no admite duda el haberse de proceder en él en la forma que se apuntó á Su Magestad [the King of Spain]: Y eso y el no dar lugar á que nos prevengan nuestros enemigos con prendar al de

Count Arenbergh wrote to Cobham again, just about the time of James' accession. This letter was communicated to Cecil.[1] In the course of April, Cobham writes to Cecil, "What answer I shall make unto Arenberg, I pray you be a means that I may know." It is more notable still to find Cobham at this moment applying to the King himself, with the same question,—"What answer shall I make to Arenberg?"

For Cobham, after some hesitation, had at length made up his mind to wait upon his new sovereign, whilst his Majesty was still in the north. "The Duke" (of Lennox), he wrote to Sir Robert in another letter, "telling the King of my coming, and that I was desirous to know his pleasure touching that letter [of the Count of Arenbergh], he mayd him an angrie answer, and tould him I was more busie in it then I nead to be; though to me he said no such matter, but only[2] that at the coming of the Counsayll I should know his plesur."

Cobham to Cecil; *Cecil Pap.* vol. xcix. § 111 (Hatfield).

When Cobham thus wrote, he was in evident perturbation of spirit. Whether his excitement grew, in degree, out of anything that had passed with Arenbergh, or had arisen wholly from anterior causes, it is not easy to conjecture. But another passage occurring in these letters to Cecil, written in the same month of April, points plainly enough to one road along which his thoughts were passing:—"*I pray you send me word*

Escocia por su parte, nos ha obligado á tomar la resolucion que se dice á S. M., y tambien el parescer que siendo nosotros los que hacemos este oficio, se da mas lugar á que S. M. vea lo que resulta dél, para poder despues con mas autoridad y reputacion mandar hacer por so parte lo que le paresciere convenir mas á su servicio. V. S., con su mucha prudencia, encaminará lo que mas convenga para todo." (MSS. of the National Library at Madrid, I. cxxxi. fol. 287; printed in *Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, tom. xlii. pp. 447, 448.)

[1] But is not now found among the catalogued papers at Hatfield.

[2] This word 'only' is a doubtful reading.

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whether the King did wright for yong Essex to com unto him." He is intent on getting permission from the King to go abroad, and listens impatiently to Cecil's counsel for the delay of his journey; but he says: "I will appoint my occasions as you shall direct. . . . For I desire to be clear, . . . and to have all imputation taken from me." In another letter, he writes: "I must crave advis from you whether it were not fitt for me to invitt his Majesty to my house." "If that you will favor me so much as to lett me know," he adds, "how the King used my Lady of Kildare [his own wife], I will greatly thank you, and wether the King have spoken of me unto yourself, and what the reports be of the speaches between the King and me. In London they be very strang* and falsly reported." The nature of the reports which Cobham thus describes as false, is shown by an allusion to them in a letter written, at the same time, by the French ambassador, the Count of Beaumont, to his Government. The rumour was that Cobham had striven hard, at this audience, to injure Cecil in the King's opinion. When M. de Beaumont adds that Cobham,—in the middle of May,—could scarcely mention Cecil's name without openly abusing him as "a traitor," he is doubtless speaking from hearsay.[1]

Cobham to Cecil; *Cecil Pap.* vol. xcix. (Hatfield).

* For '*strangely*.'

A few weeks after the interview with King James, Cobham again receives a letter from the Count of Arenbergh (May 23, 1603). This time, the letter is but a note of introduction for a friend of Arenbergh, Martin de La Fayla. Cobham immediately encloses

[1] "Il y a apparence que ce Prince donnera sinon sa créance, au moins son oreille ouverte, à ce que le Sieur Coban luy a tenu sur ce mesme sujet; et qui pareillement est ulcéré contre le dit Sieur Cecil avec une telle violence que, quant il parle de luy, il ne le nomme point autrement que traistre."—*Lettres de Messire Christophe de Harlay*, &c. (MS. in the Imperial Library at Paris.) The letter quoted is dated "20 Mai" [N.S.].

the letter to Cecil, and with it writes these words: "Arenberg doth imagin my credit to be as formerly it was. Otherwis, he would recommend his frinds to others then to my sealf, who far may better stead them. I hold it my part to acquaint you herwith." This eager readiness to introduce to the King's Secretary the messenger of Arenbergh may, of course, have been a mere cloak. It is known that both La Fayla, and another emissary named Matthew La Renzi, or Laurencié, were the channels of a secret correspondence between Cobham and Arenbergh, and that some of the letters which passed between them—two at least—were conveyed to and from Brussels by a Scotchman named Penycuik (apparently in the service of the English Admiralty), who concealed them in the cape of his mantle. The letters so carried over have disappeared.

Cobham to Cecil; *Cecil Pap.* vol. c. § 33 (see App. vi. in Vol. II.).

Sir Walter Ralegh was in close intimacy and frequent conference at this conjuncture with Cobham, as he was also after the arrival of the Count of Arenbergh in England—under the escort and in the company of Lord Henry Howard—as ambassador to James from the Archdukes. It was found, after desperate effort, so impossible to get 'evidence' of what passed between Cobham and Ralegh at these frequent meetings, that even Sir William Waad was obliged, after many weeks of examinations and confessions, to write to the Secretary: "What their conferencies were none but themselves doe knowe. *But Mr. Brooke confidently thincketh what his brother knowes was known to the other.*" Watson's thoughts were wont to be somewhat more hazy than Brooke's, and he had but a vagrant memory. His anxiety to oblige, however, was not less. "I remember," he said, "that Master Brooke told me of the Count of Arcmberge some things that in both our conceipts did

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seeme to make it manifest that the great masse of monie, reported to be in the Jesuites' disposing, was moste of it from the said Count, as impossible for all the Catholikes in Englande to raise so muche of themselves." Such drivel as this was eagerly gathered.

That overtures of some sort were made by Cobham about obtaining and applying a sum of money, to be brought either from Brussels or from Spain, is certain. That Cobham told Ralegh he had hopes of receiving such money is certain. It is also certain that Ralegh listened to the story. Their conferences were many. Sir Walter does not himself assert that he tried to dissuade Cobham from a scheme of which the folly, not less than the peril,—to say nothing of the knavery, —must, it would seem, have been visible to a mind like his, howsoever the scheme may have shaped itself to a mind like Cobham's. Of the extent to which Ralegh's knowledge of the matter went, Cobham gave several utterly irreconcilable accounts. He affirmed, denied, re-affirmed, and again retracted; in quick succession. A third retractation was suppressed by the Lieutenant of the Tower, until after all the trials were at an end; and has, probably, never been mentioned until now. Sir Walter's own account of the matter—as will be presently seen—was in its substance always the same.

To the few incidents of Ralegh's personal story which occurred between the accession of King James, and his own arrest on the charge of conspiring against the King, we now advert.

CHAPTER XVIII.

AT BURGHLEY, AND ON THE TERRACE AT WINDSOR.

1603.

Journey to Lincolnshire to meet King James.—The Interview at Burghley.—Dismissal from the Office of Captain of the Guard.—Renewal of the Governorship of Jersey, with an altered Patent.—Another Interview between the King and Ralegh at Beddington, in Surrey.—With the Court at Windsor.—The first Examination before the Privy Council.—Succession of Examinations and Re-examinations of the Conspirators of 1603 in the Tower and elsewhere.—The Concoction of Confessions, and their Concealment.—Condemnation before Trial.—Cobham's Correspondence with Ralegh.—Did Ralegh attempt Suicide?

JOURNEY OF RALEGH AND SIR R. CROSSE INTO LINCOLNSHIRE.

WHEN King James received at Holyrood, from the hands of Sir Robert Cary, that 'blue ring from a fair Lady' which was to bespeak the joyful news of the death of Queen Elizabeth, Ralegh was busied in the West with his official duties, and probably with the business of those privateering enterprises in which, as we have seen, he had for one of his partners Sir Robert Cecil. Many of Sir Walter's acquaintances were already on their way towards the Scottish Court when the news of the Queen's death came to Ralegh's ear. But he did not lose much time ere he, too, set out northwards to present his duty to the King, and to ask the renewal of his commissions as Lieutenant of Cornwall and Warden of the Stannaries. Ralegh chose for his companion Sir Robert Crosse, one of the old comrades who had fought

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beside him in Cadiz Harbour. His journey was not so long an one as Lord Cobham's. For the King was coming south, and Ralegh met with him at Burghley. The elegant pun upon his name with which the royal pedant accosted, at first sight, one of the most valiant of English soldiers and most accomplished of English statesmen, has been quoted too often to need another repetition. Lord Henry Howard had long been in attendance on the King when Sir Walter reached the Court.

Ralegh's presence at Burghley was both unlooked-for and unwelcome. Whilst he was yet on his journey the rumour was rife in London that, by an act of the Council, he had been already superseded in his office of Captain of the Guard, and that a bitter altercation about that act had taken place, at the Council Board itself, between Cobham and Cecil. But these rumours were, as yet, no more than the precursive shadows which are said to be cast by coming events. There is somewhat more of truth in the statement that the Proclamation hastily issued against the too free resort to the King on his journey, of persons holding public employments —to the injury of public business, it was alleged, as well as to the inconvenient crowding of the King's Court—was specially intended to stop the journey of Ralegh, and that of Cobham. For this purpose, too, Cecil had filled up one of several signed 'blanks,' which the King had sent to him. But the assertion that the Proclamation did so stop them is, in both instances, untrue. When presented to the King, Sir Walter, it is evident, perceived something of disapproval in his reception, which induced him to say that all he had to allege to his Majesty, in excuse of his coming thither to meet him, was the need of a royal letter authorizing the continuance of legal process in the Duchy of Cornwall,

Manningham's *Diary*, MS. Harl. 5353, fol. 121. (B. M.)

THE INTERVIEW AT BURGHLEY.

and also the need of some immediate steps to check "the waste of woods and parks" within that Duchy, occasioned—according to Ralegh's view of the matter—by some injudicious proceedings which had been taken by the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst. The King told him that he should have a letter for continuance of process, and that another letter should be sent to the Lord Treasurer, directing him to forbear to intermeddle with the possessions of the Duchy, "until the King had determined what to do with it." When King James subsequently gave his instructions to Sir Thomas Lake, who was acting as his Secretary during the journey, for the preparing of these letters, he added: "Let them be delivered speedily, that Ralegh may be gone again." Next morning, Sir Thomas makes his usual minute report to Sir Robert Cecil of the occurrences at Court, and accompanies his narrative with this reflection: "To my seaming he [Ralegh] hath taken no greate roote here." That morning's post had brought to Lake a letter from Cecil "touching my Lord Cobham and Sir George Carew." When Sir Thomas found opportunity "at the King's disjune" to make the instructed communication, the King, he says, "made good sport on the matter of my Lord Cobham, and so passed it over."

Lake to Cecil, April 25, 1603; *Cecil Pap.* vol. xcix. § 135 (Hatfield).

LOSS OF CAPTAINCY OF THE GUARD.

Within a fortnight after the interview at Burghley, Sir Walter Ralegh was summoned to attend in the Council Chamber, where the Lord President told him that the King had made choice of Sir Thomas Erskine to be Captain of his Guard, and that it was his Majesty's pleasure to use Erskine's service thenceforth in that office; whereunto, adds the Council Book, Sir Walter, "in very humble manner, did submit himself," and Sir Thomas Erskine took upon him Sir Walter's charge accordingly. By way of consolation for the loss of an

Extracts from lost Council Book, in MS. Harl. 11402, fol. 88, verso (B. M.).

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RENEWAL OF THE JERSEY PATENT.

office of which the dignity and the courtly opportunities stood in place of profit, Sir Robert Cecil was instructed, almost at the same moment, to signify the King's pleasure, "for certain considerations, to have an alteration made in Sir Walter Ralegh's patent for the Island of Jersey, and to have left out from the same a condition of three hundred pounds a year, reserved to her Majesty [the late Queen], . . . for that his Majesty is pleased to remit the same unto Sir Walter." Sir Walter's enjoyment of the King's bounty lasted for about seven weeks. His latest recorded act in connection with the Island of Jersey was the reception of an address from the Jurats (sent from Jersey on the 14th of May), in which they congratulated their Governor on the accession of King James.

Cecil to Windebank; *Domestic Corresp.* James I. vol. i. § 93 (R. H.).

Cecil Pap. vol. c. § 6 (Hatfield).

THE AUDIENCE AT BEDDINGTON PARK.

As far as is now known, Ralegh's last formal interview with the new King occurred at Beddington Park, in Surrey. The place was a familiar one. He had there enjoyed those happy hours of rare leisure which had only the more zest from their brevity, and which Ralegh was wont to enliven by taking his part in the pleasant toils of planting and gardening. James came thither during his Progress, as the guest of Sir Nicholas Carew, and Sir Walter there found an opportunity of conversing with the King on a subject the distastefulness of which to the royal ears he probably had then no reason to suspect. In speaking to James of the means by which the war against Spain could be prosecuted with good result, and at small charge, he made an offer to raise two thousand men at his own expense and risk, and to invade Spanish territory at their head, without any preliminary burthen to the royal exchequer. Of the precise circumstances of this proposal there is no account. But Ralegh had, it may be inferred, previously

Letter CXVIII. Vol. II. p. 273.

found means of submitting to the King in writing that *Discourse touching a War with Spain, and of the protecting of the Netherlands*, in which he elaborately enumerates the arguments on both sides of a grave question with statesmanlike moderation. It follows that Ralegh himself, not very long before the audience at Beddington, had said to the King, "If any persuade your Majesty to a hasty conclusion for either part, I should suspect him to be more concerned for his own or some other's, than for your Majesty's interest." It is not likely, under such circumstances, that this offer of military service was obtruded on the sovereign in any unbefitting way; unwelcome as it proved to be. But there is no doubt that the boldness of enterprise, and the ardent self-reliance it displayed, were viewed as an offence. To the King who could hardly see a sword drawn without shivering, such an off-hand readiness to face perils of more kinds than one—for at that juncture the perils of the field would have proved the least serious ones—would naturally seem to carry within it some germ of possible treason.

Works, vol. viii. pp. 299–316.

Ralegh was still attending the Court, and had accompanied it to Windsor, at the moment when the arrests which had followed the communication made to the Government by the priests under Blackwell's influence were beginning to occupy men's thoughts and tongues. It was from Ralegh that Lord Cobham had heard, by letter, of the doings of the Court, and of the arrest of Copley in Sussex. Copley's first recorded examination bears date the 12th of July. On the 14th, George Brooke was arrested, and orders were given for the apprehension of Lord Grey and of Sir Griffin Markham. On the previous day, Cobham had been engaged in the

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THE WALK ON THE TERRACE AT WINDSOR, AND THE EXAMINATION BY THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

ordinary duties and correspondence of his office as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports; on one of the two next following days (July 15th or 16th), he was under examination at the Council Board, as to his knowledge of the 'Treason of the Priests,' and, probably, as to his intercourse with D'Arenbergh.[1] On one or other of the three days which intervened between the 12th and 16th of July, Ralegh was walking on the Terrace at Windsor. He was waiting to ride out, in attendance upon the King,—who was about to hunt,—when Lord Cecil came to him and told him, "as from the King," that he was to stay, and to attend upon the Lords in the Council Chamber. They, said Cecil, "have some questions to ask you." All that is precisely known of an examination which is of the deepest interest in connection with the events which followed, is found in the two several statements of Ralegh and of Cecil. These will appear word for word, hereafter,—in the narrative of the trial at Winchester. Neither statement affords a precise date. Upon that date, a good deal hangs. A question was put to the Court, at the Trial, by the Foreman of the Jury, which needed but the dissyllable 'before,' or 'after,' for its answer; and such an answer would have settled the date. But Lord Cecil rose instantly from the bench, and made a long speech. That speech contains some three hundred or four hundred words, of which so many consist of 'presently,' 'afterwards,' 'presently afterwards,' and 'then,' that the date in question became more hopelessly obscure than ever. The Council Register itself is lost. Sir Walter Ralegh's narrative of what passed and Lord Cecil's narrative are in direct conflict upon more points than one. They are so even

[1] This, as will be seen presently, is one of the points on which Ralegh's statement and that of Cecil are in conflict.

upon the simple fact whether or not, in that examination, anything was said about Cobham's dealings with the Count of Arenbergh. But, amidst the thick cloud of words, not only were the dates lost in obscurity, but an important contradiction of testimony excited, as it seems, neither elucidation nor remark.

That morning walk along the Terrace at Windsor must needs have dwelt in Ralegh's memory. The panoramic scene which opens out beneath was at the moment clad in all the glory of summer. Busy as his mind may well have been with things bygone, and with perils impending, that last view of a familiar landscape cannot but have left its imprint on a mind very open to such influences, and able to translate them into glowing words. Near the spot which Ralegh was then pacing stood the new buildings of Queen Elizabeth; yet in all their freshness, labelled with her cypher, and with a date—'1583'—which marked the spring-time of his favour with his royal mistress, as well as the year of his first visit to Windsor Castle. Twenty other years had now well-nigh past. In their course, severe toils, long voyages, great enterprises, and sharp afflictions had been diversified, at not unfrequent intervals, by the amusements and pageantries, the splendid gains and the petty vexations, of a courtier's life,—at a Court which was then the most magnificent in Europe. The pacing to and fro on Windsor Terrace in July 1603,—whilst waiting for the King to mount,—was Ralegh's final act of courtiership.

In the Council Chamber, Sir Walter told the Lords that he knew nothing of any plot 'to surprise the King's person;' and that he also knew nothing of any plots whatever contrived between Lord Cobham and the Count of Arenbergh.

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RALEGH'S LETTER TO THE COUNCIL.

July 1603.

Not long after the examination was over, Ralegh wrote a letter to the Council. In that letter he mentions the fact of his having noticed—from a window of his residence in London which overlooked the river—that Lord Cobham once or twice, after paying him a visit at Durham House, was rowed past his own mansion at Blackfriars and taken across the river to St. Saviour's,—where La Renzi, one of the suite, or at least one of the reputed agents, of the Count of Arenbergh was known to live. Sir Walter now said that on thinking of that circumstance he inferred the probability that a negotiation of some sort had been carried on between Cobham and D'Arenbergh, in which La Renzi had been the channel of communication.[1]

Examination of Aug. 13; *Domestic Corresp.* James I. vol. ii. (R. H.)

It will be apparent, hereafter, from a subsequent examination of Ralegh, taken when he was in the Tower of London, that this was not quite the whole of his knowledge about the communications between Cobham and the Archdukes' ambassador; at least as regards Cobham's individual share in them. But it was all that he, at present, stated. On the other hand, the reader has to bear in mind that some points of intercourse between the two were as well known to the Lords of the Council as to Ralegh, and that the fact of their Lordships' knowledge of them was also known to him. Unless this be remembered, a false impression of Ralegh's letter to the Council, as well as of his subsequent conduct, is likely to be created.

Before this letter was sent to the Lords collectively, it was shown to Secretary Cecil; and, at his desire, it was withheld. Afterwards Sir Walter wrote to Cecil, individually, that "if La Renzy were not secured, the

[1] Compare Letter CLX IV., Vol. II. p. 387.

matter would not be discovered, for La Renzy would fly; yet, if he were then apprehended, it would give matter of suspicion to Lord Cobham." This letter[1] (or part of it) was shown to Cobham, who was already in custody. He inferred from the letter, or from so much as he saw of it, that the accusation of plotting with Arenbergh—really made, on the 14th of July, by his own brother George Brooke—had been made by Ralegh.

EXAMINATIONS OF THE OTHER ACCUSED PERSONS.

Throughout the remaining days of July, and during nearly the whole of August, examination quickly succeeded examination. Copley, Watson, Brooke, Grey, and Markham, were plied in turn. Out of the statements of one prisoner, interrogatories were framed for the other prisoners. Early examinations were cancelled, and their place supplied by later ones. When it was deemed inconvenient "for the service of the present time" to use the examinations textually, 'abstracts' of them were prepared to supply the place of the texts. The zeal of the examiners was exemplary. And their eager correspondence about the progress of their task was varied, in a very agreeable fashion, by correspondence—not less eager—about the rewards of it. The prisoners were plied, alternately, with threats and with hopes. Bishop Bancroft told George Brooke, at the outset: "The only way to procure favour is to open all that possibly you can." To Lord Cecil the Bishop wrote: "Brooke would gladly nourish a conceit in himself that he and the Lord Grey do rather deserve thanks and favour, *for diverting and breaking the plot*, than to be imprisoned. He accounteth it a dangerous matter to rip into such a cause, now past." On another occasion,

Bancroft to Cecil; July 16, 1603 (Hatfield).

[1] The letter here referred to appears to have been either destroyed or lost.

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Brooke asserted that he had had "authority from the King to deal in the sounding out of these practices;" but could, of course, produce no proof of his allegation.

Notes of Examinations in MS. Bodley, Arch A. 3033, 44, 8 (Oxford).

Brooke, Watson, and Copley vied—in course of time—with each other, in the copiousness of their accusatory disclosures. On the 17th of July, Brooke had said: "The conspirators, *amongst themselves*, thought Sir Walter Ralegh *a fit man to be of the action.*" That was a very tame statement. Before the end of August he was ready to depose that Ralegh, as well as Cobham, had resolved to destroy the King "with all his cubs." When the examiners had made a progress so encouragingly satisfactory, Sir William Waad wrote thus to Lord Cecil:—"It may please your good Lordship, by my Lord Henry Howard I was bold to trouble you with the short collection of these last labours, which have greatly entangled Sir Walter Rawley,—or rather disclosed him out of his covert." The labours were still zealously pursued. Captain Laurence Keymis, one of Sir Walter's most confidential servants—who had been commander of the second Guiana expedition, that of 1596, and was destined, to his misfortune, to hold a subordinate command in the third and fatal Guiana expedition of 1617—was most elaborately examined, and was told that "he deserved the rack." No reason for the threat is discoverable other than that no evidence criminatory of his master had been obtained from him. Keymis, however, was found to be made of different stuff from the Copleys, Watsons, and Brookes.

Waad to Cecil, Aug. 24, 1603; *Domestic Corresp.* James I. vol. iii. (R. H.)

Brooke so completely overshot the mark that, on one occasion, he dragged into his flowing accusations Sir George Carew, Lord President of Munster, and Sir Henry Brouncker, custodian of the Lady Arabella, as

being mixed up in the treasons against King James. During his last moments, three months afterwards, he acknowledged to the Bishop of Chichester that he "never spake of them, but by supposition." He had *thought* "that if anything were attempted for the Lady Arabella, Sir George Carew and Sir Henry Brouncker were like to know it." This over-copious witness, only a few days before his retractations, had written to the Lords of the Council: "Whilst I breath, if not after, I shalle claime those promises I have receaved both from the Kinge and your Lordships in severall manners. . . . To object errors committed sure is a frivolous cavilation, seinge I have committed none, but for wante of the direction I required; and they are farr from being capitall. My last demand is in charitie that if my just claime must be violently wrested from me, in lieu of the hopes and promises wherein I have been so longe nourished, I may now have time given me to forgett them, and rase out that false apprehension. For I cannot, remembering the firmness of a promise in my self, but yeat hold my self as vitall as any man." His confidence was far from being shared, at any time after the arrest, by his brother Cobham. Cobham could echo a murderous lie; or, perhaps, could invent one. But his worst offences were committed under the manifest influence of mortal terror. And his remorse was almost coeval with his crime. George Brooke's remorse, as far as can be seen, began very near the edge of the scaffold.

Bishop of Chichester to Cecil, Dec. 6, 1603; *Cecil Pap.* vol. cii. § 55 (Hatfield).

Brooke to the Lords, Dec. 1603; *Cecil Pap.* vol. cii. § 15 (Hatfield).

EXAMINATIONS OF LORD COBHAM.

On the 16th of July, Cobham's examination had been little more than a series of negatives. He would acknowledge nothing, and he would sign nothing. On the 17th and 19th a series of written interrogatories was

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presented to him, with but little more result. Some examinations followed, which have been, as it seems, destroyed; although,—as will be seen hereafter,—they were used at the Trial. Three weeks afterwards, we have an examination which is still preserved:—"Being asked what words Sir Walter Ralegh used unto him upon the apprehension of Copley, . . . Cobham answereth that Sir Walter Ralegh wrote unto him, from the Court, of the Creation of Barons, and of the apprehension of Copley by the Sheriff of Sussex, but to his remembrance never spoke those words to him which, *as is affirmed unto him, Sir Walter Ralegh doth confess he spake.*"

Domestic Corresp. James I. vol. iii. No. 24 (R. H.)

In the suppressed examination of the 20th of July, Cobham confessed (according to a paper produced to the Jury in the following November, but not now to be discovered) that he had conferred with Arenbergh about procuring 500,000 or 600,000 crowns from the King of Spain; "and that nothing should be done" therewith, "until he had spoken with Sir Walter Ralegh, for distribution of the money to them which were discontented in England." When Cobham had confessed thus much, "a note under Ralegh's hand was showed to Examinate. Examinate, when he had perused the same, brake forth, saying, 'O Traitor! O Villain!—I will now tell you all the truth.' *And then said that he had never entered into these courses, but by Ralegh's instigation; and that he* [Ralegh] *would never let him alone.*"

Report of Trial, MS. Harl. xxxix. (B. M.). See Chap. XIX.

It appears from a letter addressed by Sir Robert Cecil to the English Ambassador at Paris, Sir Thomas Parry, on the 4th of August, that another examination,—also not now forthcoming,—took place on the 29th of July, in which Cobham retracted his accusation of Ralegh. "Being newly examined," writes Lord Cecil, "he seemeth now to clear Sir Walter in most things, and to take all

the burden to himself." Cecil ascribes this change to the passing of some 'intelligence' between the two prisoners, "in which Ralegh expostulated Cobham's unkind using of him." On the 10th of August, Cobham's examination extended to this matter of the messages which had passed in the Tower. The result was as follows:—"His Lordship further doth declare that being lodged in the lodging of the Lieutenant, he saw young Sir John Peyton talking with Sir Walter Ralegh out of his window, and thereupon, when the said Sir John came to visit him, two or three hours after, he told him, 'I saw you with Sir Walter Ralegh.—God forgive him! He hath accused me, but I cannot accuse him.' Then Sir John answered, 'He doth say the like of you;—that you have accused him, but he cannot accuse you.'"

Cecil to Parry; *French Corresp.* 4 Aug. 1603 (R. H.).

Domestic Corresp. James I. vol. iii. No. 24 (R. H.).

Ralegh's committal to the Tower had followed immediately upon Cobham's first assertion that Ralegh was the instigator of Cobham's "Spanish course." The same letter of Lord Cecil to Sir Thomas Parry which, to the minds of most of those who have read it—especially if they have had the opportunity of comparing the rough draft with the actual despatch—has suggested hard thoughts about the probable cause of the loss of so many of the original examinations of Cobham, contains also the only known account, in detail, of Ralegh's attempt at suicide. Cecil's account, however, is so strangely worded that it has rather supplied matter of question than matter of proof. When, some thirty years ago, Ralegh's affecting letter to his wife was first published (from the All Souls MSS. at Oxford) by Mr. Brewer, the debatable points of this dark incident of the story were rather increased than solved. A careful consideration of that letter is likely to carry with it the conviction that, instead of being written "after his hurt

DID RALEGH ATTEMPT SUICIDE?

Letter CLXIII. in Vol. II.

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in the Tower" (as is said in its endorsement by some transcriber), it must have been written before the attempt. There is no room for dispute on one important topic. Amidst its touching proofs of the power that lies in anguish of spirit to disturb and to set in conflict the grandest faculties of the mere intellect, it also attests a deliberate purpose aforethought to sacrifice life, for the sake of preserving with certainty the means of honourable livelihood to a wife and to children who were far dearer than life. On this one point, Reason is still in possession of its full vigour. It acts upon the evidence of a long train of instances in which the English treason-law had destroyed accused persons, upon testimony even less plausible than the "declarations" of a Cobham and a George Brooke. Some such instances were within Ralegh's own living memory. He had pondered them over and over. And his mind continued to dwell upon them. They repeatedly come to the surface in subsequent letters from the Tower written between August and November.

Nor is it less apparent, on the face of this memorable letter of July, that Ralegh, when he wrote it, was under the dominant thought that the fame to come, which he loved with a passion hardly second in intensity to the love of wife and children, would by the sacrifice of life before trial be as surely preserved as would be the future subsistence, in all honour and comfort of the worldly sort, of his family. He knew, too, his own great faultiness, as well as the baseness of his accusers. And he knew how eagerly a partition of spoils was thirsted for. Under the passionate impulse of crowding thoughts like these, he was ready, for a moment, to break a Divine law, the sanctity of which was fully present to his mind. To comfort the anguish of survivors—one can scarcely

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conceive that such a sophism could have much comforted his own—he draws a super-subtle distinction between a self-murder, in despair of the mercy of God; and a self-murder, in assured reliance that the mercy of God is simply immeasurable by any effort of human thought, but in despair either of mercy, or of justice, at the hands of men.

Lord Cecil's narrative of the circumstances of this dark incident is couched in these terms: "*Although lodged and attended* [in the Tower] *as well as in his own house*, yet one afternoon, while divers of us were in the Tower, examining these prisoners, Sir Walter Ralegh attempted to have murdered himself. Whereof when we were advertised, we came to him, and found him in some agony,—seeming to be unable to endure his misfortunes, and protesting innocency, with carelessness of life. In that humour, he had wounded himself under the right pap, but no way mortally; being in truth rather a cut than a stab."

French Corresp. James I.; Cecil to Parry, 4 Aug. 1603 (R. H.).

Cecil does not date this attempted crime. As has been seen, he is always sparing of dates when referring to any matters which bear upon the treasons of 1603. It seems probable, however, that the incident occurred on the 20th of July. Five days before the writing of the letter to Parry,—*i.e.* on July 30th,—Sir John Peyton had written to Lord Cecil: "Sir Walter Ralegh's hurt is nearly well." Now,—on the 4th of August,—Cecil concludes his notice of the event in the Tower to the English Ambassador at Paris by adding: "He is very well cured, both in body and mind."

Domestic Corresp. James I.; vol. ii. § 88 (R. H.).

It is obvious, without argument, that the evidence of foreign ambassadors about the examinations of State

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prisoners, and about the doings of State ministers, must be received with much caution. On the one hand, they enjoy the advantage of talking not with ministers only, but with sovereigns, at the most critical moments. In this way, ambassadors bring the readers of their despatches in some degree upon the very stage and into the very atmosphere of events. On the other hand, they talk daily with a multitude of people, not all of whom can possibly be intent on telling the foreigner the exact truth, even of what they themselves already know. And in this way ambassadors cannot help retailing, occasionally, mere rumours and gossip. Sometimes, of course, they will also be under strong temptation to give prominence to such rumours as they know will be savoured at their own Court. But in face of the known suppression of important domestic records, there is an obvious propriety in glancing, by the way, at foreign contemporary accounts. It is for the reader to make the due discrimination.

Beaumont's despatch to King Henry the Fourth, written five days after the missing Examination of Cobham on the 29th of July, contains a remarkable account of the difficulties which in the ambassador's view weighed heavily, at that moment, on those—whosoever they were—who were bent upon Ralegh's condemnation.

After telling the King that both Lord Grey and Sir Griffin Markham had persistently maintained that neither of them had had any conspiracy *with Ralegh*, and that the mere suspicion that Ralegh was in any way mixed up with their plot would have driven each of them to abandon it, the Count of Beaumont proceeds to narrate the consequences of Cobham's retractation of his former charge. "Lord Cobham," he says, "having denied as he

did what it is alleged that he charged upon Sir Walter Ralegh, the Lords of the Council find it difficult to sustain Ralegh's prosecution. Having only such evidence of his criminality as for some days past he has been labouring to invalidate, they resolve to discover something further by a most searching examination[1] of his intimate friends." Then follows a remarkable passage about the attempt at suicide, which will have its place presently. M. de Beaumont concludes his statements about Ralegh by remarking that "this untoward and ill-boding affair infinitely harasses the King's mind. But it afflicts and troubles the mind of Sir Robert Cecil far more, as he has to bear the whole weight of it. And he undertakes and conducts it with so much warmth, that it is said he acts more from interest and passion than for the good of the kingdom." The Count, it must be kept in mind, bore no good-will to Cecil.

Beaumont to King Henry IV.; Aug. 13 [3rd, Engl. style], 1603. MS. Hardwick (copy), p. 18.

On the attempt by Ralegh against his own life, the Count of Beaumont writes thus: "Sir Walter Ralegh is said to have declared that his design to kill himself arose from no feeling of fear; but was formed in order that his fate might not serve as a triumph to his enemies, whose power to put him to death, despite his innocency, he well knows."

Beaumont returns to the subject of the examinations a week later. Watson, he tells the King, "has not yet accused either Lord Cobham or Sir Walter Ralegh. It seems that sufficient evidence has not hitherto been discovered. According to the statements of their friends, they look rather to be acquitted than condemned." He

Ibid. Aug. 20 [10th, English style]. Ib. p. 38, verso.

[1] The expression in the original despatch is '*les mettant en peine*,' which might, perhaps, be translated somewhat more strongly.

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then mentions the arrest of the Scottish messenger between Cobham and the Count of Arenbergh. "After Arembergh's conferences with Lord Cobham," he adds, "there is no man of sense at the Court who does not believe that Cobham's practices have been favoured by the Archduke." The Count of Beaumont, however, asserts his clear opinion that the practices—whatsoever they were—"had but commenced, when they were discovered" (an opinion which we know to be contradicted by the evidence), and that only Cobham "with Ralegh" had conducted them. He probably comes much nearer the facts when he ventures to predict that the ardent desire of a Peace with Spain will induce James and his Ministers "to try to dissemble the truth."

Beaumont to King Henry IV. MS. Hardwick (copy), p. 38, verso.

On the same day on which this despatch was written to Henry the Fourth, Cobham made an obscure statement, in answer to interrogatories, in which that King, it seems, was specially concerned, as well as Ralegh. "M. La Fontaine," said Cobham, "discoursing with this Examinate of the discontentments of the State, . . . did persuade me to go to the Court." Cobham adds that he repeated the conversation to Ralegh, who "thereupon told him that he had been with the Marquis Rhony [meaning Sully, at that time in London on a special embassy of congratulation upon James' accession], and he commended him to be 'a very wise man.' Whereupon this Examinate said, 'Yet he is a Frenchman, and will be glad to catch at anything.'" Sully in his *Mémoires* mentions his conference with Ralegh, but gives no such details as might throw light on the real drift of Cobham's intercourse with La Fontaine. A glimpse is cast upon it by an allusion to the matter in a subsequent despatch of M. de Beaumont, but it is a glimpse only.

Domestic Corresp. 10 Aug. 1603; vol. iii. No. 24 (R. H.).

On the 10th of October Beaumont wrote thus to the

Count of Villeroy, French Secretary of State: "M. de La Fontaine desires you to make inquiry of me respecting a circumstance which would be of consequence to his reputation, were it true. I cannot believe it to be so, and think that he has been misinformed. It is certainly true that the wife of S. R. [Sir Walter Ralegh ?] told me that her husband had been examined on certain particulars about France, in consequence of his visits to M. de Rosny. But I have not yet been able to ascertain that he had desired his friend Cobham to keep up a correspondence with M. de La Fontaine, and I cannot persuade myself that it is so, considering how little aid towards his safety, he [Sir Walter Ralegh ?] could have derived from this ill-founded and ridiculous accusation."

THE SUPPRESSED EXAMINATIONS OF GEORGE BROOKE.

If, however, we turn to the suppressed portions of the examinations of George Brooke, we find in one of them this passage: "Cobham likewise told me he had dealt with La Fontaine, the French preacher, for money *out of France*, and that he was promised 300,000 or 400,000 crowns." On the margin of this passage, besides the usual 'score,' which marked it for suppression,—when the rest of the document should be read at the Trial,—Sir Edward Coke wrote the word, '*Cave*.' It is little probable that merely diplomatic requirements were the sole motive of the suppression. We have seen that one of the prisoners raved about "surprises,"—piling Ossa upon Pelion, in a most Titanic fashion,—is it not equally apparent that another of them raved about "hundreds of thousands of crowns," as if haunted in fancy by a perpetual vision of heaped-up gold? The Attorney-General may well have thought that (even under the most propitious circumstances) a jury might hear too much about heaps of gold, as easily as they might hear too much about plots of surprise,—by which the

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plotters were cleverly to capture each other, whilst in the act of capturing their King.

THE EXAMINATION OF RALEGH, IN AUG. 1603.

When Sir Walter Ralegh was himself examined—on the 13th of August, some ten days after his recovery—about Cobham's scheme of getting money from D'Arenbergh, his statement ran thus:—"Lord Cobham offered me 10,000 crowns of the money, for the furthering [of] the Peace between England and Spain; and he said that I should have it within three days. I told him: 'When I see the money, I will make you an answer.' For I thought it one of his ordinary idle conceits; and therefore made no account thereof. But this was, as I think, before Count Aremberg's coming over." Ralegh's remarkable commentary on this deposition of August will appear in the narrative of his Trial. There also will be given the whole of Cobham's confession of the falsehood of his original accusation of Ralegh,—a confession which was written in two several letters,—as well as of his repetition of the accusation, after he had confessed its falsehood. All that need here be quoted is the pith of the denial:—"I never had conference with you in any treason, nor was I ever moved by you to the things I heretofore accused you of. And, for anything I know, you are as innocent and as clear from any treasons against the King, as is any subject living. . . . God so deal with me, and have mercy on my soul, as this is true!"

COBHAM'S RETRACTATIONS.

Ralegh had previously, and within a week of his removal from the Tower to Winchester, conjured Cobham to exculpate him from a false accusation. He had found means of communicating with his accuser, in writing, both through the son of the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir George Harvey (successor to Sir John Peyton, to

whom Ralegh's government of Jersey had been given, almost three months before the trial), and also through an attendant, named Edward Cotterell. Cobham thrust the letter of exculpation, above quoted, beneath his door, and it was thus brought to Ralegh's hands. So much as this appeared at the trial. It bore heavily on Ralegh that he had, by the intervention of Harvey's son, persuaded Cobham to confess the falsehood of his charge.

THE SUPPRESSED RETRACTATION OF THE CHARGE AGAINST RALEGH.

It was not then known—even, as I believe, to the movers and agents of the prosecution; to Howard, or to Coke—that Cobham's conscience (such as it was) had, of itself, without Ralegh's instigation, worked powerfully in the same direction. The Lieutenant of the Tower kept the knowledge of this secret within his own breast, until long after the trial was over. On the 17th December—one whole month subsequently to Ralegh's conviction—Harvey disclosed it to Lord Cecil. His son had been imprisoned, and his motive in now unburthening his own mind (though the deceit was not felt to lie very heavily) was only to benefit his son.

Harvey to Cecil, Dec. 17, 1603; *Cecil Pap.* vol. cii. § 77 (Hatfield).

Sir George Harvey then told Cecil that on the 24th of October Lord Cobham "manifested the gret desire he had, of him sellffe, without any instigacion of my sonne, to justifie Sir Walter Ralegh; which course of his, being by me then stopped, . . . he diverted it, as I conceive, and as is verie lykely, unto Sir Walter him sellffe." In the letter which Harvey had thus suppressed, Cobham's testimony about his accusation is very brief, but it is as much to the point as anything from Cobham could be: "God is my wittnes, it doth troble my contiens."

See Vol. II. App. vi.

But his testimony—whatever the worth of it—bears also upon another point. It shows that if some of the Lords Commissioners supported their humbler agents

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and instruments in infamous courses, others of them were thoroughly earnest in their desire to elicit the truth. "I wold very fain," adds Cobham, "have the words that the Lords used, of my barberousnes in accusing him falsly." Some retractation, not now on record, must, it would seem, have been made in a *vivâ voce* examination.

But the retractations, howsoever many, were fewer than the charges. Immediately before Ralegh's trial, Cobham made a new accusation, and repeated an old one. Nor was that the last; though it was unquestionably the most effectual. It was made the occasion and the vehicle of a telling piece of dramatic stage effect, before the eyes of the Jury. Ralegh's trial, indeed, abounds in such; but some of them, unlike this one, were not prepared beforehand. That incident of the trials at Winchester will be seen to afford a striking commentary upon an aphorism which has its place in a collection of '*Adversaria*,' made by Lord Henry Howard;—a collection more than once already quoted in these pages:—

"It is an old observation of jugglers to make others give fire to the piece after they themselves have charged it, and thereby put them into the peril of recoil or breaking, if any mischief follow."[1]

[1] Howard's *Concilia Privata*, in MS. Cotton, TITUS, C vii. fol. 314, verso. (British Museum.)

CHAPTER XIX.

AT WINCHESTER.—TRAITOR? OR VICTIM?

1603.

Terms of the Indictment.—Preparation of the Jury Panel.—The Journey from London to Winchester.—Hele's Opening of the Indictment.—Speech of Attorney-General Coke.—'The Bye,' and 'The Main.'—Ralegh's Interpellation.—Dialogue between the Bench and the King's Counsel.—Ralegh's Account of the Examination at Windsor.—His Episode on the Position and Policy of Spain.—Cobham's successive Accusations and Retractations.—Lord Nottingham's Appearance with Arabella Stuart at the Trial.—The 'Intelligence' in the Tower.—Popham's repeated Interventions against the Defendant.—The Verdict.—Speech of the Chief Justice in giving Judgment.

TERMS OF THE INDICTMENT.

THE Indictment prepared from the "Examinations" which have been recited, and from others not now discoverable, charges Ralegh, Cobham, and Brooke with compassing, in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, "to deprive the King of his crown and dignity; to subvert the government, and alter the true religion established in England; and to levy war against the King." It alleges that Cobham "then and there had a discourse with the said Sir Walter, then Captain of the Isle of Jersey, concerning the means of exciting rebellion against the King, and raising one Arbella Stewart to the Crown of England; and, further, that for such purpose Lord Cobham should treat with Charles Count of Arrembergh, . . . Ambassador from the Archduke

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Albert to the King, to obtain five or six hundred thousand crowns from Philip, King of Spain, to enable the said traitors to effect their treasons, . . . and should likewise cross the seas and proceed to Spain to treat with the King of Spain, and persuade him to support the pretended title of Arbella Stewart to the Crown of England." It further alleges that Ralegh and Cobham had agreed that Arabella Stuart should write separate letters to the Archduke of Austria, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy, and should promise by such letters that if she obtained the Crown she would establish a firm peace between England and Spain; would tolerate Papistry; and would be governed by the three potentates above named in contracting marriage; and also that it had been agreed by the said traitors that when Cobham should return from Spain by the Isle of Jersey and find Ralegh captain there, he, Cobham, "should treat and take counsel with him, Sir Walter, as well for the disposal of the Crown of England, as for the fulfilling of the said treasons, when discontentments in England should afford opportunity. . . . Furthermore," says the Indictment, "Sir Walter Ralegh published and delivered to the Lord Cobham a certain book falsely and traitorously devised and written against the title of the King to the Crown of England," which book Lord Cobham received from Sir Walter. The final count alleges that Cobham proposed that, when he should receive the money from the Count of Arenbergh, "eight or ten thousand crowns" should be delivered to Sir Walter, the better to enable him to effect the intended treasons, and that to this proposal Sir Walter agreed.

Baga de Secretis, Pouch 58. (R. H.)

This Indictment having been taken at Staines, on the 21st of September, and the Jury having been prepared

in the way which is so significantly indicated by the erasures on the panel,[1] the trial was abruptly adjourned. Nearly three months passed before it was resumed at Winchester. Some of the intervening occurrences are instructive.

Whilst the examinations were proceeding, Ralegh's conviction was quietly anticipated, as a thing achieved. In August, his government of Jersey was conferred on Sir John Peyton, who had been his jailer at the Tower, the King's grant reciting that the office had been "forfeited to us" by Sir Walter Ralegh, through

[1] I have the original precept and panel of the Jury before me. They are preserved in *Baga de Secretis* (Pouch 58, memb. 12, seqq. R. H.). The precept is signed by the Earl of Suffolk (the "my Lord Thomas" of Ralegh's Cadiz letters). The panel is defaced by an erasure of *three* names. The scratching has been so elaborately done that the obliterated names can scarcely, I think, be read by the most painstaking expert. Of the names written over the erasures, one, only, is that of a juror who was actually sworn upon the trial. In the following narrative of the trial I rely, mainly, upon these three sources: (1) A report preserved among the State Papers, in *Domestic Correspondence*, James I., vol. iv. This is numbered '83,' and is quoted, in the text, as 'ROLLS HOUSE MS.' (2) A transcript of a report, varying from the preceding, and in many particulars a more minute account than it, which (some years after the date of the trial) was copied into the Miscellaneous MS.—a sort of Common-Place Book—now known as 'MS. HARLEIAN XXXIX.,' and so quoted. (3) A contemporary MS. of the Report which has been ascribed to the pen of Sir Thomas Overbury. It was printed, under his name, thirty years after the trial (4to. Lond. 1648), and therefore within the lifetime of Carew Ralegh, and of many eye-witnesses of the proceedings. This MS., like that last named, is now in the British Museum—'MS. COTTON, Titus, C vii.' I have also profited by the interesting letters of Dudley Carleton. These are well known. I quote the originals, as 'MS. WHARTON, LXXX.' They are now in Bodley's Library at Oxford. When the younger Dudley Carleton, in 1651, gave these letters to Lord Wharton, he wrote thus: "That Dudley Carleton, whose name you will find subscribed to them, was my uncle, who died Secretary to his late Majesty, who had likewise honoured him with the title of Viscount Dorchester. . . . . He was, at the time he wrote them, Secretary to my Lord of Northumberland's father, and both an ear and eye witness of most that passed at the arraingments and executions at Winchester, in anno 1603." (MS. Wharton, lxxx. fol. 440.)

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the grievous treason "intended against us." In September, a Council letter was addressed to Sir Francis Godolphin, High Sheriff of Cornwall, authorizing him to take the musters of that county, "the Commission of Lieutenancy granted to Sir Walter Ralegh being become void and determined." And in October, the Count of Arenbergh left England for Flanders, laden with royal compliments.

Abstracts of Council Registers, 29th Sept. 1603; MS. Addit. 11402. (B. M.)

THE JOURNEY DOWN.

In the first week of November, Waad was directed to convey Sir Walter to Winchester. "It was hob or nob," he told Cecil, whether or not Ralegh "should have been brought alive through such multitudes of unruly people as did exclaim against him." He that had seen it, he adds, would hardly have believed that the plague was raging in London. "We took the best order we could," he assures the Secretary, "in setting watches through all the streets, both in London and the suburbs. If one hare-brain fellow amongst so great multitudes had begun to set upon him,—as they were very near to do it,—no entreaty or means could have prevailed; the fury and tumult of the people was so great."

Domestic Corresp. James I. vol. iv. § 36. (R. H.)

THE TRIAL IN THE BISHOP'S PALACE AT WINCHESTER.

The trial took place in Wolvesey Castle,—the ancient episcopal palace of Winchester, in which a Court of King's Bench had been fitted up, by the Sheriff of Hants,—on the 17th of November. Cecil, Waad, and Henry Howard sat as judges by special commission, and with them sat Ralegh's old comrade at Cadiz, Lord Thomas Howard, now Lord Chamberlain, and who on the 21st of the preceding July had been created Earl of Suffolk; Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire; Edward Wotton, Lord Wotton of Morley, and Sir John Stanhope, Vice-Chamberlain; together with the two Chief Justices, Popham and Anderson, and two of the puisnés, Gawdy and War-

burton. Coke as Attorney-General conducted the prosecution, and was assisted by Serjeant Hele. When Sir Walter had pleaded 'Not guilty' to his Indictment, and was asked if he wished to challenge any of the Jury, he replied: "I know none of them; but think them all honest and Christian men. I know my own innocency, and therefore will challenge none. All are indifferent to me. Only this I desire;—sickness hath of late weakened me; and my memory was always bad;—the points in the Indictment are many; and, perhaps, in the evidence, more will be urged. I beseech you therefore, my Lords, let me answer the points severally, as they are delivered. For I shall not carry them all in my mind to the end." "The King's evidence," interposed Coke, "ought not to be broken or dismembered; whereby it might lose much of its grace and vigour." But his objection was partially overruled.

HELE'S SPEECH AND PROTESTATION.

The opening of the Indictment fell to Hele. It will not be irrelevant to remark that this man was much more notable as a brawler and a buffoon,—and also as a money-lender, in which capacity he hoped to win a very large stake by the ruin of Lord Cobham,—than as a lawyer. His forensic calibre was sufficiently indicated at the outset of the trial. "As for the Lady Arabella," he said, "she, upon my conscience, hath no more title to the Crown than I have; which, before God, I utterly renounce." There is evidence that Ralegh's mind glanced instantly at the bearing of the assertion on the King's own title, and the bystanders noticed that he could not forbear a smile. Presently the task of prosecution fell into hands almost infinitely abler, but not a whit more scrupulous.

One of the most salient characteristics of this memorable trial is that, from its beginning to its end,

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it was a long dialogue, with many and impassioned interlocutors. This conversational character is as strongly marked as is that other feature which made one of the very judges (Gawdy) who then sat upon the bench at Winchester say of it, in after-years: "That trial injured and degraded the justice of England." Not even under the Lord High Chancellor Jeffreys, was law ever more openly bent beneath prerogative. To narrate truthfully and intelligibly what passed involves of necessity the exact quotation, in word and letter, of many speeches; some of them quite apart from the real issue then depending, yet plainly influential upon the result. Just as indispensable is it to abridge. But the interlocutory form must be preserved, as being here both form and substance.

SPEECH OF SIR EDW. COKE.

MS. Harl. xxxix. ff. 277, seqq. (B. M.) Collated with reports in MS. Cott. Tit. C vii.; and in *Domestic Corresp.* James I. iv. § 83. (R. H.)

Sir Edward Coke began, first with an apology to the Court for having to say irreverent things of potentates, because they had been said by Ralegh and Cobham; and then asserted that "no torture hath been used" to get the evidence. "Unto all great mischiefs," he proceeded to argue, "there be ever three inseparable incidents: The first is imitation; the second, supportation; the third, defence. Within these three fall all Sir Walter Ralegh's treasons; for his is the treason of 'THE MAIN;' the others were 'THE BYE.' The treason of 'the Bye' was that Lord Grey, Brooke, Markham, and the others, should hastily surprise the King's Court. This was a rebellion in the heart of the realm; yea in the heart of the heart, that is the Court. They intended to break open the doors with muskets; and so of a sovereign to make a subject. Having him, they meant to carry him to the Tower and to keep him there, until they had extorted three things from him: first, their own pardon; secondly, toleration for the Romish super-

stition; ... and thirdly, the removal of certain Privy Councillors." Then the Attorney-General proceeded, in the verbose and pedantic style of which he was a master after James the First's own heart, to enlarge, to Ralegh's jury, on all points of the several treasons alleged to have been plotted by Markham, Watson, and their confederates, foreign as they were to the defendant who sat at the bar. The Court did not interrupt. The defendant listened, patiently, as became him. When Coke had wound up this part of his skein, with the words, "This was the treason of 'the Bye,'" Ralegh ventured to interpose a word of caution to his jurors.

Sir Walter Ralegh: "I pray you, Gentlemen of the Jury, to remember that I am not charged with 'the Bye,' which was the treason of the priests."

Attorney-General: "You are not; but their Lordships will see that all these treasons, though they consisted of several points, closed in together; like Samson's foxes, which were joined in the tails, though the heads were severed."

Then came another long tirade, enlivened with puns upon 'petition' and 'perdition,' and the like, in the course of which Coke narrated to the Jury the murder of King Edward the Second; the traitorous enterprise of Perkin Warbeck against King Henry the Seventh; and the alleged conspiracy of Edmund De La Pole, Duke of Suffolk, against the same monarch. From De La Pole, without troubling himself about links of connection, he proceeded thus: "It will be stood upon by Sir Walter Ralegh to-day that we have but one witness. But I will show your Lordships that it is not necessary to have two witnesses. In Appleyard's case, Throckmorton, Redman, and another conspired to thrust out the Dutchmen from England, but, in truth, intended a

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rebellion of another kind. Holmes was the only witness who accused Appleyard. It was stood upon by him that two witnesses ought to be produced to accuse him; but Catline, Chief Justice of England, then resolved that the Statute of Edward the Sixth was not in force. But, in our case in hand, we have more than two witnesses, FOR *when a man by his accusation of another shall, by the same accusation, also condemn himself and make himself liable to the same punishment, this is, by our law, more forcible than many witnesses*, AND IS AS THE INQUEST OF TWELVE MEN. For the law presumes that a man will not accuse himself, in order to accuse another."

Any comment on this doctrine that may be needed for its fullest illustration was supplied, a few days afterwards, upon Cobham's own trial. When found guilty by his peers, he begged hard, we are told by an eye-witness, "for life and favour," expressly alleging that very "Confession" in which he had accused Ralegh as a meritorious act. Why it was that Coke at this stage of the business anticipated Ralegh's objection to Cobham's unsupported charge, will be apparent enough, as the trial proceeds.

"Now, my Masters of the Jury," proceeded the Attorney-General, "I come to your charge. Treason is of four kinds: treason *in corde*, which is the root of the tree; treason *in ore*, which is the bud; treason *in manu*, which is the blossom; and treason *in consummatione*, which is the fruit. In the case in hand you shall find the three first of these; these traitors being prevented, before the consummation of their mischiefs; but, though prevented, they are still traitors, *in corde, in ore, et in manu;* and, though their practices have been secret, they are still treasons. But this case exceedeth in wickedness all that ever went before, in two things: in *determinatione*

finis, and in *electione mediorum*. For it was said (BY THESE TRAITORS) that there would be 'no safety in England until the fox and his cubs were taken away;' meaning until the King and all his royal issue should be destroyed. Therefore in this treason the mischief exceeds the punishment and the terms of law; for this is not only *crimen læsæ majestatis*, but *extirpatæ majestatis et totius progeniei suæ;* for not only the King but all his posterity were to be cut off. I shall not need, my Lords, to speak anything concerning the King, nor of the bounty and sweetness of his nature; whose thoughts are innocent, whose words are full of wisdom and learning, and whose works are full of honour. *But to whom, Sir Walter, did you bear malice? To the royal children?*"

Ralegh: "Master Attorney, I pray you to whom, or to what end, speak you all this? I protest I do not understand what a word of this means, except it be to tell me news. What is the treason of Markham and the priests to me?"

Coke: "I will, then, come close to you. I will prove you to be the most notorious traitor that ever came to the bar. You, indeed, are upon 'the Main;' but you followed them of 'the Bye' in imitation. I will charge you with the words."

Ralegh: "Your words cannot condemn me; my innocency is my defence. *Prove* against me any one thing of the many that you have broken, and I will confess all the Indictment, and that I am the most horrible traitor that ever lived; and worthy to be crucified with a thousand torments."

Coke: "Nay; I will prove all. Thou art a monster; thou hast an English face, but a Spanish heart.—

["If thou thou'st him some thrice, it shall not be amiss; and as many lies as will lie in this sheet of paper,—although

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the sheet were big enough for the bed of Ware in England,—set 'em down."]—

Domestic Corresp. James I. vol. iv. § 83; compared with MS. Harl. xxxix. ff. 277, seqq. as above.

"You would have stirred England and Scotland both," proceeded the Attorney. "You incited the Lord Cobham, as soon as Count Arenbergh came into England, to go to him. The night he went, you supped with the Lord Cobham, and he brought you after supper to Durham House; and then the same night by a back-way went with La Renzi to Count Arenbergh, and got from him a promise of the money.[1] After this it was arranged that the Lord Cobham should go to Spain and return by Jersey, where you were to meet him to consult about the distribution of the money; because Cobham had not so much policy or wickedness as you. Your intent was to set up the Lady Arabella as a titular Queen, and to depose our present rightful King, the lineal descendant of Edward the Fourth. You pretend that this money was to forward the Peace with Spain. Your jargon was 'peace,' which meant Spanish invasion and Scottish subversion."

DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE COURT AND THE KING'S ATTORNEY.

Ralegh: "Let me answer; it concerns my life."

Coke: "Thou shalt not." And here the King's Attorney was reinforced by the King's Chief Justice, presiding at the trial.

Lord Chief Justice Popham: "Sir Walter Ralegh, Master Attorney is yet but in the general. But, when

[1] The reader can hardly fail to have observed the crafty way in which Cobham's acts are so narrated as that even a tolerably attentive listener might get the impression — that first impression which is so wont unconsciously to give a bias to the mind—that they were Ralegh's acts. But he should also remember that, from beginning to end of this trial, no "evidence" of the treasons alleged against the prisoner was adduced, other than that of written depositions, previously marked by the lawyers for reading, and for omission to be read—by themselves, in some instances; by the Clerk of the Crown, in others—to the Court and Jury.

the King's Counsel hath given the whole evidence, you shall answer to every particular."

Coke: "Oh! Do I touch you?"

Then came this appropriate question from the Lord Chief Justice of England to the Counsel for the prosecution.

L. C. J. Popham: "Master Attorney, when you have done with this general charge, *do you not mean* to let him answer to every particular?"

And to the inquiry came the following gracious reply:

Coke: "Yes; when we deliver the proofs to be read." Then, after threatening the defendant with what he would do, "if you provoke me;" the Attorney-General proceeded thus to resume his speech: "I will only add two or three circumstances, and then come to my proofs. My Lord Cobham—for whom we all lament and rejoice; lament, in that his ancient and noble house which hath stood so long unspotted is now ruinated; rejoice, in that his treasons are revealed—as your Lordships all know, in his courses was never a politician, nor a swordsman. But to the invention of these treasonable schemes belonged a politician; and to the execution of them, a swordsman. Sir Walter Ralegh was a man fitting for both. Besides, Sir Walter Ralegh was united in cause with the Lord Cobham, for both were discontented; and my Lord Cobham's discontent grew by Ralegh. And such was Ralegh's secrecy and machiavelian policy in these courses, that he would never confer but with one at once. *He would talk with none but Cobham; because, saith he, 'one witness can never condemn me.'* Since his first examination, he wrote to the Lord Cobham that he had been charged with many things, but had excused him in all; and let him know, by his trusty Keymis, that by

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the law one witness cannot convict a man of treason, and therefore bade his Lordship be of good courage. Notwithstanding this, the Lord Cobham did once charge Ralegh; but knowing afterwards that Ralegh had excused him, then he retracted. And now you shall see the most horrible practices that ever came out of the bottomless pit of the lowest hell; for, after Ralegh had gotten understanding in the Tower that Cobham had accused him, which he heard by young Sir John Peyton—who had not purposed to tell it him, but to the error of his youth I impute it—" [Here Sir Walter interposed the observation: "I knew from the Lords who examined me that Cobham had accused me. Otherwise, I had not been sent to the Tower."] Then Coke continued: "After Ralegh understood that he was accused by my Lord Cobham, it was contrived that the Lord Cobham should retract his accusation." And then he proceeded to describe, at great length, certain contrivances, and especially a feigned correspondence between Cobham, as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Sir Thomas Fane, Lieutenant-Governor of Dover Castle. Coke possessed no atom of evidence to connect this contrivance with the man now upon his trial, yet he went on to address the Jury thus: "Came this contrivance out of Cobham's quiver? No; but out of Ralegh's devilish and machiavelian policy. You shall hear that it was after Cobham had had intelligence with this viper in the Tower that he devised this false artifice. But Sir Thomas Fane would be no party in such a business, and sent the letter to the Council."

Ralegh: "What is that to me? I do not hear yet that you have spoken one word against *me*. Here is no treason of mine done. If my Lord Cobham be a traitor, what is that to me?"

Coke: "All that he did was by thy instigation, thou viper; for I *thou* thee, thou traitor! I will prove thee the rankest traitor in all England."

Ralegh: "No, no, Master Attorney, I am no traitor. Whether I live or die, I shall stand as true a subject as ever the King hath. *You* may call me a 'traitor,' at your pleasure; yet it becomes not a man of quality or virtue to do so. But I take comfort in it. It is all that you can do; for I do not yet hear that you charge me with any treason." Here the pliant and onward-looking Chief Justice came once again to Coke's help:—

L. C. J. Popham: "Sir Walter Ralegh, Master Attorney speaks out of the zeal of his duty for the service of the King; and you for your life; be patient, on both sides."

Coke: "I charge Sir Walter Ralegh with contriving and conspiring all this that I have recited. And now I will read my proofs for it." Then an examination was read, bearing date on the 20th of July, in which Cobham confessed that he had "had conference with the Count of Aremberg [who was Ambassador from the Archduke] about procuring five or six hundred thousand crowns from the King of Spain, and a passport to go into Spain." He said also that he had "intended to go into Flanders, to confer with the Archduke there about these practices," before going into Spain; that he was to return from Spain by way of Jersey; and that nothing further was to be done, until he had "spoken with Ralegh for distribution of the money to them which were discontented in England." And it was then stated in this examination that, when a note "under Ralegh's hand" had been showed to the Examinate, he brake forth into the exclamations, "O traitor! O villain! I will now tell you all the truth;" and proceeded to depose that he had "never entered into these courses but by Ralegh's

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instigation; and that he [Ralegh] would never let him alone. Besides, Ralegh spoke of plots and invasions, the particulars whereof they must not look for from this Examinate. He was so confounded with them as he did not remember them.[1] *And he feared Sir Walter Ralegh,—when he had him in Jersey,—would send him to the King.* They, talking of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, thought he was not a fit man to be trusted. Sir Arthur Savage they thought to be a fit man for them."[2]

After this Declaration by Cobham had been read by the Clerk of the Crown, Ralegh desired that he might look at it. When he had done so, he thus addressed the Court and the Jury:—

RALEGH'S ACCOUNT OF HIS FIRST EXAMINATION.

Ralegh: "This is absolutely all the evidence that can be brought against me. But now, I beseech you, hear me. I was examined at Windsor [first] touching the 'Surprising Treason'; next of plotting for Arabella; thirdly, of practices with the Lord Cobham. From all which God knows I was free; for I never was privy to any of them. It is true I suspected that the Lord Cobham kept intelligence with D'Arenbergh.[3] For I knew that long since — in the late Queen's time—

[1] As has been said already, this '*Declaration*' of the 20th July is not now to be found among the Rolls House MSS. Its substance has been quoted before (see page 372), but the proper sequence of the narrative requires its verbal repetition in this place. And without it, Ralegh's answer would be unintelligible.

[2] MS. Harl. xxxix. fol. 277, verso. This passage about Gorges and Savage is suppressed in several MS. reports of the Trial. But it is strictly in keeping with like passages in other examinations, and the infamous practice of permitting the introduction, into the Trial, of the names of persons against whom there was not a tittle of evidence of any kind, merely on the ground of the conspirators' "thoughts" about them, is one of the most characteristic features of these proceedings. Waad, it will be remembered,—the concoctor and digestor of several of the '*Declarations*' and '*Confessions*,'—sat as a judge upon the Trial, side by side with Howard, the original projector of "some plot, the Spanish waie."

[3] 'Count Arenbecke' in MS. Harl. xxxix. and so throughout.

he held that course with him in the Low Countries, as was well known to my Lord Treasurer and to my Lord Cecil. La Renzi being a man also well known to me, I, seeing him and the Lord Cobham together, thought that was the time they both had been to Count D'Arenbergh. I gave intimation thereof. But I was willed by my Lord Cecil not to speak of this: because the King, at the first coming of D'Arenbergh, would not give him occasion of suspicion. Wherefore I wrote to the Lord Cecil that if La Renzi were not taken, the matter would not be discovered. Yet, if he were then apprehended, it would give matter of suspicion to the Lord Cobham. This letter of mine being presently showed to the Lord Cobham, he presently[1] entered into a rage against me, and spake bitterly and railingly of me; yet, ere he came to the stairs'-foot, he repented him, and, as I heard, acknowledged that he had done me wrong."

[1] So repeated in MSS.

At this point of his defence, Ralegh, by one of the sudden transitions of which there were not a few in the course of this Trial, paused in his address to the Court and Jury, and turned, with vivid interpellation, to Sir Edward Coke. It is but one out of many incidents in that day's proceedings, the recital of which sounds strangely in modern ears, much as it heightens the dramatic interest of the scene.

RALEGH'S INTERPELLATION OF THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Sir Walter Ralegh to Attorney-General Coke: "Master Attorney, whether to favour or to disable my Lord Cobham you speak as you will of him; yet he is not such a babe as you make him. He hath dispositions of such violence, which his best friends could never temper. But it is very strange that I, at this time, should be thought to plot with the Lord Cobham, knowing him a

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man that hath neither love nor following; and myself, at this time having resigned a place of my best command, in an office I had in Cornwall.[1] I was not so bare of sense but I saw that, if ever this State was strong, it was now that we have the kingdom of Scotland united, whence we were wont to fear all our troubles;—Ireland quieted, where our forces were wont to be divided;—Denmark assured, whom before we were always wont to have in jealousy;—the Low Countries, our nearest neighbour. And, instead of a Lady whom Time had surprised, we had now an active King, who would be present at his own businesses. For me, at this time, to make myself a Robin Hood, a Wat Tyler,[2] a Kett, or a Jack Cade!—I was not so mad! I knew the State of Spain well;—his weakness, his poorness, his humbleness, at this time. I knew that six times we had repulsed his forces: thrice in Ireland; thrice at sea,—once upon our coast, and twice[3] upon his own. Thrice had I served against him myself at sea,—wherein, for my Country's sake, I had expended of my own property forty thousand marks. I knew that where beforetime he was wont to have forty great sails, at the least, in his ports, now he hath not past six or seven. And for sending to his Indies, he was driven to have strange vessels—a thing contrary to the institutions of his ancestors, who straitly forbade that, even in case of necessity, they should make their necessity[4] known to strangers. I knew that of twenty-five millions which he had from his Indies, he

EPISODE ON THE POSITION AND POLICY OF SPAIN.

[1] Meaning, of course, the Wardenship of the Stannaries.

[2] Most of the MSS. read '*Tom Tiler*.'

[3] This reading is doubtful. In MS. Harl. xxxix. the word is illegible. In MS. Cotton, Titus C vii. the sentence, like much of Ralegh's Defence, is so abbreviated, as to become almost meaningless. One or two other MSS. read "*in Cales*," but, on the whole, the reading here adopted seems the best, and the context justifies it.

[4] MS. Harl., obviously by a corruption, reads 'case.'

had scarce any left. Nay, I knew his poorness to be such at this time, as [that] the Jesuits, his imps, begged at his church-doors. [I knew] his pride so abated that, notwithstanding his former high terms, he was become glad to congratulate His Majesty and send unto him. Whoso knew what great assurances he stood upon with other States, for smaller sums, would not think he would so freely disburse to my Lord Cobham six hundred thousand crowns! And, if I had minded to set my Lord Cobham awork in such a case, I would have given him some instructions how to persuade the King. For I knew Cobham no such minion that could persuade a King that was in want to disburse so great a sum, without great reason and some assurance for his money. I knew the Queen of England lent not her money to the States, without [1] she had Flushing, Brill, and other towns, in assurance for it. She lent not money to the King of France, without she had Newhaven for it. Nay, her own subjects, the merchants of London, did not lend her money, without they had her lands in pawn for it. And to show I am not 'Spanish'—as you term me—at this time I had writ a treatise to the King's Majesty of the present state of Spain, and reasons against the Peace."

[1] MSS. '*but.*'

Whatever he may think of the cogency of the whole argument on this point of probability, a reader—even after the lapse of two centuries and a half—can have little difficulty in entering into the feeling of the auditory who listened to these glowing words. They were spoken at a moment when, by all Englishmen, Peace with Spain or War with Spain were things either passionately desired, or not less passionately abhorred. There is striking testimony to the thrill with which the bystanders listened. High and pregnant matters of pending statecraft.

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as well as past events which not very long before had stirred the heart of England, were suddenly brought, as it were, before their eyes, as well as to their minds. They had now striking proof that the man who, whilst pleading for life and honour, could intermingle with the not unbecoming reminiscence—"Thrice I served myself against the Spaniard at sea"—such an abstract of the great question which at that instant occupied the minds of statesmen—

> "—— is practised well in Policy;
> And thereto doth his courting most apply
> To learn the interdeal of Princes strange,
> To mark the intent of Councils, and the change
> Of States."

And the revulsion of feeling which—as we are told by more than one of those who were present—became obvious in the crowded hall, would naturally be strengthened by the graceful reference to the new national power which thoughtful Englishmen already recognised as accruing instantly from the Union with Scotland. In that thronged audience there were other veteran statesmen and other ambassadors than those who sat on the bench; and among them were not a few Scotsmen—old and young courtiers of the King. It was from the lips of such that James heard a report of Sir Walter Ralegh's demeanour in the Trial, very different from that which he received from the lips of Lord Henry Howard.

Still addressing himself to the Attorney-General in person, the defendant proceeded to take up a branch of the accusation which, as he must have felt, had made considerable impression, from the way in which Coke had handled it. Ralegh now proceeded to explain the reasons of his close intimacy and frequent meetings with Lord Cobham. Coke had suggested and elaborated,

after his manner,—with as much of artifice as could consist with brutality,—to the minds of the Jury, that such frequent intercourse, when plots were pending, must needs involve complicity. It is now the turn of the accused. He has to tell that part of the story in his own way; but he tells it to his accuser.

RALEGH'S EXPLANATION OF HIS INTERCOURSE WITH COBHAM.

Sir Walter Ralegh: "For my inwardness with the Lord Cobham it was only in matters of private estate, wherein, he communicating often with me, I lent him my best advice. At this time[1] I was to deal with the Duke[2] for him, to procure a fee-farm from the King; for which purpose I had about me in my bosom, when I was first examined, £4,000 worth of his jewels.[3] He being a Baron of this Realm, upon whom all the honours of his house rested;—his possessions great;—having goodly houses worth at least £5,000 a year revenue;—his plate and furniture as rich as was any man's of his rank;—is it likely I could so easily incite a man of these fortunes to enter into so gross treasons? And for further argument that he was not desperate in estate nor poor in purse,[4] he offered £4,000 for this fee-farm. Not three days before his apprehending he had bestowed £150 in books, which he sent to his house at Canterbury.[5] He gave [too] £300 for a cabinet, which he offered to you, Master Attorney, for the drawing of his book.[6] He had

[1] Meaning, as this phrase always means in the course of Ralegh's defence, the early part of the summer, when the acts indicted were alleged to have been committed.

[2] The Duke of Lennox, James' ambassador of 1602.

[3] Given, adds MS. Cott. Titus, C vii., "for my security."

[4] It had been said, it seems, that Cobham, notwithstanding his vast estates, was embarrassed.

[5] This is probably the true reading. Some of the MSS. read 'Cave.'

[6] *I. e.* for the conveyance of the fee-farm previously spoken of. MS. Cott. Titus, C vii. entirely corrupts this sentence 'for his *favour*,' *i. e.* for the favour of Coke, as if it had been a proffered bribe.

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the value of £3,500 in one piece [of plate], besides one ring worth £500; and besides many other jewels, of price. Think now, if it be likely that this man, upon an idle humour, would venture all this. As for my knowing that he had conspired all these things with Spain, for Arabella, and against the King, I protest before Almighty God I am as clear as whosoever here is freest."[1]

At this stage of the proceedings another Examination of Cobham—called in most of the reports, the second—was read. In that document, he declared that he and Ralegh had made an appointment to meet in Jersey, and then "take advice of the people's discontentments."[2] In this Examination—like so many others, not now to be found among the State Papers—Cobham twice exclaimed, it was alleged, 'O wretch,' in speaking of Ralegh.

[1] The internal evidence would seem to be conclusive that this expression, "*I am as clear as whosoever here is freest*," must have been a closing sentence. So it reads in MS. Harl. and in other good MSS. In MS. Cott. Titus, C vii. the important statement (which the reader will, in the text, meet with at a subsequent period of the trial) made by Ralegh as to the colloquy between him and Lord Cecil immediately after the examination at the Council Board at Windsor, is made to follow closely upon the word "freest." All the probabilities point to the erroneousness of the Cotton MS. in this particular of sequence. And it is, on its face, an epitome; not a *verbatim* report. On the other hand, it offers some important variations and occasionally some minuter incidents and details which have a certain stamp of authenticity about them. It is a report which cannot be disregarded. In the Rolls House MS. there are peculiarities which suggest the idea of intentional omission, in certain places. On the other hand, the remark just made upon the Cotton or Overbury MS. (Titus, C vii.) is equally true of the Rolls House report. And the latter possesses also this special characteristic: it brings out strongly the points which press against Ralegh. Some of the differences, especially about the conduct of Keymis, in relation to the letter which he carried to Lord Cobham, will be pointed out hereafter.

[2] Some of the reports say, "*to confer about the distribution of the money in England.*" And this reading has been adopted in Mr. Jardine's able account of the Trial. In the text, I have preferred to follow the Harleian MS.; in the absence of the Examination itself. Here, as in so many other places, the variations of the MSS. are very great.

The Examination bore, at first, no signature. Cobham, it was said, refused to subscribe: he stood out, as on a point of honour, that his Confession, being that of a Peer of the Realm, was to be received without subscription. But, after long persistency, he is reported to have said at last, "If my Lord Chief Justice say I am compellable, and ought to do it, then I will." On this incident the Chief Justice himself now addressed his brethren of the Court, and the Jury. A sentence found in one or more of the Reports (but not in all, or even in the more important ones) seems to indicate that at the time of the examination now referred to, Cobham was at the Court at Richmond, prior to his committal to the Tower.[1] In that case, it would follow that the examination in question was the first of the series.

Lord Chief Justice Popham: "I came to the Lord Cobham, and told him he ought to subscribe; which presently after the Lord Cobham did. And he said of Sir Walter Ralegh, in the doing of it, 'That wretch!' 'That traitor Ralegh!' And surely the countenance and action of my Lord Cobham much satisfied me that what he had confessed was true; and that he surely thought that Sir Walter Ralegh had betrayed him."

The reader may be left to his own thoughts upon the appropriateness of the Chief Justice's reflection about "the countenance and action" of the Examinant, when compared with his own refusal of the earnest entreaty—presently to be made—for the production of

[1] "I [the Lord Chief Justice] being then at Richmond, for fear of the plague, came to the Lord Cobham," &c. See MS. Cott. Titus, C vii. In this MS. the report of Popham's address differs much from that in MS. Harl. xxxix., as also from other MSS. One version asserts that Cobham never subscribed the Examination at all. Others make the Chief Justice testify expressly to the signature. It was the tradition of the time that Waad, by some sleight of hand, afterwards obtained Cobham's signature to a blank sheet of paper.

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Cobham, before the Court and Jury. Nor will he fail to notice his Lordship's threefold function in this trial. He is, by his own statement, an assistant in getting up the Indictment; he is a witness for the prosecution; and, as Chief Justice, he presides. He has, in truth, one function more, of the subsidiary sort. Just as the Tower Examiners had their little pending suits at Court, for this and that favour, as their work went on; so Justice Popham had his occasional correspondence of a closely-resembling nature. Ralegh, too, may well have had his own thoughts about testimony against a prisoner given from the Bench. But he is too wise to speak to Popham with the incisive freedom which he does not scruple to use towards Attorney-General Coke.

Sir Walter Ralegh: "Methinks it is reason that my Lord Cobham, accusing me, should yield some reason of his accusation. For this is a known fashion of his to do any friend he hath wrong, and then to repent it. Therefore I desire, if you will take his 'Confession' for any accusation, that some reason may be made[1] to make it an accusation."

[1] So in MS.

Sir Thomas Fowler, Foreman of the Jury: "I desire to understand of the Court the time of Sir Walter Ralegh's first letter, and of the Lord Cobham's accusation?"

Lord Cecil: "I am divided in myself, and at great dispute what to say of this gentleman at the bar. For it is impossible, be the obligations never so great, but the affections of nature and love will show themselves. A former dearness betwixt me and this gentleman tied upon the knot of his virtues, though slacked since by his actions, I cannot but acknowledge; and the most of you know it. I protest, did I serve a king that I knew would be displeased with me for speaking in this case, I would speak;—whatever came of it. But seeing he is com-

pacted of piety and justice, and one that will not mislike any man for speaking the truth, I will answer your question. To satisfy that which is asked, I must say this: that the first discovery came from Copley. But that was of the 'Surprising Treason.' When I suspected the Lord Cobham, I doubted that Sir Walter Ralegh was partaker therein. Wherefore, after such time as the King at Windsor had received the first letters of the discovery, His Majesty making haste to go abroad, Sir Walter Ralegh also hasted to follow him. But I then required him to stay.[1] The Lord Gerard was then presently sent to apprehend the Lord Grey, and Sir Thomas Vavasor for Mr. Brooke. Presently after, we understood, by Mr. Brooke, that he had opened the purpose of 'surprising' the King unto the Lord Cobham, whereupon the Lord Cobham was sent for. At first he stood much upon denial; yet, afterward, set down a confession, but refused to subscribe it of a good while. We acquainted the King with all. Afterward, urging something upon my[2] Lord Chief Justice, he yielded to subscribe it. For Sir Walter Ralegh, I must say that there was a light given by him that La Renzi had dealt

[1] MS. Harl. xxxix. fol. 283, verso. Other MS. reports insert the words "as from the King," and add: "Then he was examined, but not concerning the Lord Cobham; but concerning the 'surprising' Treason." The reader will find it worth while to compare these passages with Lord Cecil's statements in his Letters to Sir Thomas Parry, written in August and in December. For example: At Winchester, Cecil says, "when I suspected the Lord Cobham, I doubted that Sir Walter Ralegh was partaker;" which is but a variation upon Sir W. Waad's suggestive theme: "*Mr. Brooke confidently thinketh what his brother knows was known to the other.*" When writing to Parry, Lord Cecil says: "You shall also understand that at the first beginning, *before ever the Lord Cobham was suspected*, Sir Walter, having been examined only about himself, immediately wrote a letter to the Lord Cobham that he had been examined upon him, and that he had cleared him to the Lords," &c.

[2] Other MSS. say "*being urged* by."

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betwixt Count D'Arenbergh and the Lord Cobham. But that Sir Walter Ralegh at that time discovered any of these things of the Lord Cobham I cannot say. For I think he was not then examined touching any matter concerning my Lord Cobham. For only the 'Surprising' Treason was then in suspect."

MS. Harl. as above, fol. 286.

Lord Cecil here left the Jury to extract from these statements an answer to Sir Thomas Fowler's pertinent question, as they best could. And—such was the arrangement of the proceedings in this most instructive of trials—the Attorney-General here resumed at once his speech for the Prosecution and his answer to the defendant's interpellation.

ACCUSATION AGAINST RALEGH OF COMPLICITY IN THE 'SURPRISING TREASON.'

Attorney-General Coke: "Sir Walter, you say the Lord Cobham's accusing you was upon heat and passion. This is manifestly otherwise: for after that the Lord Cobham had twice called for the letter, and twice paused a good while upon it and saw that his dealing with Count D'Arenbergh was made known, then he thought himself discovered, and said, 'O wretch, O traitor Ralegh!' And as to unprobability, is it probable that my Lord Cobham would turn the weapon against his own bosom, and overthrow himself in estate, in honour, and in all his fortunes, out of malice to accuse you? *It will be plainly proved that the Lord Cobham conferring with his brother Brooke, two months before, said to him, 'You are but fools. You come upon* the bye. *Sir Walter Ralegh and I are upon* the main, *to take away the King and his cubs!'* You affirm that you did not so much as suspect any confederacy.[1] But mark what Cobham saith: He saith he was a long time doubtful of Ralegh that he would betray him, and send him and the money to the King. *Now, if he feared that you would betray him,*

[1] In the position of this paragraph in Coke's speech the MSS. differ.

there must of necessity be a trust between you. No man can betray another but he that is trusted, to my understanding. Next, Sir Walter Ralegh, you discoursed largely on the poverty of Spain. *Methinks, it would have been better for you to have stayed in Guiana than to be so well acquainted with the state of Spain.* As to the six overthrows of the King of Spain, I answer, 'he hath the more malice,' because repulses breed desire of revenge. As for your writing against the Peace with Spain, you sought but to cloak a Spanish traitor's heart. To all that you have said about the King being wise and politic, and therefore that you could have no hope to succeed, I answer, There is no king so active, wise and politic, as to be always safe against secret treason. But you seek to wash away all that is said, by affirming the evidence against you to be but a bare accusation, without circumstances or reason to confirm it. That I will fully satisfy: for, as my Lord Cobham's confession stands upon many circumstances and concerns many others, I will by other means prove every circumstance thereof to be true."

RALEGH'S CLAIM FOR THE PRODUCTION OF COBHAM FACE TO FACE.

Ralegh: "My Lords, I claim to have my accuser brought here to speak face to face. Though I know not how to make my best defence by law; yet, since I was a prisoner, I have learned that by the Law and Statutes of this realm in case of treason a man ought to be convicted by the testimony of two witnesses. I will not take upon me to defend the matter upon the Statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third, though that requires an overt act. But remember, I beseech your Lordships, the Statute of the first of Edward the Sixth which saith: 'No man shall be condemned of treason, unless he be accused by two lawful accusers.' And, by the Statute of the fifth and sixth of Edward

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the Sixth, those accusers 'must be brought in person before the party accused, at his arraignment, if they be living.' Remember also, my Lords, the Statute of the first and second of Philip and Mary which says, that 'at the arraignment of any man for treason every person who shall declare, confess, or depose anything against him shall, if living and within the realm, be brought forth in person before the party arraigned, if he require it, and object and say openly, in his hearing, what he can against him; unless the party arraigned shall willingly confess the same.' Whether at this day these laws be in force I know not. But such was the wisdom of former times that any man accused must have, at the least, two lawful witnesses to be brought forth at the time of his arraignment. [*Then, turning towards Sir Edward Coke:*] If, Master Attorney, the wisdom of former times, the assemblies of all the three Estates in several Parliaments, thought it just to have the accusers produced, surely you will not withhold my accuser? If you proceed to condemn me by bare inferences,—without an oath,—without a subscription,—without witnesses,—upon a paper-accusation, you try me by Spanish inquisition. If my accuser were dead, or abroad, it were something; but he liveth, and is in this very house. [*Resuming his address to the Court and Jury, he proceeded:*] Consider, my Lords, it is no rare case for a man to be falsely accused; aye, and falsely condemned too. My Lords the Judges, remember, I beseech you, what one of yourselves said in times past: I mean Fortescue, a reverend Chief Justice of this kingdom. He tells of a Judge, in his time, who condemned a woman at Salisbury for murdering her husband, upon presumptions and the testimony of one man; and after she was burned, a servant of the man that was slain, being executed for

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another crime, confessed that he slew his master himself, and that the woman was innocent. What said this Judge to Fortescue, touching the remorse of his conscience, for proceeding upon such slender proof? He told him that so long as he lived he should never purge his conscience of that deed. And, my Lords, for the matter I desire remember, too, the story of Susannah. She was falsely accused, and Daniel called the judges fools because, 'without examination of the truth, they had condemned a daughter of Israel,' and he discovered the false witnesses by asking them questions. I may be told that the Statutes I before named be repealed. For I know the diversity of religion in the Princes of those days caused many changes. Yet the equity and reason of those laws still remains.[1] They are still kept to illustrate how the Common Law was then taken and ought to be expounded. But, howsoever that may be, the law of God, I am sure, liveth for ever. And the Canon of God saith: '*At the mouth of two or three witnesses shall he that is worthy of death be put to death; but at the mouth of one witness he shall not be put to death.*' And, again: '*One witness shall not rise up against a man for any iniquity or any sin that he sinneth. At the mouth of two or three witnesses shall the matter be established.*' Divers other places of the Old Testament are to like purpose, and the same is confirmed by our Saviour, by Saint Paul, and by the whole consent of the Scripture. By the law of God, therefore, the life of man is of such price and value that no person, whatever his offence is, ought to die, unless he be condemned on the testimony of two or three witnesses. If then by the Statute Law, by the Civil Law, and by God's Word, it be required that there be two witnesses, at the least, bear with me if I desire one. Prove me guilty of these things by one witness only;

[1] So in MS.

Deut. xvii. 6; and xix. 15. Compare Letter CXIX. Vol. II. p. 276.

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and I will confess the Indictment. I stand not upon niceties of the law. If I have done these things, I deserve not to live; whether they be treasons by the law or no. I beseech you then, my Lords, let Cobham be sent for. Let him be charged upon his soul; upon his allegiance to the King; and if he will then maintain his accusation to my face, I will confess myself guilty."

It is matter of tradition, rather than matter of record, that there was some division of opinion upon the bench on the question thus weightily opened, by a man who seemed equally at his ease whether the matter in hand was the defence of a bridge by one horseman against twenty horsemen, or the defence of his own life and honour, by an exposition of Civil and Canon Law;—a man who could perform his task with like felicity, whether it involved the delicate shaping of a sonnet, or the triumphant leading of a fleet past the forts of Cadiz. Of his defence, as of his speeches in Parliament, we have merely fragments. We know it only by means of the rudimentary reporting in vogue almost three hundred years ago. How it affected the auditors there is better evidence. Two different and as it seems impartial reports were made to the King, "whereof one affirmed that never man spake so well in times past, nor would do in the time to come; and the other said, that whereas, when he saw Sir Walter Ralegh first, he was so led with the common hatred that he would have gone a hundred miles to have seen him hanged, he would, ere they parted, have gone a thousand to save his life." "In one word,"—says a third auditor of the trial,—"never was a man so hated, and so popular,—in so short a time." The lawyers, necessarily, were less impressionable. The presiding Judge had no hesitation, whatever, on the crucial point thus raised. Nowadays, we re-

Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Nov. 27, 1603. Wharton MS. lxxx. ff. 440, seqq. (Bodleian; Oxford.)

member, when reading Popham's ruling, as when reading Coke's invective, that one of their learned brethren (who sat at the same time, and on the same bench) left behind him his opinion that "never before was English justice so injured, or so degraded," as at Ralegh's trial.

POPHAM'S EXPOSITION OF THE LAW OF TREASON, AS TO TESTIMONY.

Lord Chief Justice Popham: "Sir Walter Ralegh, for the Statutes you have mentioned, none of them help you. The Statutes you speak of in cases of treason were found to be inconvenient, and were taken away by another law. Those of Edward the Sixth [1st, c. 12, § xxii.; 5th & 6th, c. 11, § xii.] are general, but were repealed by the 1st and 2nd of Philip and Mary, which you have mentioned, which Statute goes only to the treasons therein comprised, and also appoints the trial of treasons to be as before it was at the Common Law. Now the 25th of Edward the Third makes declaration what the Common Law was. All is now therefore put to the Common Law. And, by the Common Law, one witness is sufficient, and the accusation of confederates, or the confession of others, is full proof. Neither is subscription of the party so material to the Confession, *if it be otherwise testified by credible persons.*[1] And, of all other proofs, the accusation of one who by his confession first accuseth himself is the strongest. It hath the force of a verdict of twelve men."

Mr. Justice Warburton: "I marvel, Sir Walter, that you, being of such experience and wit, should stand on this point. *For many horse-stealers should escape, if they may not be condemned without witnesses.* By law, a man may be condemned upon presumption and circumstances, without any witness to the main fact. As, if the King—

[1] In this case, that is to say, by the "credible testimony" of the Lord Chief Justice himself.

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whom God defend—should be slain in his chamber, and one be shown to have come forth of the chamber, with his sword drawn and bloody. Were not this evidence, both in law and opinion, without further inquisition?"

Ralegh: "Yet by your favour, my Lord, the trial of fact at the Common Law is by jury and witnesses."

Lord Chief Justice Popham: "No; the trial at the Common Law is by examination. If three conspire a treason, and they all confess it, there is never a witness; and yet they may all be condemned of treason."

Ralegh: "I know not, my Lord, how you conceive the law. But, if you affirm it, it must be a law to all posterity."

Lord Chief Justice Popham: "Nay; we do not conceive the law. We know the law."

Ralegh: "Notwithstanding, my Lords, let me have thus much for my life: Though the law may be as your Lordships have stated it, yet it is a strict and rigorous interpretation of the law. Now the King of England, at his coronation, swears to observe the equity and not the rigour of the law. And if ever we had a just and good King, it is His Majesty; and such doth he wish his ministers and judges to be. Though, therefore,—by the rigour and severity of the law,—this may be sufficient evidence, without producing the witness, yet your Lordships, as ministers of the King, are bound to administer the law in equity."

Compare Letter CXXI. Vol. II. p. 281.

Lord Chief Justice Popham: "Equity must proceed from the King. You can only have justice from us."

Lord Cecil: "Now that Sir Walter is resolved by my Lords the Judges that the accusation is sufficient, I pray you, Master Attorney, go on with your proofs."[1]

[1] In the Rolls House MS. Lord Cecil's speech reads thus: "Now that Sir Walter Ralegh is satisfied that Cobham's subscription is not necessary, go on, I pray you, Mr. Attorney." [*Sir*

Attorney-General Coke: "The crown shall never stand one year upon the head of the King, if a traitor may not be condemned by circumstances: for you shall never prove the fact of treason by two witnesses. *Scientia sceleris est mera ignorantia.* You have read the letter of the law, but understand it not. This dilemma of yours about two witnesses led you into treason: for you thought with yourself, 'Either Cobham must accuse or not accuse me; if he accuse me, yet he is but one witness; if he accuse me not, then I am clear.' But, to fortify the Lord Cobham's accusation against you, I will prove, by circumstances, that many points therein are true; and this by your own confessions, and by the testimony of others. Now to prove it by circumstances: Cobham says that he was to have a passport to go to Spain and to return by Jersey, there to confer with you. As to this, you say yourself, Sir Walter, that you promised to meet him at Jersey, though it was but to make merry with you and your wife. Again, Cobham says that money was to be raised for discontented persons. You do not deny that money was to be raised, but you say it was to be for furtherance of the Peace."

Part of the letter which Cobham had written to the Lords of the Council on the 29th of July, one of the days on which he had been examined by them, was now read by the Clerk of the Crown. In that letter,[1] after

Sir Walter Ralegh: "Good Mr. Attorney, be patient, and give me leave."

Lord Cecil: "An unnecessary patience is a hindrance. Let him go on with his proofs; and then repel them."

Sir Walter Ralegh: "I would answer particularly."

Lord Cecil: "If you would have tables, or pen and ink, you shall have it." [*Then he had pen, ink, and paper.*]

[1] Rolls House MS. inserts (upon mention of the letter) these words,—"which was to the effect of his former examination;" and it transposes the whole of the speech of Coke, which immediately preceded the reading, according to other reports.

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THE PROFFER OF MONEY FROM SPAIN.

describing an interview with Arenbergh and mentioning some subsequent letters between them, Cobham proceeds to say: "The last letter I wrote him was that he would procure me a pass for my safe going to Spain; and that [I knew] his master [the King of Spain] was at great charge, but if he should be advised to deliver 400,000 or 500,000 crowns as I would direct, it should save his master millions. To this letter the Count of Arenbergh returned the answer that 'money should be procured; but how it should be distributed—there was the difficulty;' and prayed my direction.[1] To satisfy the scruple which may arise what should be done with these 400,000 or 500,000 crowns, I must say, and say truly, nothing was determined. But only we did expect the general discontentment, which in my opinion I conceived must be; and so this sum of money was to be employed as time and occasion was offered."

This piece of evidence was followed by the reading of extracts from the various 'Declarations,' 'Confessions,' and 'Additions to former Confessions,' by Copley, Watson, and George Brooke, respectively, the substance of which—if substance it may be called—has been put before the reader, in the preceding chapter. The bearing of the whole upon Ralegh is briefly this: Somebody or other had heard, from somebody else, "of my Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Ralegh, how they two stood for the Spanish faction." Then followed La Renzi's examination, in which two several circumstances were deposed against Ralegh: the one, that he had supped

[1] On this point of the distribution of the money to be had from Arenbergh, the Attorney is represented, in the Rolls House MS., as commenting thus: "Three men being severally examined, agreed in the sums so to be bestowed on discontented persons,—Grey should have 12,000 crowns; Ralegh should have 8,000 or 10,000 crowns."

with the Lord Cobham in the evening of a day on which Cobham had written to Count Arenbergh; the other, that when a messenger from Arenbergh brought one of his letters to Cobham, Sir Walter was standing in the hall, and afterwards went upstairs. These facts having been set out with due elaboration and epithet, together with Ralegh's own statement of his rejoinder—'When I see the money, I will make you an answer'—to Cobham's proffer of part of the money that was to come from Spain, Sir Edward Coke proceeded thus with his speech:—

Coke: "The Peace pretended by Sir Walter Ralegh is merely a jargon, for it is clear the money was for discontented persons. Now Ralegh was to have part of the money; therefore, he was a discontented person; and therefore, a traitor." [1]

Ralegh: "Mr. Attorney, you have seemed to say much, but, in truth, nothing that applies to me. You conclude that I must know of the plots, because I was to have part of the money. But all you have said concerning this I make void, by distinguishing the time when it was spoken. It is true my Lord Cobham had speech with me about the money, and made me an offer. But how? And when? Voluntarily; one day at dinner, some time before Count Arenbergh's coming over. For he and I, being at his own board, arguing, and speaking violently,—he for the Peace; I against the Peace,—the

[1] Here the variations of the Rolls House MS. are again important. In that report, the Attorney-General's speech reads thus: "Rawleigh must have his part of this money; therefore now he is a traitor. The crown shall never stand one year on the head of the King, my master, if a traitor may not be condemned by circumstance. For if A tell B, and B tell C, and C tell D, &c.; so that [*thus in MS.*] you shall never prove treason by two witnesses." And then follows the reading of Ralegh's examination, as above.

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Lord Cobham told me that, when Count Arenbergh came, he would yield such strong arguments for the Peace as would satisfy any man. And withal he told—as his fashion is to utter things easily—what great sums of money would be given to some Councillors for making the Peace; and named my Lord Cecil and the Earl of Mar. I, answering, bade him make no such offer unto them, for they would hate him, if he did offer it. Now if, after this, my Lord Cobham changed his mind as to the use to be made of the money, and joining with the Lord Grey and the others, had any such treasonable intent as is alleged, what is that to me? They must answer it, not I. The offer of the money to me is nothing; for it was made me before Count Arenbergh's coming. The offer made to the others was afterwards."

Mr. Serjeant Phillips:[1] "Ralegh confesseth the matter, but avoids it by distinguishing of times. [*Then, to Ralegh:*] You said it was offered you before the coming of Arenbergh, which is false. For you, being examined whether you should have such money of Cobham, or not, you said 'Yea;' and that you should have it within three days. *Nemo moriturus præsumitur mentire.*"

Lord Henry Howard: "Allege me any grounds or cause why you gave ear to my Lord Cobham, as [to] receiving of pensions, in matters you had not to deal in."

Ralegh: "Could I stop my Lord Cobham's mouth?"

Lord Cecil: "Sir Walter Ralegh presseth that my Lord Cobham should be brought face to face. If he ask things of favour and grace, they must only come

[1] From this point in the trial, onwards, the Rolls House MS. is usually followed in the text—as far as its imperfect condition permits. Variations which seem important will be noted from other MSS. containing contemporary reports.

from him that gives them. If we sit here, as Commissioners, how shall we be satisfied whether he ought to be brought, unless we hear the judges speak?"

Lord Chief Justice Popham: "This thing cannot be granted, for then a number of treasons should flourish. The accuser may be drawn, by practice, while he is in prison."

Mr. Justice Gawdy: "The Statute you speak of concerning two witnesses in cases of treason was found to be inconvenient; therefore, by another law, it was taken away."

Ralegh: "The common trial of England is by jury and witnesses."[1] . . . . .

Lord Chief Justice Popham: "There must not be such a gulf opened for the destruction of the King, which would be, if we should grant this. You plead hard for yourself, but the laws plead as hard for the safety of the King. I did never hear that course to be taken in case of treason, to write one to another, or speak one to another. There hath been intelligence between you and Cobham; and what underhand practices there may be, I know not. If the circumstances agree not with the evidence, we will not condemn you."

Ralegh: "The King desires nothing but the knowledge of the truth, and would have no advantage taken by severity of law. If ever we had a gracious King, now we have. And I hope such as he is, such are his ministers. If there be but a trial of five marks at the Common Law, a witness must be deposed. Good my Lords, let my accuser come face to face and be deposed."

[1] Then followed, according to the Rolls House MS., Popham's denial of the defendant's assertion, and Ralegh's rejoinder, in which he speaks of Susannah and the Elders. See p. 409, before.

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Lord Chief Justice: "You have no law for it. *God forbid any man should accuse himself upon his oath.*"

Coke: "The law presumes a man will not accuse himself, to accuse another. You are an odious man, for Cobham thinks his cause the worse that you are in it. Now you shall hear of some stirs to be raised in Scotland."

Then was read, from an Examination of Copley, these words:—"Also Watson told me that a special person told him that Arenbergh offered him 1,000 crowns; and that Brooke said the stirs in Scotland came out of Ralegh's head."

Ralegh: "Brooke hath been taught his lesson."

Lord Henry Howard: "This examination was taken before me. Did I teach him his lesson?"

Ralegh: "I protest, before God, that I meant it not by any Privy Councillor."

. . . . . [1] "Because money is scant, he will juggle on both sides."

Then from Ralegh's Examination, previously cited, these words were read: "The way to invade England were to begin with stirs in Scotland."

Ralegh: "I think so still. I have spoken it often to divers of the Lords, by way of discourse and my opinion."

Coke: "Now let us come to the words of destroying of 'the King and his cubs.'"

Ralegh: "O barbarous! If they, like unnatural villains, spoke such words, shall I be charged with them? I will not hear it! I was never false to the Crown of

[1] To these words no name is prefixed in the Rolls House MS.; but, in their stead, the word '*Quere.*' In one or more MSS. the words are added to Ralegh's preceding observation, but with obvious inaccuracy. They seem to bear Coke's mint-mark on their face.

England. I have spent £40,000 of mine own against the Spanish faction, for the good of my country. Do you bring the words of those hellish spiders, Clarke, Watson, and others, against me?"

Coke: "Thou hast a Spanish heart, and thyself art a spider of hell. For thou confessest the King to be a most sweet and gracious Prince, and yet thou hast conspired against him."

After this characteristic ejaculation from Coke, various passages from the Examinations of Watson, Brooke, and Cobham were read, in one of which it is set forth that "Brooke thinketh, on his conscience, it—*i.e.* the project of the destruction of the King—was infused into his brother's head by Ralegh." A tumultuous conversation then followed, in the course of which the defendant exclaimed: "If this may be, you will have any man's life in a week." Then another extract from Cobham's Examinations was read, in which Cobham says: "I had from Ralegh a book, written against the title of the King. I gave it to my brother. Ralegh said that it was 'foolishly written.'"

Ralegh: "I never gave it him. He took it off my table. For I remember a little before that time I received a challenge from Sir Amias Preston, and for that I did resolve to answer it, I resolved to leave my estate settled; and therefore laid out all my loose papers, amongst which was this book."

Coke: "I observe there was intelligence between Cobham and you in the Tower. For after he had said it was against the King's title, he denied it again."

Sir William Waad: "First, my Lord Cobham confesseth it; and, after, he had revoked it. Yet now he revoked it again. To me he always said that the drift of it was against the King's title."

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Lord Chief Justice: "Brooke, which was a learned man, said it was against the King's title."

Ralegh: "I protest, before God and His works, I gave him not the book."

At this point of the trial Sir Robert Wrothe, one of the Jury, made some remark which is not recorded, otherwise than as follows:

Attorney-General Coke: "My Lords, I must complain of Sir Robert Wrothe. He saith this evidence is not material."

Sir Robert Wrothe: "I never spake the words, as Mr. Attorney replied. Let Mr. Serjeant Phillips testify whether he heard them."

Whereupon one of the Commissioners answered, "I will give my word for Sir Robert Wrothe."[1]

Sir Robert Wrothe: "I will speak as truly as you, Mr. Attorney. For, by God, I never said it."

Lord Chief Justice: "Wherefore should this book be burnt?"

Ralegh: "I never burnt it."

Mr. Serjeant Phillips: "You presented your friend with it, when he was discontented. If it had been before the Queen's death, it had been a less matter. But you gave it him presently, when he came from the King,—which was the time of his discontentment."

Ralegh: "Here is a book supposed to be treasonable. I never read it, nor commended it, nor urged it. [2] [I

[1] According to other MSS., this observation was made by Lord Cecil. Such remarks *from the bench*—like that about Brooke's "learning" a moment before—on a trial for life or death, are, in their way, as characteristic as is the language of Coke. They display, as if in sunlight, the temper in which the prosecution was conducted. But probably they did the prisoner not a whit of harm.

[2] The paragraphs within brackets are taken from MS. Harl. fol. 296, verso.

will tell your Lordships how I came to it, and what little account I made of it. I had it out of a Councillor's library long since. It was written, above twenty-six years past, by a lawyer and dedicated to a stranger."

[Sir Walter being here pressed to state from what Councillor he had it, answered:—"From my Lord Treasurer Burghley."

[*Lord Cecil, to Sir Walter Ralegh:* "You may remember that after the death of my father, you desired the having of some cosmographical maps and books of that kind concerning discoveries of the Indies and Western parts. I allowed you a search; but if, under colour of this, you extended the liberty to other things I meant not, you abused my trust. To find a book of that kind there, was not hard. For no book that touched the State; nay, scarce a libel that in the Queen's time had been spread against the State, but amongst those papers it might have been found—he being a Councillor of State—and so, perhaps, may be yet found with me. Therefore let it not seem strange to any that such a book was found there. But you did wrong, Sir Walter Ralegh, to take it thence."

See Cecil's memorandum, on the back of a letter of May 1603; Vol. II. p. 448, note.

[*Sir Walter Ralegh:* "There was no purpose in taking that book. But amongst other books and maps it seems it was cast in. Upon sorting of the papers afterwards, it came to my hand. It was a manuscript, written upon by my Lord Treasurer,—'*This book had I of Robert Savage.*'[1] The scope of the book is to justify the late Queen's proceedings against the Queen of Scots. But I marvel it should be now urged as a matter so treasonable in me to have such books; when it is well known that there came out nothing in those times but I had them, and might as freely have them as another. How

See Chap. XV., p. 291 (in reference to Higington's tract).

[1] In some MSS. this name reads '*Snagge*,' and, I think, rightly.

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my Lord Cobham came by this book I know not, but I remember that it lay upon my board at a time when he was with me;[1] . . . . but at this time I knew of no discontentment he was troubled with."

[*Lord Henry Howard:* "I remember well that I, being sent to take the Lord Cobham's confession, pressed him about that book. He suddenly brake out into a great passion, and said: 'A man is unhappy that must accuse his friend. I had the book of Sir Walter Ralegh. He made no account of it, but said it was against the King's title.' Now, Sir Walter Ralegh, you being questioned what it concerned, said it concerned only the justifying of the late Queen's criminal proceedings against the late Queen of Scots, and nothing against the King's title; and (that) you never gave it my Lord Cobham, but, it lying upon your table, my Lord Cobham might take it. Hereupon my Lord, being afterwards examined, retracted what before he had said; and now said that it contained nothing against the King's title, and that he had it not from Sir Walter Ralegh, but took it from his table, when he was sleeping."[2]]

Attorney-General Coke: "Cobham saith that Kemishe came to him with a letter, torn; and did wish him not to be dismayed, for one witness could not hurt him."

Ralegh: "This poor man hath been close prisoner these eighteen weeks. He was offered the rack, to make him confess. I never sent any such message by him.

[1] Here the statement about the challenge of Sir Amias Preston is repeated.

[2] After the speech of Lord Henry Howard, the reporter himself, in MS. Harl. xxxix., inserts this remark: "The matter of the book was much stood upon, and spent much day. In the end, the force of this evidence stood upon the time when it [the book] was delivered to my Lord Cobham. It appeared plainly, by my Lord Cobham himself, it was after his return from the King, when Sir Walter could not but know of his discontentment, though it was causeless."

I only did write to Cobham, to tell him what I had done with Mr. Attorney; I having of his at that time the great pearl and a diamond."

Lord Henry Howard: "No circumstance moveth me more than this: Kemishe was never at the rack. The King gave charge that no rigour should be used."

The other Commissioners: "We protest, before God, there was no such matter, to our knowledge."

Ralegh: "Was not the keeper of the rack sent for; and he [Keymis] threatened with it?"

Sir William Waad: "When Mr. Solicitor and myself came to examine Kemishe, we told him he 'deserved the rack,' but did not threaten him with it."

The other Commissioners: "It was more than we knew."

Then another passage from Cobham's Examinations was read, wherein he said: "Kemishe brought him a letter from Ralegh, and that part which was concerning the Lords of the Council was rent out,—'that he was examined, and cleared him [*i.e.* Cobham] of all;' and that the Lord Henry Howard said, 'Because he [Cobham] was discontented, he was fit to be on the action.'[1] And, further, that Kemishe said to him, from Ralegh, that he should 'be of good comfort, for one witness could not condemn for treason.'"

Lord Cecil, to Sir Walter Ralegh: "My Lord Cobham was asked whether he heard from you; and he said, 'Every day.'"

Ralegh: "Kemishe added more. I never bade him speak those words."

1 In MS. Harl. this statement about Howard reads thus: "My Lord Harry had made a syllogism against him [Cobham]:—'Because you were discontented, therefore you were likely to enter into an action of treason.'" (Fol. 298.)

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Here the Attorney-General sought again to interrupt Ralegh in his defence.

Lord Cecil: "This is his last discourse. Give him leave, Master Attorney."

Ralegh, resuming: "I am accused concerning Arabella; and concerning money out of Spain. My Lord Chief Justice saith a man may be condemned without witness. Cobham is guilty of many things. '*Conscientia mille testes.*' He hath accused himself. What can he hope for? But mark, my Lords,—vouchsafe me but this grace, Let him be brought, being alive and in the house [hard by[1]], let him avow any of these speeches; and I will confess the whole indictment, and renounce the King's mercy."

Lord Cecil: "Here hath been a touch of the law.[2] Arabella Stuart is[3] kinswoman to the King. Let us not scandal the innocent, by confusion of speeches. She is as innocent of all these things as I, or any man here. Only she received a letter from Lord Cobham to prepare, which she laughed at, and sent it to the King.[4] So far was she from discontentment, that she laughed him to scorn. But you see how far the Count Arenbergh did consent."[5]

Lord Admiral Nottingham, "being in a standing with

[1] The words within brackets occur in MS. Harl., but are omitted in Rolls House MS. [2] So in Rolls House MS. [3] MS. '*was.*'

[4] "A letter was once written to her, but she no way entertained [MS. 'interlined'] it; but presently acquainted the King therewith." (MS. Harl. fol. 298, verso.)

[5] So in Rolls House MS. In MS. Harl.—"For Count Arembrecke, it is not to be noted what others said to him, or presumed of him; but how far he consented or approved. For this is a matter of State." And then follows, from the reporter, this remark: "The day was by this time well spent, and all parties desirous to draw the matter to a point. After a while's silence, Sir Walter Ralegh used this speech;" and then come, in substance, but with many variations of phrase, the paragraphs beginning, "The Lord Cobham hath accused me," &c. (P. 425.)

the Lady Arabella:" "The Lady doth here protest, upon her salvation, that she never dealt in any of these things."

Lord Cecil: "The Lord Cobham wrote to the Lady Arabella to know if he might come to speak with her; and gave her to understand that there were some about the King who laboured to disgrace her.[1] She doubted it was but a trick. But Brooke said his brother moved him to procure Arabella to write letters to the King of Spain; but he saith he never did it."

Ralegh: "The Lord Cobham hath accused me,—you see in what manner he hath forsworn it.[2] Were it not for his accusations, all this were nothing. Let him be asked if I knew of the letters which Renzy brought to him from Arenbergh. Let me speak for my life. It can be no hurt for him to be brought. He dareth not excuse[3] me. If you grant me not this favour, I am strangely used. Campion was not denied to have his accusers face to face."

Lord Chief Justice: "Though he [Cobham] must needs have justice, the acquitting of his old friend may move him to speak otherwise than the truth."

Ralegh: "I have been 'the infuser of these treasons into him'! You, Gentlemen of the Jury, mark this: He said, I have been the cause of all his miseries and the destruction of his house; and that all the evil hath happened to him by my wicked counsel. If this be truth, whom hath he cause to accuse and to be revenged on, but on me? And I know him to be as revengeful as any man on earth."

1 Compare, with this significant passage, Lady Arabella's own statements, a few months earlier, as they appear in the Letter printed in Appendix v. of Vol. II.

2 So in MS.; but, probably, a clerical error for '*himself*'

3 So in MS. Qy. for '*accuse*'?

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Coke: "He is a party, and may not come. The law is against it."

Ralegh: "It is a toy to tell me of law. I defy law. I stand on the facts."

Lord Cecil: "I am afraid my often speech, who am inferior to my Lords here in presence, will make the world think I delight to hear myself talk. My affection to you, Sir Walter Ralegh, was not extinguished but slacked, in regard of your defects. You know the reason[1]—to which your mind doth not contest—that my Lord Cobham cannot be brought."

Ralegh: "He may be, my Lord."

Lord Cecil: "But dare you challenge it?"

Ralegh: "Now."

Attorney-General Coke: "You say that my Lord Cobham, your main accuser, must come to accuse you. You say that he hath retracted. What the validity of all this is, is merely left to the Jury. Let me only ask you this:—If my Lord Cobham will say you are the only instigator of him to procced in the treasons, dare you put yourself on this?"

Ralegh: "If he will speak it, before God and the King, that ever I knew of Arabella's matter for the money out of Spain, or of the 'surprising treason,' I put myself on it. God's will and the King's be done with me."

Lord Henry Howard: "How if he speak things equivalent to that you have said?"

Ralegh: "Yes; in a main point."

Lord Cecil: "If he say you have been the instigator

[1] MS. reads '*realme.*' The sentence is entirely omitted in MS. Harl., but in that report appear these important words: "I would know of my Lords the Judges if it might not stand with the order of our proceedings to take a further time, and know his Majesty's pleasure in that which is desired." (Fol. 306.)

of him to deal with the Spanish King, had not the Council cause to draw you hither?"

Ralegh: "I put myself on it."

Lord Cecil: "Then call to God, Sir Walter, and prepare yourself, for I do verily believe my Lord will prove this. Excepting your fault, I am your friend. The great passion in you, and the Attorney's zeal for the King's service, make me speak thus."

Ralegh: "Whosoever is the workman, it is reason he should give account of his work to the workmaster.[1] But let it be proved that he acquainted me with any of his conference with Arenbergh."

Lord Cecil: "That follows not. If I set you a work, and you give me no account, am I therefore innocent?"

Coke: "For Arabella, I said she was never acquainted with the matter. Now that Ralegh hath had conference in all these treasons it is manifest. The Jury hath heard out the matter. There is one Dyer, a pilot, that being in Lisbon met with a Portugal gentleman, which asked him if the King of England were crowned yet. To whom he answered: 'I think not yet, but he shall be shortly.' 'Nay,' saith the Portugal, 'that shall he never be, for his throat will be cut by Don Ralegh and Don Cobham, before he be crowned.'"[2]

Hereupon Dyer was called. He deposed, upon oath, to the hearing of those words in a conversation at Lisbon.

Ralegh: "What infer you upon that?"

Coke: "That your treason hath wings."

Ralegh: "If Cobham did practise with Arenbergh,

[1] In MS. Harl. this sentence is put into an earlier part of the proceedings, and Lord Cecil's rejoinder upon it is omitted.

[2] The reporter in MS. Harl. here adds, in his own person: "And this, in time, was found to be spoken in mid-July." (Fol. 306.)

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how could it not be known in Spain? Why did they name the Duke of Bucks with Jack Straw? It was to countenance his treasons. [*Then, turning to the Jury:*] Consider, you Gentlemen of the Jury, there is no cause so doubtful which the King's counsel cannot make good against the law. Consider my disability and their ability. They prove nothing against me.[1] Only they bring the accusation of my Lord Cobham, which he hath lamented and repented, as heartily as if it had been a horrible murder. For he knew that all this sorrow which should come to me is by his means. Presumptions must proceed from precedent or subsequent facts. I have spent £40,000 against the Spaniard. I have not purchased £40 a year. If I had died in Guiana, I had not left three hundred marks a year to my wife and son. I that have always condemned the Spanish faction—methinks it is a strange thing that now I should affect it! Remember what St. Austin saith: '*Sic judicatis tanquam ab alio mox judicandi.*' Now if you would be content, on presumptions, to be delivered to the slaughter; to have your wives and children turned into the streets to beg their bread;—if you would be contented to be so judged, judge so of me."

THE SUMMING-UP FOR THE PROSECUTION.

Serjeant Phillips: "I hope to make this so clear, as that the wit of man shall have no colour to answer it. The matter is treason in the highest degree; the end, to deprive the King of his Crown. The particular treasons are these: first, to raise up rebellion and—to effect that—to procure money to raise up tumults in Scotland, by

[1] MS. Harl. reads: "There is no cause so weak, nor title so bad, but these men, by wit or learning, can maintain it for good; and that against men of their own profession. I beseech you, therefore, consider their abilities and my weaknesses. For all that is said yet, you see that my only accuser is the Lord Cobham, who, with tears, hath repented and lamented his false accusing me." (Fol. 306, verso.)

divulging a treasonable book against the King's right to the Crown; the purpose, to take the life of his Majesty and his issue. Sir Walter Ralegh confesseth my Lord Cobham guilty of all these treasons. The question is, Whether he [Ralegh] be guilty, as joining with him or instigating of him? The course to prove this was my Lord Cobham's accusation. If that be true, he is guilty. If not, he is clear. So, whether Cobham say true, or Ralegh, that is the question. Ralegh hath no answer. Of as much wit as the wit of man can devise,[1]—he useth his bare denial. A denial of the defendant must not move the Jury. In the Star Chamber or in the Chancery, for matter of title, if a defendant be called in question, his denial on his oath is no evidence to the Court to clear him;—he doth it *in propriâ causâ;*—therefore much less in matter of treason."

Ralegh: "If truth be constant, and constancy be in truth, why hath he forsworn that he hath said? You have not proved any one thing by direct proofs; but all by circumstances."

Coke: "Have you done? The King must have the last."

Ralegh: "Nay, Master Attorney, he which speaketh for his life must speak last. False repetitions and mistakings must not mar my cause. You should speak *secundum allegatum et probatum.* I appeal to God and the King on this point, whether Cobham's accusation be sufficient to condemn me."

[1] So in MS. In the Harleian report—which embraces an elaborate summary of the points in the several depositions which told against Ralegh—this passage is omitted. The merely recapitulatory part of Phillips' speech is too long for insertion here. But it is to be noted that this report makes Phillips' address to the Jury end with these words:—"When one, accusing another, excuses not himself, but condemns himself, his testimony is as violent as the verdict of twelve men."—MS. HARL. xxxix. fol. 319, verso.

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THE INTERCOURSE BETWEEN RALEGH AND COBHAM IN THE TOWER.

Attorney-General: "The King's safety and your clearing cannot agree. I protest I never knew a clearer treason. [[1] And now see what it hath pleased God to work in the heart of my Lord Cobham,—even since his coming to Winchester,—which we knew not of. The Lord Cobham hath confessed that, about four days before his coming from the Tower, there passed intelligence betwixt him and Ralegh.] Ralegh had an apple and pinned a letter to it, and threw it into my Lord Cobham's window,—the content whereof was this: 'It is doubtful whether we shall be proceeded with, or no. Perhaps, now, you shall not be tried.' That was to get a retractation. It was Adam's apple, whereby the Devil did deceive him. Further, he wrote this: 'Do not as my Lord of Essex did; take heed of a preacher. By his persuasion, he confessed, and made himself guilty.' I doubt not but this day God shall have as great a conquest by this traitor, and the Son of God shall be as much glorified, as when it was said, '*Vicisti, Galilee!*'—you know my meaning. Though Cobham retracted, yet he could not rest nor sleep till he had confirmed. Yet

[1] The passage within brackets does not occur in Rolls House MS. That report—immediately after Coke's words, "I never knew a clearer treason"—continues thus:—

Ralegh: "I never had intelligence with Cobham, since he came to the Tower."

Coke: "Go to! I will lay thee upon thy back for the confidentest traitor that ever came to a bar! Why should you take 8,000 crowns?"

Lord Cecil: "Be not so impatient, good Master Attorney; give him leave to speak."

Coke: "If I may not be patiently heard, you will encourage traitors and discourage us. I am the King's sworn servant, and must speak. If he be guilty, he is an odious traitor; if not, deliver him."

Here, says the reporter, the Attorney-General sat down, and would speak no more, till the Commissioners urged and entreated him to go on.

Coke to Sir W. Ralegh: "You had intelligence with Cobham within four days before he came from the Tower."

again, if this be not enough to prove him a traitor, the King my master shall not live three years to an end."

Cobham's letter[1] was then read, the reading being

[1] To bring before the reader whatever value may be thought to subsist, either in Cobham's retractations of the charge made in July, or in that November repetition of it which was thus scenically produced by Coke, I print them side by side; with this preliminary remark :—Immediately *after* Ralegh's conviction, Cobham declared himself to have lied in the original charge; to have lied in the retractations of the charge; and to have lied in the repetition of it. He then told a new tale. The accusation on which Ralegh was tried, had it been true, admitted of corroborative proof. No such proof was offered to the Jury. The accusation which Cobham substituted, after the trial, rested, and it still rests, upon Cobham's word.

Cobham's Letter to the Lords.

"I have thought itt fitt in duty to my Soveraigne, and in discharge of my conscience, to sett this downe to your Lordshipps, wherein I protest, upon my soule, to write nothing but what is true. For I am not ignorant of my present condition, and now to dissemble with God is noe time.

"Sir Walter Ralegh, four nights before my comeing from the Tower, writt to me desiring me to sett it downe under my hand,—and send to him an acknowledgement under my hand, that I had wronged him; and that I should heerein renounce what I had formerly accused him of. I since have thought how he went about only to cleere himself by betraying of me. Whereupon I have resolved to sett downe the truth, and under my hand to retract what he cunningly gott from me; craveing humble pardon of His Majestie and your Lordshipps for my double dealing.

"His first letter I made no answere to. The next day he wrote me another, praying me, for God's cause, as I pittied him, his wife, and children, that I would answere him in the points he sett downe; putting me in hope that

Cobham's Letters to Ralegh.

I.

"Seeing myself so near my end,—for the discharge of my own conscience and freeing myself from your blood, which else will cry vengeance against me,—I protest upon my salvation I never practised with Spain by your procurement. God so comfort me in this my affliction, as you are a true subject, for any thing that I know. I will say as Daniel, *Purus sum a sanguine hujus* [Dan. xiii. 46: "Et exclamavit voce magnâ, '*Mundus ego sum a sanguine hujus.*'" Vulgate]. So God have mercy on my soul as I know no treason by you.

"Henry Cobham."

II.

"Now that the araignment drawes neere; not knowing which should be first, I or you; to cleere my conscience, satisfie the world, and free myselfe from the cry of your blood, I protest upon my soule, and before God

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twice or thrice interrupted by exclamations from Coke—"Is not this a Spanish heart in an English body?" and the like. After the reading, he continued his speech.

Coke: "O damnable Atheist! He [Ralegh] hath learned some text of Scripture to serve his own purpose, but falsely alleged. He counsels him [Cobham] not to

the proceedings against me would be staid.

"With the like truth, I will proceed and tell you my dealeings towards Count Ar[enbergh] to gett him a pension of £1500 *per annum* for intelligence; and he would always tell and advertise what was intended against Spaine; for the Low Countries; or with France. And comeing from Greenewich one night, he acquainted me [with] what was agreed upon betwixt the King and the Low Countrymen, that I should impart itt to Count Ar[enbergh]. But upon this mocion for £1500 *per annum*, for Intelligence, I never dealt with Count Ar[enbergh]. Now, as by this may appeare to your Lordshipps, he hath bin the original cause of my ruin. For, but by his instigation, I had never dealt with Count Ar[enbergh]. And so hath he bin the only cause of my discontentment: I never comeing from the Count but still he filled and possessed me with new causes of discontentments. To conclude: In his last letter he advised me that I should not be overtaken, by confessing to any partickuler. For the King would better allow my constant denyall then my after-appealeing. For my after-accuseing would but add matter to my former offence."—MS. HARL. xxxix. fol. 320, verso.

The *first* of the letters printed in the opposite column I take from a transcript in which Cobham's spelling has not been preserved.

and his angells, I never had conference with you in any treason; nor was ever moved by you to the things I heeretofore accused you of. And, for anything I knowe, you are as innocent and as cleere from any treasons against the King, as is any subject living. Therefore I wash my hands and pronounce, '*Purus sum a sanguine hujus.*' And so God deale with me and have mercy on my soule as this is true." — MS. HARL. xxxix. fol. 321, and verso. It needs remark that the Report in MS. COTTON, Titus, C vii. adds to Ralegh's words, "I sent him his letter again because I heard that he should be arraigned first," these important words: "and desired him to publish my innocencye at his arraignment. But yet, notwithstanding, he writ to me again; which letter I have in my hand indeed. I beseech your Lordships that it may be read. It was all my hope, I confess."—*Relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's Arraignment.* MS. COTT. Titus, C vii. fol. 92. The same reporter says of this letter, that "Master Attorney would not have had it read. But my Lord Cecil said, 'Mar not a good cause.'" —Ibid.

be led by the counsels of preachers, as Essex was.—He died the child of God. God honoured him at his death. [*Then, to Ralegh:*] Thou wast by. '*Et lupus et turpes instant morientibus ursæ.*' He died, indeed, for his offence against the law. The King himself spake these words: 'He that shall say that Essex died not for treason is punishable.'"

Ralegh: "You have heard a strange tale of a strange man. Now he hath matter enough to destroy. But the King and all you shall witness by our deaths which of us was the ruin of others. I bade a poor fellow throw in the apple at his window, written to this purpose, 'You know you have undone me; now write three lines to justify me. In this I will die, that you have done me wrong.' He goeth forward. Why did he not acquaint me with his treasons, if I acquainted him with my disposition?"

Attorney-General Coke: "But what say you now to the letter?"

Ralegh: "I say that Cobham is a base, dishonourable, poor soul."

Attorney-General: "Is he base? I return it into thy throat, on his behalf. But for thee he had been a good subject."

This strange scene in a drama full of surprises and startling episodes is somewhat differently represented by that reporter whose account of the trial has been transcribed into the Harleian manuscript. His assertion that "this confession gave a great satisfaction, and cleared all the former evidence, which before stood very doubtful,"—if intended for anything more than an expression of personal opinion,—stands in direct conflict with the testimony of Dudley Carleton and of other

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competent auditors. What the reporter subsequently says of the effect of it upon Ralegh himself is more to the point. His misrepresentation of the effect produced on the auditory at large may have originated in malice to the prisoner, or in mere error of judgment. His circumstantial account of Ralegh's bearing and words has an air of truth about it. "At this confession," the reporter writes, "Sir Walter Ralegh was much amazed, but by and by he seemed to gather his spirits again, and spoke thus:"

[[1] *Ralegh:* "I pray you hear me in a word, and you shall see how many souls this Cobham hath. And the King shall judge, by our deaths, which of us is the perfidious man. Before my Lord Cobham's coming from the Tower, I was advised by some of my friends to get a confession from him. Therefore, I wrote to him thus: 'You or I must go to trial. If I first, then your accusation is the only evidence against me.' It was not ill of me to beg him to say truth. But his first letter was not to my contenting. I writ a second, and then he writ me a very good letter. But I sent him word I found[2] Mr. Lieutenant of the Tower might be blamed, if it were discovered that letters [had] passed. Though, I protest, Sir George Harvey is not to blame for what passed. No keeper in the world could so provide but it might happen. So I sent him the letter again, with this—'It is likely, now, that you shall be first tried;' but the Lord Cobham sent to me again, 'It is not unfit you had such a letter.' And here you may see it; and I pray you, read it. Therefore, whereas I am accused to be a traitor, I will prove myself to the end, and in the end, a true subject and an honest man, and that Cobham is a base, false, silly, perjured soul."]

[1] See p. 430, note. [2] Probably a transcriber's error, for '*feared*.'

Here Ralegh produced the second letter of retractation which Cobham had written to him in the Tower. At his request, it was read aloud, by Lord Cecil, to whom the task was assigned, because of his familiarity with Cobham's hand. After that reading Sir Walter Ralegh spoke thus: ["Now, my masters, you have heard both. That shewed against me is but a voluntary confession. This is under oath, and the deepest protestations a Christian man can make. Therefore believe which of these hath most force."] The Jury then retired, in the custody, as usual, of a marshal of the Court; but stayed, says the reporter, "not above a quarter of an hour," before they returned with a verdict of 'Guilty.' After the demand of judgment, and the usual challenge from the Clerk of the Crown, Ralegh said:—"My Lords, the Jury hath found me guilty. They must do as they are directed. I can say nothing why judgment should not proceed. You see whereof Cobham hath accused me. You remember his protestation that I was never guilty. I desire the King should know the wrong I have been done to, since I came hither."

Lord Chief Justice Popham: "You have had no wrong, Sir Walter."

Ralegh: "Yes; of the Attorney. I desire the Lords to remember three things to the King: I was accused to be a practiser with Spain.—I never knew that my Lord Cobham meant to go thither. I will ask no mercy at the King's hands, if he will affirm it. Secondly, I never knew of the practices with Arabella. Thirdly, I never knew of my Lord Cobham's practice with Arenbergh, nor of the 'surprising' treason."

SPEECH OF C. J. POPHAM, ON PASSING SENTENCE.

Chief Justice Popham then gave judgment. He used a brutality of language and a craftiness of insinuation which would have been not unworthy of the talents of

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Coke or of Waad. He knew that he could not be answered, and gave the reins to his coarse nature. The auditors speak like one man of Ralegh's demeanour beneath the crowning insult of the judge, as previously under the invective of the Attorney-General. One of them—referring to an earlier incident of the trial, when Coke's gushing epithets appear to have been coupled with some rude gesture or other—relates that "the bystanders began to hiss, and Master Attorney to be something daunted." But nothing, it seems, could daunt Popham. To give a savour of variety to the abuse of Ralegh, the Chief Justice dragged into his judgment the name of one of Ralegh's friends. His words are variously reported. But either he applied to the illustrious mathematician, Thomas Harriot, the epithet 'devil' ("that devil Harriot"), or he said that Harriot's opinions were devilish. It had never been suggested that Harriot was, in any way, connected with the plots. For all that appears upon the reports, no one had before uttered his name during the trial. But Coke had forgotten to apply the word 'devil' to the prisoner. And Popham was able so to apply it to the prisoner's friend, as to carry an insinuation that the man whom a Jury had just found guilty of betraying his King had previously denied his God.

Letter, written from Winchester, in *Domestic Corresp.* James I. vol. vi. § 37, p. 4. (R. H.)

After sentence of death had passed, Ralegh approached that part of the bench on which Cecil and the other lay-Commissioners sat, and spoke privately to one or two of them. Few, if any, of the audience at the trial were so connected with members of the Court as to be in a better position to learn, immediately afterwards, what was then said than was Dudley Carleton, whose account has been often printed If that account

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is to be trusted, Ralegh reiterated his previous message to the King, and added a request that, if pardon should be refused, "Cobham might die first." As the one demand to which he had consistently clung, amidst all the dramatic changes and incidents of that eventful day, was—'*Let me have Cobham face to face*,' so at this final moment he gave but another form of expression to the one tacit assertion which underlay that demand,—'*Cobham is a false and cowardly accuser. He can face neither me, nor death, without acknowledging his falsehood.*' It is possible that Ralegh's persistency on this point may even have been increased by one of the phrases which fell from Popham when passing sentence. It may now seem scarcely credible, but it is none the less true, that a Lord Chief Justice, in the act of pronouncing doom, found a reason for the non-appearance of the accuser, and prefaced it with the words, "It now comes into my mind, why you cannot have Cobham."

Carleton to Chamberlain, Nov. 27, 1603; MS. Wharton, vol. lxxx. (Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

There would be small advantage in adding to the length of this narrative of Ralegh's trial by adducing from it arguments for or against the guilt of the accused. On one main point, indeed, there has long ceased to be room for argument. Lawyers of the highest competency, and of successive generations,—coming to the study of the case at long intervals of time, and after fresh accretions of evidence,—have echoed the trite assertion: 'The justice of England has never been so injured and degraded as by the condemnation of Sir Walter Ralegh.' That statement, as we have already seen, was first made (and made, it is believed, on his death-bed) by one of the very judges on whom the responsibility of so degrading English law rests. But the manifest injustice of

MR. JUSTICE GAWDY ON THE TRIAL OF RALEGH.

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a conviction is quite a different thing from the absolute innocence of the person accused. Obviously, a guilty man may have been condemned iniquitously.

It has been endeavoured in this chapter to put the reader, as nearly as possible, in the position of an auditor of what passed at the trial. For this purpose, a few repetitions have been permitted to remain in the narrative, just as they occur in the contemporary reports of the proceedings. The statements of the different reporters and eye-witnesses have been compared. Where other things seemed equal, the version least favourable to the prisoner has been set forth.

If it be evident, on the face of the reports, that Ralegh was convicted of treason only by a gross violation of law, it is also evident—not only by the reports, but by his own admissions,—that he had betrayed more than one duty, in listening to Cobham. That, in any sense of the word, he "instigated" Cobham's treasonable schemes is mere unsupported assertion. There is no atom of proof. That he "failed, both in friendship and in judgment," is his own confession; and it understates his fault. But that he ever contemplated the putting of Arabella Stuart in the place of James Stuart is not only non-proven: it is against every probability of circumstance, as well as against every fair presumption of self-interest. That in any particular, or for any purpose, he ever contemplated betraying an English interest in favour of the interests of Spain is against the evidence of all the preceding acts, and of all the subsequent acts, of his life. The really unsolved problem is this,—What was Ralegh's impelling motive in giving ear to Cobham? That he was covetous of money, as well as of power, is an answer but in part.

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THE ALLEGED PLOT TO LAND SPANISH TROOPS AT MILFORD.

When Cobham's new and wild story that Ralegh had proposed to him to procure "the landing of a Spanish army at Milford Haven" was, in its amplified form, first told at Winchester—subsequently to Ralegh's own trial and conviction—something else had passed, the details of which are not now known. Had that story been so told before the trial, it would perhaps have caused the taking of new ground for the prosecution.[1] Some days after his own conviction, and after Cobham's, Sir Walter wrote thus to the Lords Commissioners: "The first accusation, for which I was committed, indicted, and arraigned, *your Lordships do know to be false*, and yet it was by your Lordships most constantly believed. And my Lord Chief Justice avowed that it could not be otherwise, because the Lord Cobham accused himself also therein. *Then*, my Lords, if I had perished, *you all find that I had perished innocent;* and that the presumption of the money was also inferred against me, and yet neither true. . . . . If this matter of Milford had been true, what needed the Lord Cobham to have invented a treason against me, which was not true?" The question has yet to get its answer.

Letter CXIX. November [not 'Oct.' as printed] 1603.

[1] On this point, the reader should refer to the '*Abstract of the Treasons*,' printed in Appendix vi. of Vol. II. That Abstract was, I think, drawn up (by Coke) as early as in the August of 1603. The original is at the Rolls House. In all probability, the Milford Haven implement was really forged upon an anvil quite other than Lord Cobham's.

CHAPTER XX.

FARCE AFTER TRAGEDY,—A COURT 'BESPEAK,' ENACTED ON THE SCAFFOLD AT WINCHESTER.

DECEMBER, 1603.

Execution of the Priests, and of George Brooke.—Brooke's Behaviour during his last Moments.—The Count of Beaumont's Account of the King's long Hesitation as to the Fate of Ralegh, Cobham, and Grey.—Ralegh's urgent Entreaties for his Life.—The Preliminaries of the Mock-Execution Scene.—Mission of John Gibb from Wilton to Winchester.—Successive Appearances of Markham and Grey on the Scaffold, and their Withdrawal into 'Prince Arthur's Hall' on pretence of Respite.—The Sheriff's Address to Cobham; and the Meeting of the three Conspirators upon the Scaffold. — The Scene in the King's Audience Chamber at Wilton.—The Reflections of Henry IV. on James' Conduct.

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EXECUTION OF WATSON AND CLERKE.

THE two priests, Watson and Clerke,—the near coincidence, in point of time, of whose plot for seizing the King with the insane projects of Lord Cobham had so fatally influenced Ralegh's trial, as well as Cobham's,—were executed at Winchester, in the beginning of December. Watson expressed great contrition for his crime. It is said that when he was brought to the scaffold he uttered a wish that he had more lives than one to offer up, so that he might lose a life for every man who, by his treachery, had been drawn into treason. His comrade, Clerke, evinced a very different state of mind. What he did not deny, he attempted to justify, and affected to regard himself as a martyr for his religion. Both he and Watson, according to the testimony

of Dudley Carleton, who saw the execution, were cut down alive, in literal accordance with their sentence. Carleton adds that Clerke "both strove to help himself, and spake, after he was cut down." The quarters of these traitors were placed over the gates of the city, and their heads upon one of the turrets of the Castle. The execution of George Brooke followed on the 6th of the same month. In his case, some of the barbarities of the treason-law were remitted.

INCIDENTS OF BROOKE'S DEATH, AND HIS LAST WORDS.

It is reported of Brooke, by more than one of his contemporaries, that the first occasion of the discontent which put him in training for conspiracy was the failure of a pet scheme of personal aggrandizement. He had hoped, by means of his high connexions at Court, to get the lucrative Mastership of the Hospital of St. Cross. If the fact were really so, his death had an additional drop of bitterness, in the circumstance that from the scaffold he had full in his view the mediæval institution —founded with far other views than reparation of the fortunes of spendthrift courtiers—the rule of which he had vainly coveted. Most of the accounts of his execution affirm that, in his last moments, he said nothing indicative of the obdurate and revengeful mind which had been displayed so persistently in his depositions. His end is usually represented as having been greatly in contrast with his life. But there is evidence that from the day of his apprehension to the day of his death, inclusive, he was, in one point, self-consistent. Vaguely, but uniformly, he spoke of a mystery as underlying the plot for which he suffered, and said that at some future time it would surely come to light. Almost his last words on the scaffold were these: "There is somewhat yet hidden, which will one day appear for my justification." When the headsman had done his work, he uttered

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the usual cry, *God save the King!* It was noted that one voice only was heard to respond. That was the voice of Sir Benjamin Tichborne, the Sheriff.

The French ambassador, De Beaumont, quoted Brooke's final words when he wrote his next despatch to Paris, with the remark: "At first, it caused some alarm at this Court, but as nothing occurred to confirm it, the alarm passed away." Something else, it seems, was also said by Brooke, immediately before his execution, which strongly moved Lord Cecil's mind. But that utterance, whatever its import, was not made within public earshot, although it was carefully reported to the Government. Cecil,—when writing to his fellow-councillor, Lord Shrewsbury, a few days later,—refers to it as "a base and viperous accusation,—unpleasant for many respects; but not divulged." He says nothing of the nature of the calumny; adding merely his fear that "as Brooke lived, so he died.—God forgive his soul!"

Cecil to Shrewsbury; *Talbot Papers*, at Heralds' College (printed by Lodge).

De Beaumont's letter to Henry the Fourth about the circumstances of Brooke's execution goes on to represent, with not a little minuteness, the perplexity and irresolution of mind with which, as the ambassador believed, James had been pondering and balancing,—almost to the moment at which the despatch was in preparation,—over the fate of Ralegh and of the other accused and convicted persons who were still alive. That letter was written, according to English reckoning, on the 8th of December. It had not long been sent off, before the writer himself came to know the fact that James' mind had for a day or two at least been much more busy with planning the details of a comedy, of which the principal scenes were to be enacted upon the scaffold at Winchester, whilst a by-scene or two were in-

tended to enliven the Court itself at Wilton. The Count of Beaumont's letter may, perhaps, give a tolerably accurate view of the King's wavering between a course of clemency and one of rigour, if we give it a date some days earlier. Its main interest, however, lies in the fact that when it is put side by side with other evidence it fixes on the King a deliberate contrivance of all the petty artifices that turned a scaffold—around which men had gathered to see traitors die—into a stage for the exhibition of tricks and transformations, some of which would have better befitted the booth of Harlequin and Pantaloon.

"The King," continues Beaumont, "has been occupied for some days past, in hearing and considering the indictments and trials; having ordered, for the satisfaction of his conscience, that the whole should be reported to him, point by point, to the end that he might fully inform himself of the matter. The motives to mercy, and the reasons which urge a strict execution of law, have kept him long in perplexity." He adds that James' irresolution was further prolonged by petitions for mercy from most of the Privy Councillors, whose satisfaction a new King would naturally seek.[1] Despite all these considerations, James' hesitation, he says, came to an end on the preceding day. "The King has now resolved that they shall all die; and has signed the needful warrants." There seems to be no reason to suspect the ambassador's entire good faith in both points of his story. His wishes, indeed, pointed in the same direction

INTERCESSION OF THE COUNCIL.

1 "En partie, les raisons qui se peuvent mettre en avant de part et d'autre, —les uns qui le persuadoient à la clémence, les autres à la justice,—en partie le desir aussi de la pluspart de ceux du Conseil, lesquels il craint d'irriter comme nouveau prince, l'ont tenu assez longuement en perplexité." —*Lettres de Messire Christophe de Harlay*, &c. (MS. in Imperial Library at Paris), Dec. 18, 1603. I quote from attested copies, transcribed in Paris.

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as his report to Henry,—for a reason which will be seen presently. But his letter represents his belief. It also represents the public expectation. Had it been otherwise, the scenic meetings,—first in 'Arthur's Hall,' and then upon the scaffold,—wherein Grey, Markham, and Cobham looked upon each other's faces, as if each had just risen from the dead, would have missed of their full effect.

Harlay de Beaumont to King Henry IV. (MSS. of Imperial Library at Paris); Dec. 1603.

In other letters, Beaumont affirms that he had heard from the King himself that the law would take its course. He also affirms that the Queen had vainly exerted her influence to save Ralegh, in particular; that, on his behalf, considerable bribes had been proffered to Scottish favourites, for their intercession with the King; and that all these efforts had alike failed to shake James' resolution. What the French ambassador says, in this connexion, of like efforts on the part of the Ambassador of Spain,—more expressly in favour of Ralegh,—must of course be read with the due allowance. The bitter hostility existing at this period between the Courts of France and Spain is seen in every allusion by a French statesman to the sayings or doings of a Spaniard. How strongly the Count of Beaumont had taken that ply is shown by the epithets he uses when acquainting his Court with the alleged intervention of Don Juan de Taxis on Ralegh's behalf. And the passage has, for another reason, a deeper interest. How conspicuously and iteratively the offer of 'money from Spain' figured in the trials at Winchester has just been shown. The reader has doubtless noticed, in passing, the peculiar phraseology of one of Lord Henry Howard's questions on that point, addressed to Ralegh,—'Why gave you ear to my Lord Cobham, as to receiving of pensions, in matters you had not to deal in?' That qualification clause is instructive. The passage now to be quoted from

Beaumont's despatches was written just a fortnight after Ralegh's trial. Its writer, too, was at that very time pressing upon his master the necessity of enabling him to offer French gifts and pensions to English statesmen.

INTERCESSION OF THE AMBASSADOR OF SPAIN.

"The Spanish ambassador has spoken strongly to some members of the Council on Sir Walter Ralegh's behalf. Whether it be by mere artifice, or out of shameless impertinence, he makes show of an earnest wish to see all the conspirators saved from death; fearing—in my opinion—that their execution may serve to increase the disaffection of the English towards Spain, and may become an obstacle to the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace. The ambassador makes no scruple to bargain for the Treaty openly; offering pensions and money to the grandees of this kingdom, for the purpose of promoting it. But," adds Beaumont, "as regards the condemned persons, there is reason to think that his intercession will do more harm than good; just as his offers in favour of the Peace will serve to display that weakness and necessity of his Master which induce them, rather than to corrupt and win over this King's Council to support the Treaty." Whatever may have been the measure of fairness with which the French ambassador thus reported Spanish negotiations, it is but too certain that he judged—or, for the moment, affected to judge—over favourably of English indifference to Spanish bribes. The great extent to which they were accepted has long been one of the foulest scandals of a scandalous reign. Evidence of the corruption of some of the statesmen who took a prominent part in the prosecutions of 1603 is old and trite. Recent researches in the archives at Simancas have established, beyond controversy, the fact

Harlay de Beaumont to King Henry IV. (from the MSS. at Paris); Dec. 10 [Nov. 30 Eng. style], 1603.

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that amongst those who lived and died as pensioners of Spain was the Lord Treasurer Salisbury.

THE EXERTIONS ON BEHALF OF RALEGH.

Whilst ambassadors were thus closely watching every word that fell from the lips of the King, or of his Ministers, in relation to the State prisoners at Winchester, and reporting them to their several Courts ; and whilst the wife of Ralegh was besieging Secretary Cecil with passionate entreaties for his intercession with James, Ralegh himself descended to very humble supplication. His wife's entreaties took every form, and were addressed to every quarter that seemed to offer hope. When her anguished nerves and trembling limbs made personal solicitation for the moment impossible to her, she wrote a letter to Lord Cecil, in which every line testifies to impassioned love, and to the agony of mind with which she looked forward to her threatened loss. Ralegh's own eager desire for life was shown as well in his talk with the Bishop of Winchester,—who attended him by the King's order, "to prepare him for death,"—as by earnest and reiterated petitions in the letters which he addressed both to the King and to the Lords of the Council.

Letter VIII. in Appendix i. of Vol. II.

UNWORTHINESS OF RALEGH'S SUIT FOR LIFE.

The urgency of his suit was very unbefitting. To beg for life so humbly accorded as little with his bearing throughout the trial, as with the work and service he had done for his country. If it was in harmony with certain points of character which his career as a courtier had but too strongly developed, it was in salient contrast with the faculties of mind and the qualities of heart which—in spite of all shortcomings—had already won for him a sure place on the roll of English worthies. His unwillingness to die prompted the utterance of a poor sophism about the value of life. "A greater gift,"

he wrote to James, "none can give, none receive, than life." The essential falsehood of that assertion, Ralegh, when master of his powers, well knew. False in every sense, the saying has a peculiar falsity in the connexion in which it stands. Some of the entreaties for mediation contained in other letters jar almost as harshly on the ear. Their writer knew then, with as much certainty as his readers know now, that among those Lords of the Council to whom some of his exuberant supplications were addressed, were men—one or two, at all events—whose souls were as small and as base as Cobham's. Very few days,—possibly but a few hours,—had passed, ere the too lowly suit was keenly regretted. The thought of it, when his mind had regained its tone, came to be more bitter than the thought of death. At a moment when death seemed to have drawn very near, he wrote to Lady Ralegh: "Get those letters, if it be possible, which I wrote to the Lords, wherein I sued for my life. God knows that it was for you and yours that I desired it. But it is true that I disdain myself for begging it."

Letter CXXII. Vol. II. p. 283.

Letter CXXIII. Vol. II. p. 286.

The divines who had it in charge to prepare the prisoners for death were expressly instructed to tell them that remission or commutation of punishment must not be thought of. Another divine—one of the King's Scottish chaplains—preached a sermon before the Court at Wilton, on the day after the execution of George Brooke, in which he treated clemency to traitors as a deadly sin. The King himself took more than one opportunity of telling those of the Councillors who had joined in the petitions for mercy that it would better become them to press for the due course of law. But on the 7th of December—the day on which James had listened to his chaplain's exhortation to continued rigour—

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he drew with his own hand a warrant, addressed to the Sheriff of Hampshire, for stay of the executions. Having drawn that warrant, he kept the fact within his own breast, and the document within his own custody. He signed death-warrants, in the usual form, for Markham, Grey, and Cobham, and sent them to the Sheriff on the 8th, at night. Friday, the 10th, was the day appointed for the executions.

It is not the least notable incident in the story that James affixed to his warrant for reprieve a preamble containing a formal statement about the origin of the plots. As far as it reaches, that statement is in direct conflict with essential parts of the several indictments of Ralegh, Markham, Grey, and Cobham. It is wholly in conflict with the speeches made to the Jury, for the Crown, on the trials of Ralegh and Cobham. In this preamble the King wrote thus:—"The two prestis and George Brooke vaire the principall plotteris and intisairs of all the rest, to the embracing of the saiddis treasonabill machinations." It is a suggestive and pregnant statement, whether true or false.

The fact that the King had any purpose of sparing life was kept, for three days, as secret as were the terms of his privately-drawn warrant. The only person taken into his confidence, prior to the day of execution, was John Gibb, a page, who had just arrived at Wilton from Scotland. The Lords of the Council present at Court, we are told upon good authority, knew not but that execution of the sentences was to proceed, until the very hour appointed for their fulfilment at Winchester.

The Sheriff, Sir Benjamin Tichborne, had been instructed that Markham was to die first; then Grey; and then Cobham. These three executions were to take place at ten o'clock on the morning of the 10th

of December. Ralegh's execution was appointed for the 13th.

When the hour had come, Markham was brought upon the scaffold. In spite of all that had been said to him by the minister who had visited his prison day after day, he had kept up some hopes of life, until the 9th. He had, it seems, received a cheering message from old acquaintances at Court, to which, for a time, he had given more heed than to his spiritual counsellor. But on the preceding day, all expectation of prolonged life had forsaken him. When he reached the scaffold, he complained that he had been deluded with hopes, and brought to his fate unprepared. "One might see in his face," says a bystander, "the very picture of sorrow; but he seemed not to want resolution." A napkin being offered him, by a friend, to cover his face, he refused it, with the words, 'I can look upon death without blushing.' He took his sorrowful leave of friends and lookers-on; knelt down in prayer; and had just made himself ready for the executioner, when a commotion was observed in the crowd, and Sir James Hayes (or Hay), a magistrate, hastily approached Tichborne, the Sheriff. Tichborne, before turning aside to listen to his accoster, made momentary stay of the execution. Markham remained standing on the scaffold. Whatever amazement he may have felt at the abrupt movement of the Sheriff was not shown by any change of feature. His countenance, we are told, remained "sad and heavy." Meanwhile, the observers of the scene were left to form their own conjectures about the cause of the interruption. Conspicuous amongst them was Sir Walter Ralegh, the window of whose room in the Castle commanded a view of the scaffold. Some of the crowd in the Castle-yard had seen the arrival of an unknown Scotchman, in a state

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of evident anxiety, and, as it seemed, bent upon pressing toward the Sheriff, whom he could not reach. They had seen him hurriedly address himself to Sir James Hayes, and, marking what ensued, may have formed some conjecture about a reprieve. If so, they were sure that it had come but in the nick of time. It had been part of the King's plan that his messenger should make his arrival known, only after the first of the prisoners stood upon the scaffold. But it was by an accident, at starting, that the arrival was so much delayed that Markham's neck was almost on the block before the new warrant had reached the hands of the Sheriff.

Ralegh could not see the arrival of the messenger, though he could see all that passed on the scaffold. He must have had "hammers working in his head," says Dudley Carleton, "to beat out the meaning of the stratagem." M. de Beaumont was afterwards told that Sir Walter "beheld the comedy played out by his companions with a smiling face;"[1] but the smiles are improbable, and were seen, I believe, by nobody besides De Beaumont's anonymous informant. Nor is there, it is likely, any better foundation for the ambassador's conjecture that Cobham also had learnt the secret of "the comedy."

When the Sheriff returned, he addressed himself to the condemned man:—"You say, you are ill prepared to die; you shall have two hours 'respite." He then led Markham from the scaffold into the great hall (locally famous as 'Arthur's Hall'), and caused him to be locked in there. Then Lord Grey was brought out of his chamber to the scaffold; knowing no word of what had

[1] "Rallé estoit à la fenestre, regardant la comédie de ses compagnons avec un visage riant," &c.—*Lettres de Christophe de Harlay*, &c. (MSS. of the Imperial Library at Paris).

passed. He was a man much beloved, and the troop of friends who had come to sustain him by their presence, and to witness his end, was such as to put some of those who stood by into mind rather of a bridal than of a funeral. Grey himself had an air of cheerfulness, and even of gaiety. His demeanour, in that respect, presented a most striking contrast to the demeanour of Markham. All the accounts represent him as being prepared to die, and entirely unprepared for what was really about to happen. But one of them notices that when he first put his foot on the scaffold, he spurned the straw with it, as if to see whether there were any marks of blood. Immediately afterwards, he knelt down. Dr. Richard Field—one of quaint Fuller's 'worthies,' and he of whom it is said, in Fullerian phrase, 'his memory smelleth like a field which the Lord hath blessed'—then made a long prayer, and Grey made one which was still longer. "It held us in the rain," complains an impatient auditor, "more than half an hour." He prayed for the King's prosperity; called God to witness that his fault, as respected the King, was "far from the greatest fault," though he was not unwilling to die for it, as became a repentant and true subject.

Letter in *Domestic Corresp.* James I. vol. vi. § 37. (R. H.)

This reiterated assertion made by Lord Grey, when in sight of death, strikes the key-note of all that he said and wrote about the plot, from first to last. Just before this scene on the scaffold, he had written to James: "This only must I seal with my death: Howsoever mine eye was dim in discerning, my heart was never false in assenting to, your perils;—an offence yet so great as I shun not to die." At that time, in his letter of entreaty—as now when standing beside the block—he bursts into a passionate protestation that whatsoever he had foolishly plotted, he had never plotted treason. "Let not

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one wretched offence,—though I die for it,—stain my heart, my house, with treason's intent." He conjured the King not to let the brand of traitor rest on his name, for the sake of the "unstained blood which we have spilt at the head of your ancestors' armies, and for that loyalty of four hundred years, during which the House of Wilton was untouched." Then, as now, he protested, had there been need "I would have poured forth my life-blood in defence of your right to your royal seat." And with all this passion of prayer, there is, I believe, no admixture whatever of flattery; no endeavour to propitiate James by that laudation for which he had so gluttonous an appetite. Grey will not bend himself, as Ralegh had done. The blot on the scutcheon is of more account with him than death by the headsman. He will supplicate for the saving of an honourable name from indelible stain. He will not beg for mere life.

Grey to James I.; *Domestic Corresp.* vol. iv. § 96. (R. H.)

When Grey's prayer was ended, and he stood ready to take his leave of the world, the Sheriff broke in a little upon the dying man's composure, by saying that he had just received the King's command that the order of the execution should be changed. By his Majesty's express direction, Cobham was to precede Grey, instead of following him. Grey was then taken to Arthur's Hall, just as Markham had been. "His going away," we are told, "seemed more strange unto him than his coming thither; for he had no more hope given him than of an hour's respite. Neither could any man yet dive into the mysteries of this strange proceeding."

Carleton to Chamberlain; as before.

Cobham's appearance upon the scene was attended by circumstances which surprised the beholders. Those who spoke of it afterwards to the Count of Beaumont, could suggest no explanation of a boldness, and seeming

COBHAM'S BEHAVIOUR ON THE SCAFFOLD

contempt of death, out of all keeping with the man's character and with every known incident of his previous conduct, other than the receipt beforehand of some private warning that not tragedy but comedy was to be the order of the day. To other witnesses of his behaviour the thought occurred that he had, perhaps, exhausted pusillanimity during his imprisonment and his trial, and that now, at the final moment, some sort of reaction which might pass for courage had really come to his aid. Others, again, looked upon his seeming boldness just as contemptuously as they had looked upon his open "fear and trembling," when listening to his indictment. He uttered many prayers after the minister who came with him; sometimes repeating, sometimes prolonging them. Something in his manner, whilst thus praying, led an irreverent bystander to mutter, audibly: "He has a good mouth in a cry; but he is nothing single." When the prayers were over, Cobham expressed sorrow for his offence against the King. What he "had said of Sir Walter Ralegh," he now avouched to be true. "It is true, as I have hope of my soul's resurrection," are the words which he is reported to have used. But he had said of Ralegh, as of his own soul, far too much. Those among the listeners who remembered how affirmation had followed affirmation; how the statement deposed to in one week,—"as I hope to be saved,"—had next week been contradicted, flatly, by another statement, upon which, in turn, damnation was invoked if it were false, made as small account of Cobham's conjurations on the scaffold as he had himself made of his own depositions in the Tower.

When his Lordship's accusations, and his prayers, had both come to an end, the Sheriff addressed him in words which were to this effect: "There is something that yet

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remaineth to be done. By the King's orders you are now to be confronted with some other prisoners." With whom he was to be confronted, Sir Benjamin Tichborne did not tell him. Cobham remained upon the scaffold. The Sheriff sent into the Castle for Grey and Markham. The three then stood together, near the unused block. Whether it be true, or not, that Cobham had been assured beforehand that he was not to die, the speech they all had now to listen to must have been a surprise to each of them. It was a speech made up of questions, addressed collectively to the three. "Are not your offences heinous? Have you not been justly tried, and lawfully condemned? Is not each of you subject to due execution, now to be performed?" Thus were they interrogated by the Sheriff. Each of them, it is said, confessed that it was so. "Then," continued Tichborne, "see the mercy of your Prince, who of himself hath sent hither a countermand, and hath given you your lives!" The plaudits of the spectators were loud and prolonged. Cobham said, presently, "If ever I prove a traitor, I will not so much as beg my life." Grey said, "Since the King has given me my life, without my begging, I will deserve life." Both peers afterwards asked permission to write to James; and their respective letters are characteristic. Cobham wrote: "My repentans and acknowledgment for my fault seaseth not. God . . is my wittnes that it is unfayned." Then some memory of the ancient credit of his family came to his mind. He did not think of it as of an heirloom which he had dragged into the mire; but made it the theme of a pitiful reproach on the late Queen,—of whom Cobham, at all events, had small cause to complain. "Exceapt the House of Norfolk," he added, "no one House here of England receaved mor disgrace and jelozie for many

Carleton to Chamberlain; as before.

Cecil Pap. vol. cii. § 26 (Hatfield).

yeres together, in the tyme past, then my powre House." Of Grey's letter notice has been taken elsewhere.

Whilst this comic drama was enlivening a very gloomy December day for all those of the good people at Winchester who had interest enough to get admission into the Castle-green, the courtiers assembled at Wilton had a small comedy of their own, enacted within doors. Those of the Privy Councillors who were in attendance on the King, together with his immediate favourites and an officer or two of his household, were summoned, nearly at the same moment with John Gibb's anticipated arrival to do his distant errand at Winchester. The Lords and chief courtiers were admitted as usual to James' presence-chamber. A cluster of dependants stood in the ante-chamber near enough to take note of what passed; partly, perhaps, to serve by way of chorus.

As the King had instructed Tichborne to address the conspirators with a string of interrogatories, so he chose, for his own address to his courtiers, a string of parallels. Having told them how great had been his perplexities in making up his mind—much, it seems, in the way in which he had repeatedly spoken about the matter to Beaumont—he went on to amuse himself by drawing the characters of the conspirators, in pairs. He contrasted the ardent and resolute spirit of Grey with the base and cowardly nature of Cobham; and then asked if it were at all consistent with kingly justice to execute the high-spirited Grey and to spare that pitiful creature, Cobham. Then he remembered that there was, on the other hand, something insolent in Grey, who had disdained to beg his life; something repentant in Cobham, who had besought pardon with great humility. Was it possible that he could resolve to put the penitent man

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to death, and to pardon the proud man? And so on, with Ralegh and the rest of the condemned persons. Having balanced this quality against that, and one motive against an opposing motive, until his whole stock of comparisons was exhausted, the King finished his oration with this triumphant tag:—"And therefore I have saved the lives of them all." Of course, the plaudits at Winchester had their courtly counterpart at Wilton.

When the news of what had passed at Winchester on the 10th of December came to Henry the Fourth, he wrote thus to Beaumont: "I wish the King, my good brother, may find his account in the pardon he has granted to those who had conspired against him; if it be true that he has done it of his own good will and clemency, and not by the persuasion of others. . . . But were the said King even more covert, artful, and wary than he is, in glozing and hiding the truth, and were he ever so successful in concealing it for a time, the truth will be sure to come out, sooner or later; and if not in one way, then in another." Henry urges his ambassador to learn if 'Spanish gold' had aught to do with the reprieve, and whether or not the King had lent his ear to the representations of Don Juan de Taxis. He desires to know if Cecil gave his influence to the same end. "For," adds Henry, "it is rumoured that these persons, backed by money expended by Ralegh, brought the thing about." If that had been so, the King of France thought they might be able to bring other things to pass in a Spanish interest; and he exhorted his ambassador to employ all his efforts to discover the whole secret.

Hen. IV. to Count of Beaumont. MSS. at Paris Imp. Library, *Fonds Brienne*, xxxix. fol. 396 (Berger, vol. vi. p. 191).

CHAPTER XXI.

PARTITION OF THE SPOILS. — HISTORY OF RALEGH'S DORSETSHIRE AND SOMERSETSHIRE ESTATES.

1603—1616.

Reward of Sir William Waad.—Early Proceedings in the Confiscation of the Conspirators' Estates. — Gains of the Howard Family. — Lord Admiral Nottingham and the Wine-Licensing Office.—Lady Ralegh's Complaints to Secretary Cecil.—Cecil's friendly Offices.—Proceedings of the Commissioners of Escheat at Sherborne.—Stay of the Proceedings by Lord Cecil's Interposition.—Notes on the History of Ralegh's Dorsetshire Manors.—Negotiations with Bishops and with Bishops expectant.—The Story of the Conveyances.—Royal Grants and Re-grants. —The Lawsuits with Meere.—A Provincial Riot in 1601.—The Suit in the Exchequer in 1608-1609.—Subsequent History of Sherborne Castle and Manors.—Ralegh Memorials in the Garden and Parks.

A FORTNIGHT after the return of the reprieved prisoners to the Tower of London, Commissioner Waad was rewarded with a grant, in fee farm, of manors and lands within the Duchy of Lancaster, worth, by the official computation, sixty pounds a year. No student of the State Papers of 1603 will doubt that he had worked hard for his fee.

Docquet Book, James I.; 1604. Jan. 4. (R. H.)

Much of the property of the condemned persons had been given away at an early stage of the proceedings against them. Chattels belonging to Lord Cobham,—for example,—were "seized to the King's use," by order of the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, before the end of July 1603. In the same month, Sir John Harington is

Buckhurst to Cecil; *Cecil Pap.* vol. ci. § 97. Harington to Cecil; Ibid. § 99 (Hatfield).

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found writing to Lord Cecil, that the King had already promised him "the forfeitures of the Markhams." What had been done with some of Ralegh's offices and places of profit, whilst the examinations prior to indictment were yet in progress, has been shown in Chapter XIX. When the trials of November had drawn to their close, the work of confiscation went on very briskly. The crowd of peers, with their long trains of attendants—who, for a while, had recalled to the ancient city somewhat of its metropolitan aspect of times long past—had hardly left Winchester to its usual quiet, before commissioners and sheriffs' officers were busy, in several distant counties, with inventories and escheats. A lion's share of the spoil fell to the Howards. Lord Henry Howard obtained, with other good things, Cobham's Wardenship of the Cinque Ports. The Lord Admiral Nottingham succeeded Ralegh in the lucrative office of Patentee of Wine Licences.[1] The taverners soon found themselves to be far from gaining by the change. And the Wine Office was as far from being the only channel by which Nottingham drew profit out of his old comrade's downfall. Lady Ralegh asserts, when writing to the Secretary of State, that "his Lordship hath six thousand pounds," besides "three thousand pounds a year, by my husband's fall." Such gains seem large, indeed, if we multiply the sums into their modern equivalents. The impoverished woman adds, with pardonable bitterness: "Since it pleaseth God that his Lordship shall build upon our ruins,—which we never suspected, —yet the portion is great, and I trust sufficient." But Lord Nottingham himself was of a different opinion.

Pp. 385, 386.

NOTTINGHAM'S SHARE IN THE SPOILS OF RALEGH.

[1] I have been unable to trace any grant of this office or farm of wines to Lord Nottingham. The statement in the text is founded on Lady Ralegh's letter.

THE ARREARS OF THE WINE PATENT.

It falls within the compass of daily observation and experience, that a man so burdened with variety of pursuits and duties as Ralegh for more than twenty years had been, must have trusted much to officers and servants. It was of his nature to be liberal in trust, as well as generous in reward. Nor can any one study the surviving documents which tell the little that is now discoverable of his more personal life, without soon perceiving that in his case,—as in that of his great contemporary, Bacon,—part of the reproach which rests upon him for the inordinate love of money must have arisen from an over-indulgent behaviour towards dependants. It was with good reason that he gave to his son, many years after his own fall, the advice, "If thou trust any servant with thy purse, be sure thou take his account ere thou sleep. For if thou put it off, thou wilt then afterwards, for tediousness, neglect it. I myself have thereby lost more than I am worth." Of such losses by unfaithful agents, Sir Walter's experience in the working of the Wine Patent affords but one out of several known instances. He had made an improvident bargain with Browne, his first lessee, and his want of caution drew him then into expensive lawsuits. He was not more fortunate in the case of his own kinsman, William Sanderson (the husband of Margaret Snedale, Sir Walter's niece), who fell heavily into arrear with him, when afterwards administering the same office. His misfortunes with Meere, his bailiff at Sherborne, were still more serious and protracted.

Instructions to my Son, c. xxi.

When the Earl of Nottingham succeeded to the Wine Patent, he claimed, as against Ralegh's estate, to be entitled to the outstanding arrears, as well as to current and future profits. "If," said poor Lady Ralegh, "my Lord's grant do bear them, and if his conscience warrant

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him, we must yield willingly to God's will and the King's. But if my Lord Admiral have no one word in his grant for them, then what neither the King, law, nor conscience have given from us, I trust his Lordship will spare us willingly. God knows that our debts are above three thousand pounds. And the bread and food taken from me and my children will never augment my Lord's table, though it famish us." Nottingham, however, thought he had law for it; and, like Shylock, he stood upon his bond. Eventually, the Patent passed into other hands, and was made to press more heavily than ever on the taverners. The Lord Admiral obtained ample compensation elsewhere.

Letter X. Vol. II. p. 409.

CECIL'S FRIENDLY OFFICES TO COPLEY AND TO MARKHAM.

Whilst correspondence of this sort shows what befell Ralegh, when he and his had to seek the compassion of alienated friends, in order to avert destitution, it is curious to find—almost contemporaneously—a man like Anthony Copley writing to the Secretary: "I acknowledge myself singularly bounden to your Lordship for my life and goods, preserved unto me by your especial mediation with his Majesty; and also for the increase of livelihood from my brother." Copley, when he wrote thus to Lord Cecil, was still in confinement. His old comrade, Sir Griffin Markham, was already liberated. But Markham was less fortunate than Copley in respect to his possessions. Exile was made the condition of his pardon; and when he landed in Flanders, his poverty was such that he was forced to turn the silver hilt of his sword into bread. For the sword itself he presently got employment in the service of the Archduke Albert. After a time, Cecil found opportunity to befriend him, also, at home. And his good offices were not restricted to the Copleys and the Markhams. Had not Cecil behaved

Cecil Papers, vol. c. (Hatfield).

to Ralegh, after his condemnation, in a manner which contrasts strongly with the behaviour of the Howards, Ralegh's destitution in England would have been as bitter, in its way, as was Markham's destitution when beginning his life of exile on the Continent. Markham had to provide only for himself. Ralegh had wife and child, as well as many old dependants. They were saved from destitution by Lord Cecil's friendship. In the King's Secretary Lady Ralegh found a true helper in her time of need. Her acknowledgments of his kindness, as well as those of Ralegh himself, are, on this head, many and conclusive. "Your Lordship," wrote Lady Ralegh, in 1604, "hath been our only comfort in our lamentable misfortunes." "I can never forget," wrote Sir Walter, at the close of 1603, "what was in your Lordship's desire, what in your will, what in your words and works,—so far as could become you, as a Councillor; and far beyond all due to me, as an offender." When Ralegh was in his deepest dejection of spirit, he had received from Cecil a message which cheered him. "Those lines," he says, "written in another hand, but of which I knew the phrase, are also written on my heart. My soul can never leave to repeat them, while it liveth in my body."

CECIL'S FRIENDSHIP TO RALEGH AFTER HIS FALL.

Letter CXXIV. Vol. II. p. 288.

Lord Cecil's interposition did not come a moment too soon. Commissioners were at Sherborne, at least as early as Ralegh's condemnation was known. It is not improbable that some of them were there before the trial. They sold stock. They began to cut down woods. They made considerable progress in dismantling the house. But for the arrival of a letter from Cecil,—which peremptorily commanded a stay of their proceedings,—mansion, park, home-farm, and demesne, would soon have been alike bare.

The history of these Dorsetshire manors is a curious

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one. Here it can be told but very briefly. The briefest narrative will need to begin somewhat retrospectively.

RALEGH'S FIRST VIEW OF SHERBORNE.

It is a Dorsetshire tradition, that Ralegh's first adventure at Sherborne was a fall. Whilst still in the full flower of his courtly fortunes, he once made a momentary stay at Sherborne, when journeying from Devonshire to London. The view of Sherborne Park which the traveller gets from the high road has always been one of much beauty. In Elizabethan days, the road passed close to the Castle, and opened up a view which now can be had only within the Park. It was Ralegh's own pleasant task to add many charms to the scenery, during times of retirement in after years. But when the view first caught his eye, in riding up from Plymouth, he found great attraction in it. One of his Gilbert half-brothers was in his company. Hardly had Sir Walter expressed his admiration, when his horse fell with him, and forced him to take seisin of the soil in the roughest fashion. But, as the story goes, the accident was instantly turned into jest and good omen, after imperial example.

HISTORY OF SHERBORNE CASTLE AND MANORS.

Sherborne Castle and Park were, for a long period, part of the broad estates of the bishopric, once seated at Sherborne itself, and thence removed to Salisbury. Part of the adjacent lands belonged to the Benedictine Abbey. When the see of Sarum was unworthily filled by Bishop Salcot—a much intensified 'Vicar of Bray'—he granted a lease of Sherborne to the Protector Somerset, for ninety-nine years, without reservation of the old rent. By Somerset, an under-lease was given to Sir John Paulet. When Mary came to the throne, Salcot made a new gyration from Protestantism back to Romanism, and begged that his lease of Sherborne

might be cancelled, as having been made to the all-powerful heretic, when the reluctant lessor stood in fear of his life. Bishop Salcot recovered his manor, and handed it to his successor. But its charms stood temptingly within view of travelling and susceptible courtiers. Queen Elizabeth had many suits, entreating her to use the royal influence with Bishops, actual or expectant, and with the Dean and Chapter—who, as successors of the monks of Sherborne, had also an interest—for a lease upon favourable terms. When Ralegh cast longing eyes on Sherborne, his eagerness to improve his own position came into happy conjunction with a strong opinion, which he shared with a large body of contemporaries, that Bishops and Church dignitaries ought not to be too heavily weighted with secular wealth. His suit was successful.

His first footing at Sherborne was effected, towards the end of 1591, by the obtainment of a lease granted to the Queen, and by her assigned over to Sir Walter. A rent of two hundred and sixty pounds a year was reserved to the Bishop. In January 1592, a royal letter was addressed to the Dean and Chapter of Sarum, in which they were told that although the lease granted to her Majesty, "for behoof of Sir Walter Ralegh, does not prove so beneficial as was intended, by reason of the reservations of rent, and by former long leases," of portions of the estate, "the Queen is pleased, nevertheless, to accept the lease, and will remain satisfied, on receipt of the due confirmation." Before the close of 1594, however, a new treaty was opened. Apparently, its object was to convert the lease into an estate of inheritance. But the negotiations came to no effectual end until 1598.

Domestic Corresp. Elizabeth, Jan. 1592. (R. H.)

In the course of them, Ralegh mentions a little ante-

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cedent fact, which throws another gleam of light upon the administration of their headship of the Church by the Tudor sovereigns. "I gave the Queen," he says, "a jewel, worth two hundred and fifty pounds, to make the Bishop." When the Bishop was 'made,' the see had been vacant during three years. Bishop Coldwell filled it for a period of only four years and three quarters. After his death, it remained vacant during other two years. In both instances, much of these intervals was spent in making conditions with sundry Bishops expectant, as to what they should do for the Queen, in repayment of what she was to do for them. Thus, for example, during the vacancy which followed Bishop Coldwell's death, the see was offered, conditionally, to Dr. Bennett, Dean of Windsor. It was demanded of him whether or not, when consecrated to the see, he would convey to the Queen, for Ralegh's benefit, the desired estate of inheritance in Sherborne. He demurred to the proposal. And, eventually, the Dean refused the proffered mitre, if coupled with compulsory alienation of Church lands. The negotiation had been managed by Sir Robert Cecil, who now looked about him for a new candidate.

ANECDOTE OF THE ELEVATION OF BISHOP COLDWELL TO THE SEE OF SARUM.

Patent Roll, 40 Eliz. part 15, memb. 19. (R. H.)—*Dom. Cor.* 1594-1598. (Ibid.)

In 1598, the see was offered, on like terms, to Dr. Henry Cotton, one of the prebendaries of Winchester. Cecil heard that the Dean of Windsor had used strong language in reprehension of the Prebendary's acceptance. He had said that so to bargain for a bishopric was discreditable and scandalous. Sir Robert then wrote to Bennett in these terms :—"The matter for which you were moved, concerning Sherborne, is now like to be granted. For the Queen resolving of Mr. Cotton, I conceive he will not find, upon due examination, the same scruple which you did ; and therefore, I hope, will yield

CORRESPONDENCE ABOUT THE GRANT OF SHERBORNE TO RALEGH.

it. But, Master Doctor," proceeds the Queen's Secretary, "this is the cause of my letter to you: It is given out that you are minded to scandalize him, and the act, by all means you can; yea, notwithstanding that it shall now in no way concern you." "If Sir Walter Ralegh's suit," he added, "shall speed the worse by any course of yours in this—now, when you are in no ways interested in it—I will think your refusal before was not of zeal, but of humour; and your meddling in it now rather opposition to him, and to me that love him, than to the matter." Cotton was elected nine days after the date of this letter; was consecrated on the 12th November; and received the temporalities of the see on the 23rd of December, 1598. Ralegh then surrendered to the new Bishop his ninety-nine years' lease, granted in January 1592. Before the close of the year, Bishop Cotton conveyed to the Queen an estate of inheritance in the lordship of the Hundred of Yetminster, with the manors of Sherborne, Newland, Castleton, Wootton-Whitfield, Caundell-Bishop, and Up-Cerne, in the counties of Dorset and Somerset, together with the Castle, Lodge, and Parks of Sherborne and Castleton, and various adjoining farms and tenements; reserving to the see of Sarum an annuity of two hundred and sixty pounds in perpetuity. The Queen granted these estates to Ralegh, on like terms. He also acquired, by purchase, moieties of the adjacent manors of Primsley and Pinford.

Domestic Corresp. Elizabeth; Unbound Papers of 1598; marked '119 A.'

Patent Roll, 41 Eliz. part 23, memb. 10.

Memoranda of King's Remembrancer, 6 & 7 James I. ff. 545 and 253. (R. H.)

Prior to the grant, in fee, of 1598, Ralegh had conveyed his estates in trust for his son, without power of revocation. After 1598, he made other conveyances,—twice at least, as it seems from subsequent proceedings in the Court of Exchequer. Both Sir Walter's own statements on this head, and those made by counsel on his behalf, are on one important point somewhat obscure.

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1603-1616.

Letter CXXVI. Vol. II. p. 292.

At the close of 1603, he wrote thus to Lord Cecil: "My lands are tied upon my child and my brother. If I plead that conveyance, I—who have lost all power—cannot use the power of revocation in the conveyance. Then, I can never satisfy my creditors. And, besides, I shall live a ward to my child and my brother." The conveyance here referred to was drawn by Sir John Doddridge, afterwards a Justice of the King's Bench, about the midsummer of 1602.

In his formal answer—made in 1609—to a Bill which had been exhibited against him by the Attorney-General, the story of the conveyances is told somewhat differently: "I conveyed the same estates to my son, . . . twice, as I remember, by certain grants to certain persons and friends in trust. Those conveyances were revocable, and I did afterwards revoke them. . . . For, finding my fortune at Court towards the end of her late Majesty's reign to be at a stand, and that I daily attended dangerous employments against her late Majesty's enemies, and had not in the said former grants made any provision for my wife, I made the former grants void; and then afterwards, for the natural love and affection which I bare to the said Walter Ralegh, then my only son, and being still desirous, as well to settle and establish some estate of and in the said castles and manors, and also some livelihood and provision for my wife, to be had thereout during her natural life, I made a new grant, . . . which last-mentioned deed was made not many months before the now Bishop [Cotton] was consecrated, as I verily believe. . . . But, by reason of my manifold troubles, I do not know where the said deed is, or in whose hands or custody." Its purport, it is further said, was to convey the estates to his son, subject to a rent-charge of two hundred pounds a year for Lady Ralegh

during her life.[1] "Her late Majesty," proceeds Sir Walter, "having afterwards procured from the said now Bishop the inheritance of the said lordship, castles, and manors, it pleased her to give me the same by a sufficient conveyance in law. . . . . And afterwards I did intend to settle the inheritance of the same upon my said son; and to that end did use the advice of a Counsellor-at-law, about the last year of her late Majesty's reign." He adds that by the negligence or oversight of counsel, or of counsel's clerk, "that conveyance, after my said attainder, hath been conceived to be insufficient; the same having been brought into question in this Court." In a previous answer to the Attorney-General's Bill, it had been already set forth that this conveyance of 1602 was to the use of himself, with remainder to his son and heir-apparent, Walter Ralegh, "with like remainders to his other sons, if God should send him any more, and to the heirs male of the body of him the said Sir Walter Ralegh, and, for lack of such issue, with remainder over to his brother, Sir Carew Ralegh, reserving the reversion, or remainder in fee simple, to him the said Sir Walter Ralegh, and his heirs for ever." How it was that these proceedings of 1608–9 originated has now to be shown.

Memoranda of King's Remembrancer, Trinity Term, 6 James I. (R. H.)

Lord Cecil's interposition had, for a time, saved Ralegh's estate from confiscation. Sherborne, in particular, had been eagerly sought, and suits for it, both to the Secretary and to the King, were nearly coeval with the owner's imprisonment. "There hath not been so few as a dozen suitors for it," wrote Lord Cecil to one of the King's Scottish favourites in October 1603. After the conveyance of 1602—assuming it, for the moment,

Cecil to Sir Jas. Elphinston.

[1] Obviously by a clerical error, this provision is recited, on the Remembrancer's Roll (fol. 253 of Michaelmas Term, 7th James I., R. H.), to have been made "during his [defendant's] life," instead of "during her life."

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RALEGH'S CONVEYANCE OF THE SHERBORNE ESTATE IN 1602.

Docquet Book, James I.; July 30, 1604. (R. H.)

to have been good in law—Ralegh's attainder involved only the forfeiture of his life-interest. That was given to him. On the 14th February, 1604, "all and singular the goods and chattels, as well real as personal, of Sir Walter Ralegh," were assigned in trust to John Shelbury and Robert Smythe. On the 30th of July following, Sherborne Castle, together with the manors before named in Dorset and Somerset, were conveyed, for the term of sixty years,—"should Sir W. Ralegh so long live,"—to Sir Alexander Brett and others, in trust for Lady Ralegh, and their son, Walter. Under what circumstances the validity—or the technical sufficiency—of the conveyance drawn by Sir John Doddridge came first to be doubted, I am unable to state. But, within a few months of Ralegh's conviction, I find him begging of Cecil, with great earnestness, that he would procure "the opinions of my Lord Chief Justice and Master Attorney [Popham and Coke] for the Conveyance." He adds that it would have been sealed "almost two years before the Queen died, if the feoffees had not been so far asunder." But the main burden of several successive letters is an entreaty that the Secretary would obtain from the King a new grant, unrestricted by reversion or remainder. "If," he says, "the land be tied with a remainder, a third of the value is thereby lost;" and again, "I did desire it free, the rather in hope to bargain with your Lordship for it. For there is no seat within the compass of your titles [Cecil was, by this time, Earl of Salisbury] so fit for your Lordship as that."

Letter CXXXIX. Vol. II. p. 321.

When the deed of 1602 had been shown to Coke and to Popham, each of them wrote, severally, to Lord Salisbury. Coke told him that the essential and binding words of a conveyance in trust "are omitted in the deed." The assurance ought, he said, to have recited that the

trustees "*shall and will from henceforth stand and be thereof seised*, to the uses, intents, purposes, and behoofs, in these presents specified, and to no other use, intent, purpose, or behoof;" and the essential words (here printed in italics) had been left out. Popham wrote thus: "I do plainly find that, in law, no estate passed thereby unto the children, but that it remained wholly in the father, . . . upon a plain omission of that which should have made the assurance perfect." And he then adds an expression of his belief as to the origin of the error: "Nevertheless, I think, it grew by the omission of the clerk in the engrossing of the book." This correspondence, therefore, whilst it relieves the King of a portion of the scandal which the story of the Sherborne confiscation, as it has been constantly repeated, casts upon his memory, tends, on the other hand, to establish the charge that the spoliation of the Ralegh family had for its most plausible excuse the error of an engrossing clerk. The confiscation was as truly an act of plunder, in its nature, as if there had never been a mitigation of its degree. In the sequel, it was somewhat softened to the sufferers;—partly, in fact; partly, but in appearance;—by what was called a purchase.

Coke and Popham to Cecil; June 1605. *Cecil Pap.* vol. cix. § 8, &c. (Hatfield.)

The King's rising favourite, Sir Robert Carr, presently cast as longing a look at the fair groves and glades of Sherborne as Ralegh had cast on them, when journeying to Court so many years before. There is no proof that the inquiries of 1604 into the validity of the conveyance to Sir Walter's trustees were prompted either by Carr, or for him. But soon after Popham's opinion had been told to the King, Lady Ralegh went to Court and knelt at the royal feet, with her petition for the saving of Sherborne to her children. The well-known tradition asserts that she was repulsed, with the words: '*I maun*

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ha' the land; I maun ha' it for Carr.' An account before me, which was written within a few hours of the incident, represents the repulse to have been a silent, though quite an effectual, one. Possibly, there may have been two such petitions at a considerable interval of time. Whether the proceedings in the matter were protracted through any new interposition of Cecil's good offices in his old friend's behalf, or from other causes, they were brought to no conclusion until 1609. To Ralegh, they were additionally embittered by the circumstance that his opponents availed themselves, in the course of that long suit, of the assistance of John Meere, bailiff of Sherborne, with whose name the reader of Ralegh's letters of 1601 and 1602 will frequently meet. For a few years, Meere had been Sir Walter's trusted servant. For many years, he had been his eager and unscrupulous enemy. The story of their quarrel offers some curious illustrations of the manners of the time. But here it can only be glanced at, in passing onward.

RALEGH, MEERE, AND ADRIAN GILBERT.

Meere had been appointed as bailiff in 1592. He received from Ralegh a considerable grant of copyhold lands. The origin of the disagreement between the Lord of the Manor and his officer is not distinctly recorded. It is probable that it may have grown out of the bailiff's jealousy of the influence exerted at Sherborne by Adrian Gilbert, one of Ralegh's brothers of the half-blood. Gilbert appears to have passed most of his time between the years 1596 and 1603 in the superintendence of his brother's planting and lake-making, and whilst thus engaged was made 'Constable of Sherborne Castle,' an office which Meere, in his petition to the Court of Star Chamber, describes as "very ancient, but not executed within the memory of man." Amongst other rubs between constable and bailiff, there was one,

it seems, about the granting of licences "to kill flesh in Lent." Gilbert claimed the right, as Constable of the Castle. Meere claimed it, as Bailiff of the Manor. Jealousies, of a like petty sort, went on accumulating. Meanwhile, a negotiation was pending between Ralegh and Meere for the resumption of the copyhold lands and tenements which had been granted to the bailiff soon after his admission to office. Meere stood out for a larger sum than Sir Walter was willing to give. Presently a new bailiff—one Dolbery—was appointed; but the old one refused to retire. Suits and cross-suits were commenced, which gave occasional occupation to the Courts of Law during several years.

Records of Court of Star Chamber, 1601-1602. (Printed in *Gent. Mag.* N. S. vol. xxxiii. p. 360; vol. xl. p. 348.)

A PROVINCIAL RIOT IN 1601.

In August 1601, when Sir Walter was himself at Sherborne, the quarrel came to a head. Meere made an arrest as bailiff, and the person arrested was liberated by some of Ralegh's other servants. Meere—who had obtained the patronage of one of his master's known enemies, Thomas Howard, Lord Howard of Bindon—now procured a warrant which empowered him to arrest his rival bailiff; and for executing that warrant Ralegh caused him to be put in the stocks, in his own presence, in the market-place of Sherborne. Meere appears to have been much disliked by the people of the town. After his liberation, his house was beset by a tumultuous crowd, who long annoyed him—as he tells the Court of Star Chamber—by shouting, '*Where is the Lord Howard?*' '*Where is the Lord Howard?*' If judged only by his own statements, it is obvious that Meere had abused his office, and had done much to provoke the anger, of the effects of which he complains. The present interest of the anecdote lies in its bearing on the man's appointment, by Howard influence, to be a commissioner for carrying out the forfeitures under

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Ralegh's attainder. Lord Cecil's intervention alone prevented Meere from executing his threats of vengeance. Otherwise, he would doubtless have found many and ready helpers. Serjeant Hele was permitted to repay himself at Cobham Hall for his exertions at Winchester towards the conviction of Lord Cobham. He strove, too, to get some payment for his vituperation of Ralegh, out of the Duchy of Cornwall. But he seems to have been less successful in Cornwall than in Kent. "I fear that Serjeant Hele will not live out the time that your Highness shall have a recovery against him,"—wrote one of the officers of the Duchy to Prince Henry, in September 1605,—"but what cannot be done against him may be perfected against his heirs." The writer adds: "My Lord of Salisbury, by his voluntary yielding up of the lands which he purchased, doth give great furtherance to your services here." In accordance with these precedents, Serjeant Phillips was made fellow-commissioner with Bailiff Meere for the escheats at Sherborne.

Richard Connoll to Prince Henry; MS. Harl. 7007, fol. 72. (B. M.)

Whilst the troublesome suits with Meere had been succeeded by anxieties about forfeiture, and by suits—still more pregnant with vexation—on behalf of the Crown, in the Court of Exchequer, Lady Ralegh continued to reside occasionally in Dorsetshire. She was at Sherborne twice, at least, in the course of 1605. It was noticed that in September of that year "she did cause all the armour to be scoured." And from this piece of housewifely prudence some charitable souls afterwards inferred that she had had a complicity of some sort in the Gunpowder Plot. The fact is gravely recorded amongst the depositions relating to that conspiracy, although one of the deponents judiciously added

that the armour was cleaned, "as he thinketh, because it was rusty." We learn from the same source that at this time Lady Ralegh continued her husband's improvements in the gardens, "the furnishing whereof was a great charge unto her. She also caused the house to be dressed up, where before all things lay in disorder." There was, it is added, a general report spread about Sherborne, in that summer, that "Sir Walter Ralegh should be set at liberty, at the Parliament."

Domestic Corresp. James I. 1605-1606. (R. H.)—Declaration of Edward Cotterell, Feb. 4, 1607.

The conveyance of 1602 was pronounced to be void in January 1609. The long protraction of the suit must have been occasioned by difficulties, the precise nature of which is not apparent on the face of the proceedings. Lord Chief Justice Popham, it has been seen, declared in 1604 that the invalidity of the deed was beyond question, and his opinion was endorsed by Sir Edward Coke. But, at the beginning of 1608—a year before the final decision—it was proposed to Ralegh that the fee-simple of Sherborne and its appendant manors should be conveyed to the King for a sum of money. On that proposal he wrote to Lord Salisbury:—"The grant required of me and others is indeed fearful unto us. We therein pass unto his Majesty things which are out of our power to perform, and whereby those that join with me do not only enthral their own estates, but my wife and son thereby forfeit their annuity. For if those that never had a fee-simple grant a fee-simple; if we covenant to grant all the lands, free and unstated; and if we also bind ourselves to deliver writings, evidences, and court-rolls,—which we never had,—we do presently fail, and fall under I know not how many inconveniences, dangers, and troubles, from which the proviso offered doth no way deliver us."

Domestic Corresp. James I. vol. xxvi. § 42. (R. H.)

NEGOTIATION FOR A CONVEYANCE OF SHERBORNE TO THE KING.

Letter CXLI. Vol. II. p. 324.

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SHERBORNE ADJUDGED TO THE KING, AND GIVEN TO CARR.

A few days after the decision of the suit in the Exchequer the incident was commented on, in a letter addressed to Sir Dudley Carleton by his indefatigable news-writer, Chamberlain. "Sir Walter Ralegh's estate is fallen into the King's hands," he says, "by reason of a flaw in the conveyance. He hath bestowed it on Sir Robert Carr. . . . And though the Lady Ralegh hath been an importunate suitor all these holidays in her husband's behalf, yet is it past recall. So that he may say, with Job, '*Naked came I into the world*,' &c. But, above all, one thing is to be noted: The error or oversight is said to be so gross, that men do merely ascribe it to God's own hand, that blinded him and his counsel."

Chamberlain to Carleton, Jan. 10, 1608 [legal style]. *Dom. Cor.* vol. xliii. § 14. (R. H.)

Ralegh's fruitless appeal to Carr—"I beseech you not to begin your first building upon the ruins of the innocent," and so on—is amongst his most widely known writings. According to one of the best copies of it,—now in the Harleian Collection of MSS.,—it was written on the 2nd of January, 1609 [N.S.]. Between that date and the date of Ralegh's departure for Guiana—in 1617—Sherborne passed through eight successive changes of ownership. It was given to Carr. It was then purchased of Carr by the King, and given by him to his eldest son. Prince Henry, it was believed, sought the grant with the intention of restoring the estate to Ralegh. But he died soon after the acquisition, and it then passed again to the King. Sir Robert Phillips purchased of the Crown a lease of Sherborne Park; but, almost immediately afterwards, James caused his purchase-money to be returned, and the grant to be cancelled. He then sold castle, park, and manors to Carr (now Earl of Somerset), for the sum at which they had been purchased of him on behalf of Prince Henry. On Somerset's attainder they came once more

THE NEW OWNERS OF SHERBORNE.

to the Crown. James offered them to Villiers. The new favourite said to the King,—almost as if he had just been reading Ralegh's letter of 1609 to the old one, and had taken the lesson to heart,—"Do not build my fortune upon another man's ruins." James granted to Villiers eleven manors, spread over six of the richest among English counties, and caused it to be recited in the grant that they were given "instead of the Manor of Sherborne, intended for him." Sherborne was then granted to Sir John Digby. Our unfailing annalist, Chamberlain, tells his old correspondent that Sherborne, "besides the goodly house and the other commodities, is presently worth £800 a year, and, in a reasonable time, will be worth double." His estimate proved, in the sequel, to be, by much, an under-statement. When he proceeds to tell Sir Dudley Carleton, "I cannot yet learn how or why this fortune is befallen him," he expresses an ignorance, soon—at least in part—to be dispelled. Digby was rewarded, prospectively and upon contract, for two embassies to Spain, which served—each in its way and after a considerable interval—to sum up, so to speak, the foreign policy of the meanest epoch in our annals. James rewarded Sir John Digby's Spanish services with the Earldom of Bristol, as well as with Sherborne. On the outbreak of the civil war, Lord Bristol took both sides in quick succession, and (unless history has much wronged him) did little service to either. When Carew Ralegh, by dint of long effort, had attained a prospect of receiving, at the hands of the Commonwealth Government, some compensation for the losses of his family under James, the Earl used every available means to defeat his hopes. The second Earl's career was no unmeet counterpart to his father's. Horace Walpole's character of him is pithy, and it is sustained

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by the evidence of contemporaries. Lord Bristol, he says, "wrote against Popery, and embraced it. He was a zealous opposer of the Court, and a sacrifice for it. He was 'conscientiously' converted in the midst of his prosecution of Lord Strafford. He was most unconscientiously a prosecutor of Lord Clarendon. With great parts, he always hurt himself, and his friends. . . . He spoke for the Test Act, though a Roman Catholic. He addicted himself to astrology, on the birthday of true philosophy." Walpole might well have added that he betrayed, sooner or later, *all* the parties whose cause he had espoused. His 'conscientious' conversion to the side of Strafford was marked by the disappearance of an important document, to which he had had access as a member of the Commons' committee. Digby, in his place in Parliament, imprecated the vengeance of the Almighty on his head, if he knew what had become of that paper. Five years afterwards, a transcript of it, in his autograph, was found in Charles' cabinet, amongst the spoils of Naseby. Such were the services wrought for England by Ralegh's immediate successors at Sherborne. Nor has any man of the lineage of those Warwickshire and Dorsetshire Digbys (Sir Kenelm Digby was of the Rutlandshire family) yet won his place in the roll of English worthies.[1]

Walpole, *Royal and Noble Authors* (edit. 1806); vol. iii. p. 191.

The curious succession of the fatalities which have attended the descent of the Sherborne estate has many times been made the subject of remark. Those fatalities are notable, not alone on account of the ancient

[1] The account given in the text of the shifting fortunes of the Sherborne estate, between the years 1604 and 1616, differs in several points from preceding accounts. The authorities on which it is founded are cited in a note at the end of the chapter.

THE 'CURSE OF SHERBORNE.'

curse,—which mediæval writers so carefully record to have been invoked by a sainted Bishop of Sarum on future spoliators of the see he had endowed,—but also from the fact that a group of them, occurring in Plantagenet days, presents a sort of parallel to the well-known groups of Tudor and Stuart days. Montacutes, Earls of Salisbury and Lords of Sherborne, seem to have been as thorny to their contemporary Bishops as the Protector Somerset and his successors were to theirs, and to have met with a like fate. Whatever may now be deemed the probable potency of the curse of St. Osmund of Seez, all who glance at the story of Sherborne will note, with an interest of some kind, that three of its possessors died on the scaffold; two died in prison or in exile; another died under suspicion of having been poisoned. Another of them dragged on, into old age, a life which he had stained by murder, whilst yet in the prime of manhood, and at the pinnacle of fortune.

PURCHASE OF THE LIFE-INTEREST IN SHERBORNE.

Of the eight thousand pounds given to Lady Ralegh and her children as the purchase-money of the life-interest in Sherborne and its attendant manors, granted in 1604, only a portion was paid. That portion was lent to the Dowager Countess of Bedford on mortgage. Eventually it was lost, with so much else, in the fatal Guiana voyage. For the other portion she was allowed interest—when she could obtain it—from the Exchequer. She had also an annuity for her own life, and that of her son Walter, of four hundred pounds a year, subject to various deductions at the Exchequer and to the contingencies of Stuart finance. How serious, in such matters, was the frequent difference between promise and performance is sufficiently shown by a single ex-

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ample. In the winter of 1617–18, Lady Ralegh wrote to Sir Julius Cæsar, then Master of the Rolls: "My payment is daily put off by Mr. Byngley. I should have received two hundred pounds at Michaelmas; most of it being long due to poor men from Sir Walter, for his necessaries; and the rest to maintain me till Our Lady day. I have not received one penny from the Exchequer since Sir Walter left." The Assessment Books of the parish of St. Martin in the Fields—in which, at a later period, Lady Ralegh lived—still bear their evidence, by obvious inference, to the continuance of like troubles, when she stood almost alone in the world.

Letter XII. Vol. II. p. 412.

RALEGH MEMORIALS AT SHERBORNE.

The Digbys have done much to efface, at Sherborne, the memorials of their great predecessor. Some Ralegh memorials had already disappeared at the date of Charles the First's visit to Sherborne, soon after the outbreak of the civil war. Others that have been repeatedly mentioned by visitors at the Castle, will now be looked for in vain. Happily, Sir Walter's successors have respected a fine old stone seat, in a charming grove close to the house. Both seat and grove bear his name; and the stone-work vouches its genuineness, as much by its obvious age and character, as by long tradition. The body of the existing house is Ralegh's. The wings have been added. But the real tokens of his presence at Sherborne must be sought in the plantations, gardens, and orchards; in the waving woods, and in the gleaming lake. Very much has been done since his time to enhance these beauties; and in such a park as Sherborne—where changes of roads and clumps, of wood and water, are known to have been frequent—it is hard to fancy what aspect the place must have worn almost

three hundred years ago. The written records of Sir Walter Ralegh's persistent labours as a planter are numerous. The visitor, as he roams about the grounds and park, will see many noble beeches, lime-trees, and sycamores. But only a very few of them can lay valid claim to be of the Elizabethan age. Of those few, some, he may be sure, were planted by the hand of Ralegh. If it be permitted him to indulge in the dreamy luxury of reposing for a while on the green-sward, which comes close up to the house on two of its sides, he will have groves on the one hand, of the exceeding beauty of which a large part was planned by Ralegh, and, on the other, he will have a lake which owes something to the same taste, though its present broad expanse is the result of a lucky accident, turned to good account, long after Sir Walter's death. When he has crossed the lower park, and has reached the upper or deer park,—part of which is known, whimsically, by the name of 'Jerusalem,'—he will pass beneath the shade of many grand old oaks. Most of them were already relics of antiquity, when they sheltered Ralegh from the heat of some July sun. If the ride or walk be prolonged, still onward, until the rambler has attained a prominent ridge,—now called 'Hanover woods,'—he will be rewarded with a wide and most attractive prospect. To the reader of Ralegh's letters it can hardly fail to suggest many thoughts, and some of them will be charitable thoughts. Standing at the edge of those hanging woods, he will be able to enter a little into the feelings with which the owner and adorner, during nearly twenty years, of a large breadth of the surrounding landscape, clave to his possession, and to the darling hope, that, in spite of Fortune, he might yet, perhaps, hand it down to his offspring. But

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he will also remember that earlier owners of the manors and lands which there spread beneath his view looked, in their day, on those fair possessions with thoughts and purposes in their hearts, of much wider and higher scope.

NOTE TO CHAPTER XXI.

TRANSFERS OF THE SHERBORNE ESTATE.

1604. July 30. *Letters Patent*:—Grant of the Castle and Manors of Sherborne, &c., to Sir Alexander Brett, &c., in trust for Lady Ralegh, "for a term of sixty years, should Sir Walter Ralegh so long live." (*Docquet Book*, JAMES I., vol. i.)

1609. Sept. 23. *Lawrence Keymis to Lord Salisbury*: . . . . "All that I intended was but to retain power by a friend to surrender those copyholds (at any time when Sir Robert Carr should like to redeem them) which I purchased long since; the remainder of them being in Sir Walter Ralegh's youngest son and a grandchild of the Steward's, whose art herein it may please your Lordship to note. He may prevent this intended surrender, and seeming to endear his services to Sir Robert Carr, may therewithal establish the said copyholds in his said grandchild, and pay nothing for them. . . . It is conceived I refuse to agree to the Survey. . . . Shortness of time, *and perhaps the Commissioners' desire to leave your Lordship occasion to deal extraordinarily well with Sir Walter Ralegh and his*, caused them not to take so precise instruction as was requisite. . . . In my certain knowledge, and upon my allegiance, the said Survey is defective." (*Domestic Correspondence*, JAMES I.; 1609. Rolls House.)

1609. Dec. 23. *Privy Seal*:—£8,000 to be paid to Lawrence Keymis, gentleman, "for the passing of the Lordship and Manor of Sherborne, in the County of Dorset, together with the lands, tenements and appurtenances, unto His Majesty in fee-simple." (*Cæsar Papers*, MS. Lansdowne, cxlii. fol. 280. British Museum.)

1610. Jan. 12. *Privy Seal*:—Payment to Lady Ralegh of £102 1*s.* 8*d.*, for the interest and forbearance of £5,000 for interest and estate of the Manor of Sherborne, conveyed and passed over unto His Majesty, March 13, 1607–1608 [?]. (Entry of Docquet, in *Domestic Correspondence*, JAMES I.; vol. cvii. Rolls House.)

1610. Jan. 16. *Letters Patent*:—£400, per annum, to be granted in trust to Sir Francis Darcy and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, during the life of Elizabeth, Lady Ralegh. †(*Patent Roll*, 7 JAMES I.; Rolls House. Copy of Docquet, in MS. Lansd. cxlii., as above.)

1610. Jan. 16. *Privy Seal*:—Payment to Walter Gawen of £300, "for so much by him formerly paid to Sir Walter Rawley, before his

attainder, for an annuity of thirty pounds, for which certain lands [at Sherborne] were tied." (*Pells Order Book*, JAMES I.; 1610–1611. Rolls House.)

1610. April 7. *Privy Seal:*—Payment to Sir Robert Carre of £4,600, in part payment of the sum of £20,000, "for his interest and estate in the Manor and Castle of Sherborne . . . with all other lands thereunto appertaining, lately come to His Majesty's hands by the attainder of Sir Walter Ralegh, and bestowed on Sir Robert Carre, . . . which His Majesty is now pleased to resume again." (*Pells Order Book*, as above.) Other like entries occur up to completion of the payment, on Dec. 22nd in the same year.

1613. Nov. 25. *Privy Seal:*—Repayment to Sir Robert Phelips of £800, "which he advanced for a lease of Sherborne Park."

Grant to be drawn to Robert, Earl of Somerset, "of the Manor of Sherborne, . . . and of all manors and lands in Dorset, whereof Sir Walter Ralegh was possessed, . . . together with the Rectory or Prebend of Sherborne, . . . for which he has paid the sum of £20,000." (*Signs Manual*, JAMES I.; vol. iii. No. 111. Rolls House.)

1616. November 17. *Privy Seal:*—Discharge to Sir John Digby of the sum of £10,000, paid by him "for the lordship, castle, and manor of Sherborne, heretofore belonging to Sir Walter Ralegh attainted; and forfeited by the attainder of Robert, Earl of Somerset." (*Warrant Book*, JAMES I.; vol. i. fol. 196. Rolls House.)

Grant to George, Viscount Villiers, "of the Manors . . . in the Counties of Gloucester, Suffolk, Warwick, Lincoln, and York, . . . in lieu of the Manor of Sherborne, intended for him; notwithstanding their being annexed to the Crown by the 'Act of Entail.'" (*Warrant Book*, as above, fol. 200.)

1617. March 18. *Nathaniel Brent to Sir Dudley Carleton, Ambassador at the Hague:*—"Sir John Digby goes *at his own expense* to Spain, as was agreed when he had Sherborne made over to him." (*Domestic Correspondence*, JAMES I.; vol. xc. § 131. Rolls House.)

CHAPTER XXII.

TWELVE YEARS IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.—PRISON LABOURS.

1604—1616.

Years of Imprisonment.—Appearance of the Plague in the Tower.—The Message for the Duchy Seal of Cornwall.—Ralegh's Removal to the Fleet Prison.—Departure from England of Count Arenbergh.—His Character as drawn by James.—The Tower Historians and the Place of Ralegh's Confinement and Prison Labours.—The Chemical Laboratory in the Lieutenant's Garden.—Visit of the Countess of Beaumont to the Tower, and the Examination before the Lords of the Council about the Gunpowder Plot.—The New Regulations framed by Sir William Waad.—The Intercessions for Ralegh's Pardon.—Tower Writings.—Discourses on the Project of Marriage for Prince Henry and the Princess Elizabeth.—Circumstances of the Negotiation with the Duke of Savoy.—Other Prison Labours.—The Discourses on War and on the Sea Service.—Death of Salisbury.—And of Prince Henry.—Ralegh's Elixir and its results.—Projects of English History.—The *Breviary of the Reign of William the First.*—Doubts which have been started as to its Authorship.—Archbishop Sancroft's Testimony about the *Breviary.*

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RALEGH'S imprisonment in the Tower of London—with a brief interval spent within the Fleet Prison, shortly after an outbreak of Plague in the Tower—lasted from the 16th of December, 1603, the day of his return from Winchester, until the 20th of March, 1616. During part of that period, his wife and son lived with him, and he had the constant attendance of three of his own men. Other servants and agents (the steward of Sherborne among the rest) were permitted to have access "at convenient times;" as also

were several of his friends. The friends whose company he enjoyed most frequently appear to have been Thomas Hariot, and a clergyman named Hawthorn, of whom very little is now known.

APPEARANCE OF THE PLAGUE IN THE TOWER.

Although the Tower had so recently been the occasional residence of the Sovereign, and was still, during the whole period of Sir Walter's imprisonment, the frequent resort, in hours devoted to recreation, of King and courtiers, it was an unhealthy abode. When the Plague had departed from most parts of London, it often lingered in the Tower. Thus, not very long after his return from Winchester, we find Ralegh writing to Lord Cranborne with a complaint that the Plague had come into the rooms next his own, with "only the narrow passage of the way between. My poor child," he adds, "has lain these fourteen days next to a woman with a running plague-sore, and whose child is also, this Thursday, dead of the Plague." Lady Ralegh was compelled to remove very hurriedly with her son. She took a house upon Tower Hill, and it is probable that it was there she bore to Sir Walter their second, and eventually their only surviving son, Carew. He repeatedly urged his own wish to be removed.

Letter CXXXVI. Vol. II. p. 315.

RALEGH'S REMOVAL TO THE FLEET PRISON.

There is no evidence that Ralegh's request was listened to. He was, indeed, speedily removed from the Tower to the prison of the Fleet.[1] But the removal grew out of a desire to preclude all possibility that

[1] Mr. J. Payne Collier has printed (in *Notes and Queries*, Third Series, vol. v. p. 7) some of the weekly charge-bills. The entries of "diet and charges" for Ralegh and his servants are at the rate of five pounds a week; those for Lawrence Keymis are at the rate of eleven shillings a week. In these accounts, Keymis is entered from the 29th September until 31st December, 1603, "on which last-named day," says the Bill, "he was discharged from the Tower." But his name occurs after Ralegh's in the Fleet Bills of 1604.

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either Ralegh or any of his companions should disturb, by their near neighbourhood, a royal festivity. An Easter bull-baiting was to be celebrated within the Tower, at which James and many of his courtiers would be present. It was part of the programme that the torture of the beasts should be preceded by an act of clemency towards such of the prisoners as were less obnoxious to the Court than were Ralegh, Cobham, and Grey. That the amnesty might wear the better aspect, the Tower prisoners who were not to share in it were first removed to other prisons.

1604, March.

VENETIAN ACCOUNT OF THE TOWER BULL-BAITINGS.

The Venetian resident at James' Court sent an account of this festivity, and of its accompanying incidents, to his Senate. "On Monday the 26th of March, 1604, the King, Queen, and Prince," he writes, "together with the Council and the whole Court, went down the river to the Tower, in long and gay procession." The crowd of Londoners who had flocked to see the sight was so great that the King and his courtiers could only with difficulty ascend the stairs. Bulls and other animals were baited, and many minor amusements added their attractions to the scene. "The King," continues the ambassador, "caused all the prisons of the Tower to be opened, and all the persons then within them to be released. But, on the day preceding his Majesty's visit, the four conspirators whose lives were lately spared [1] had been removed, and placed in other prisons. The like was done also to Sir Anthony Standen, who had been lately imprisoned upon his return from Italy; his Majesty not having deemed those excepted persons worthy of his grace." [2]

Leonello to Senate of Venice; Venetian Archives (*Consiglio di X.: 'England:'* March 1604).

[1] *I.e.* Ralegh, Grey, Cobham, and Markham.

[2] I quote this curious passage from Mr. Duffus Hardy's most valuable report on the Venetian archives, printed in 1866.

THE MESSAGE FOR THE DUCHY SEAL.

Early in 1604 an officer of the Earl of Pembroke was brought to Ralegh's chamber by Sir George Harvey, Lieutenant of the Tower. He was the bearer of a demand for the delivery of the Seal of the Duchy of Cornwall. Sir Walter told him that he had received that seal from the hands of Queen Elizabeth, and could not give it up, without the King's warrant, or, at least, without some official authority superior to that of a verbal message from Lord Pembroke. Presently afterwards, he sent the Seal of the Duchy to Lord Cecil, together with a letter addressed to the King, and a request that the Secretary would deliver the seal into the hands of his Majesty, "to whom only," he said, "it appertaineth to dispose thereof." Whether this correspondence about the Seal of Cornwall preceded, or followed, the removal from the Tower to the Fleet, is uncertain.

The precise duration of Sir Walter Ralegh's sojourn in the last-named prison is not on record. It was doubtless very brief. If reasons of State would induce the return as speedily as might be of such a prisoner to the greater security of the Tower, they would probably be in harmony with Sir Walter's own wishes, after the Plague had departed. Enough is known of the prison economy of those days to make it certain that the Fleet, under ordinary circumstances, would be a far more wretched abode than the Tower.

DEPARTURE OF THE COUNT OF ARENBERGH.

During the spring of 1604, the Count of Arenbergh had returned for a while to England, to aid in the conclusion of the peace with Spain and with the Archdukes. Shortly after Ralegh's return to the Tower, Arenbergh had to take his final leave of James. No reader of Ralegh's biography will, in all likelihood, think it a digression from the subject in hand to notice the terms on which

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that leave was taken. So far as is known to me, they have never been noticed, by biographer or by historian, heretofore.

It is obvious that in the course of 1603 one of these two things had taken place: Either, on the one hand, Arenbergh had betrayed every duty of an ambassador; or else, on the other, the character given, in the trials at Winchester, to the intercourse carried on—with the alleged complicity of Ralegh—between Arenbergh and Cobham, was a piece of deliberate political falsehood of the most infamous sort. The knavery of Arenbergh underlies, of necessity, the treason charged against Cobham. Whatever the guilt of Cobham in any other respect, his Indictment falls to the ground, unless Arenbergh had betrayed his duty, both to the master he served and to the king to whom he was accredited. What, then, is the character given to Arenbergh, by James and his ministers, after all stress of diplomatic reserve and diplomatic subtlety had ended?

"We thank you most affectionately," writes James to the Archduke Albert, in August 1604, "for the sincerity and affection you have shown yourself to bear towards the conclusion of this Peace and Friendship, by the choice you have made of such worthy and eminent instruments as are our Cousin, the Prince Count of Arenbergh, . . . [and his colleague], who by their sufficiency, prudence, and integrity, have so conducted this important affair that we have received therein very great satisfaction."

Foreign Correspondence: FRANCE, vol. cxxix. fol. 116. (R. H.)

Sir George Harvey was succeeded in his lieutenancy by our old acquaintance Sir William Waad, on the 15th of August, 1605. Harvey had shown several acts of courtesy towards the most conspicuous of his prisoners.

Probably he had experienced some compunctive feelings on the score of his long concealment of Cobham's self-originated confession of false witness. Anyhow, he displayed a readiness to lighten to Ralegh, in various ways, the burden of imprisonment. His dining, now with Ralegh and now with Cobham,—as he is known to have done,—may have been occasioned by motives of a different sort. But his relinquishment to Ralegh of his own private garden can hardly have grown out of other feelings than those of kindness. In matters of daily comfort,—such as facilities of exercise, use of books, and opportunities of conversation,—Sir Walter had many indulgences, and he turned them nobly to account.

WHICH OF THE TOWER PRISONS WAS RALEGH'S ABODE?

Several books have been written expressly about the Tower of London. Some of them are large books; but they afford little help towards solving the not uninteresting questions,—In which, or in how many, of its famous old buildings did Ralegh live?—Where was the *History of the World* written? All these Tower books contain copious digressions into the fields of general history,—and also not a few digressions into the fields of fiction, more or less poetic,—but not one of them supplies a true answer to either of those pertinent questions; or even to the minor query: Have any of the old business-books, or routine memoranda, which must needs have been used to facilitate the daily duties and responsibilities of the Tower warders to their superior officers, come down to our time? The last published of these historical works about the Tower, far from giving help towards identifying Ralegh's twelve years' abode, gravely asks its readers to believe that a man who had still his household servants about him, who possessed and used a considerable library, and who saw many friends, lived

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in a cell ten feet by eight feet. They tell the inquirer that the *History of the World* was written by help of a gleam of borrowed light coming, through a deeply immured door, into a dungeon without a window. That the statement may impress itself on the reader's memory, the engraver's help is called in. A view is given of Sir Walter Ralegh's prison, which represents a dark and tiny cell built within the wall of a vaulted chamber lying immediately underneath the beautiful and famous Norman chapel of St. John Baptist,—a chapel, by the way, which Lord Derby's ministry of 1857 saved, in the nick of time, from becoming an army clothing-store. The 'White Tower' and its vaulted chambers and corridors abound with historic memories of undying interest; but Ralegh's memory is not one of them. His abode was in the 'Bloody Tower,' rich already in other and darker traditions than those which belong to the legendary pile of Cæsar. In that tower, the literary work which would have formed a fair spell of labour for a tolerably industrious lifetime was begun, and for a long time carried on; though it was not finished there.

Compare *Examination of E. Cotterell; Dom. Cor.* James I. vol. xxvi. §42 (R. H.); and Letters in *Cecil Pap.* vol. cix. § 13, seqq. (Hatfield.)

RALEGH'S CHEMICAL PURSUITS AND ASSAYINGS.

The prisoner's first resource was not literature, but chemistry. For a considerable time, chemical experiments, distillations, and analyses seem almost to have engrossed his attention. He turned Sir George Harvey's garden into a laboratory, as well as into a place of exercise and, perhaps, of occasional botanizing. He built there a furnace, and, amongst the many uses to which he turned it, was the assaying of metallic ores.

In those days, the Tower was on the verge of the town, and very pleasant outlooks into Essex, Kent, and Surrey were to be had from some of its windows and battlements. Even the Lieutenant's garden had its

glimpses of prospect; at least, across the Tower green. When Waad came into office, he looked—as became him—with an evil eye at the recreations which were going on in his official precincts, and at the glimpses into the outer world which the employments of the garden may sometimes have facilitated. And he was angry at the easy access which his predecessor had permitted to the friends of a prisoner of whom, it is obvious, the new Lieutenant had some fear, as well as much hate. Waad soon wrote to Lord Salisbury: "Sir Walter Ralegh hath converted a little hen-house in the garden into a still, where he doth spend his time all the day in his distillations. I desire not to remove him; though I want, by that means, the garden. . . . . *If a brick wall were built, it would be more safe and convenient.*"

Cecil Papers; as before.

Meanwhile, in the absence of the brick wall, Ralegh's garden and laboratory lay open to view. And his ardent devotion to Chemistry came to be widely known. He had always been the observed of many observers; and the talk about town, of what had been done and said at Winchester, was not unlikely to turn the eyes of Tower visitors towards that small garden with increased curiosity for many months, perhaps even for many years, to come. It was bitter to 'Master Lieutenant' to find that one at least of his prisoners seemed to be made of more account, even on Tower ground, than the Lieutenant himself; though he, a little while before, had been joined in commission with the Lord Chief Justice of England, to try that very prisoner for his life. On a certain day in 1605, the Countess of Beaumont, wife of the French Ambassador, came with Lady Effingham and others to see the lions. Ralegh was in his garden, as she passed. She made her salutation, and asked him

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to oblige her with the gift of a little 'Balsam of Guiana.' Ralegh saw in her train a certain Captain Whitelocke, a retainer of the Earl of Northumberland, and desired him to be the bearer of the balsam to the fair applicant. On this foundation,—as it seems,—Waad afterwards either originated or promoted the calumny that Sir Walter, if not really a participant in the Gunpowder Plot of the ensuing winter, had at least, in some way, sent his good wishes for its success. Ralegh was actually withdrawn, in due time, from his distillations and assays, to give an account of his intercourse with Whitelocke, before the Lords of the Council. Nothing—it is almost needless to say—came of the examination; but, as a preliminary to it, the prisoner's liberties were abridged.

RALEGH EXAMINED ABOUT THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

Encouraged by such success, Sir William Waad redoubles his vigilance. Presently, he finds matter for a new letter to the Secretary:—"Sir Walter Ralegh, since his being before your Lordships,—whereof notice is generally taken,—doth show himself upon the wall in his garden, to the view of the people who gaze upon him; which made me bold, in discretion and conveniency, to restrain him again."

Nor was this the only instance of presumption which moved the wrath of the industrious Examiner and Lord Commissioner of 1603. He noticed that Lady Ralegh had had the audacity to enter the Tower in her coach. He saw, too, that some of his prisoners were adapting themselves to circumstances, and giving to their daily life something of the aspect of home. His active mind set speedily to work; and, ere long, a new code of 'Ordinances for government of the Tower' came out. It was now directed—amongst many other restrictions—that for the future, at ringing of the afternoon bell (rung, I believe, at 5 P.M.), for closing the Tower gates, "all

WAAD'S NEW ORDINANCES FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TOWER.

the prisoners, with their servants, are to withdraw themselves into their chambers, and not to go forth again for that night. None of the servants of the lords, or other prisoners, are to be permitted to lodge out of their lords' or masters' chambers." The servants, it was ordered, should dine by themselves, "and not use their lodgings or prisons as ordinaries, by resort of persons to them at their meals." Such wives of prisoners as are allowed to have access were to be "admitted at convenient times, but shall not lodge in the Tower, and use the prisons as if they were dwelling-houses; nor shall they be permitted to come into the Tower with their coaches;" and, further, "whereas, of late, the doors of the lodgings in the daytime have been left open, special order is given that henceforth the doors shall be kept shut." These new regulations came into force in the July of 1607.

Tower MSS.; printed in Bayley's Appendix to *Antiq. of the Tower*, vol. ii.

DECLINE OF RALEGH'S HEALTH.

In the preceding year, Sir Walter Ralegh's health had already begun to decline. Dr. Peter Turner, his physician, presently sent to the Secretary's office a report that "all his left side is extreme cold, out [*i.e.* void] of sense and motion, or numbed; his fingers on the same side begin to be contracted, and his tongue, in some part, insomuch that he speaketh weakly, and it is to be feared he may utterly lose the use of it." The physician added that Sir Walter ought, in his opinion, to be removed from the cold lodging where he lay into a warmer one; and suggested, as an improvement immediately practicable, that he might be put into "a little room which he hath built, in the garden adjoining to his still-house." I infer from subsequent mention, among the State Papers, of "Sir Walter Ralegh's new building" in the Tower, that he was, eventually, removed thither. But the removal must, in all probability, have taken

Domestic Corresp. James I. vol. xix. § 112. (R. H.)

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SUITS TO THE KING FOR RALEGH'S PARDON.

place after Waad's retirement from the Tower Lieutenancy—to make room for Lord Northampton's still more serviceable friend, Sir Gervase Elwys.

In the meantime, many earnest but fruitless applications were made for Ralegh's pardon. Queen Anne was amongst his zealous and untiring friends. Prince Henry not only took a like course of repeated intercession, but—under the anger of failure—he uttered now and then hard speeches about his father's usage of a man of Ralegh's mark, convicted of treason after a fashion which, in some mouths, had already coined itself into a pithy proverb. The Prince, it is said, also caused some of those who were about his person to furnish him with the fullest evidence that could be got at, concerning the nature and details of the plot of which Sir Walter Ralegh had been accused, and the subsequent trial. The results of his inquiry led to not a little correspondence between the Prince and the prisoner. Henry consulted him on matters of private concernment; on questions of politics, and especially of foreign policy; and about improvements in ship-building. They had several qualities in common. Both had fine parts. Both were impulsive in temperament, speculative in intellect, and inclined to bold, and even rash, adventure. Both were frank and outspoken, to imprudence. A just remark made upon Ralegh,—by a keen student of life as well as of literature,—that "his judgment was far from being proportionate to his eminent abilities," would hold good also, in its measure, of his princely correspondent; although of his abilities England was to have but the hope and handsel, not, as of Ralegh's, the full fruition.

When the King of Denmark came to England, it was fondly hoped that the good offices with James which

had been fruitlessly exerted by his wife and his son, might, perhaps, have better success when employed to beg, at some hour of festive enjoyment, a boon for an honoured and most convivial guest. James dashed the hope, almost as soon as it was formed. "Promise me," said he to Christian the Fourth, very soon after his arrival at Court, "that you will be no man's solicitor." The promise, it seems,—if ever made,—was not kept. But the success of the petition was precisely what ought to have been expected. When, at a later period, a like intercession was used by the Prince Palatine for Lord Grey, James is reported to have replied: "Son, when I come to see you in Germany, I will ask for none of your prisoners."

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Dom. Cor. James I, vol. xxiii. § 10. (R. H.)

LITERARY LABOURS IN THE TOWER.

Ralegh consoled himself for the vanishing prospect of liberty by varying the labours of the furnace and still-house, with labours yet more strenuous and persevering in the study. There are no materials for even a proximately chronological arrangement of his literary and political works. All that can at present be said, on that score, is that there exists a probability that the writing of several of the minor pieces preceded the commencement of his History.* It is obvious, also, that two or three of the former date themselves sufficiently, by their subject-matter. Of the pamphlets on topics of public policy two, in particular, retain, to this moment, a deep interest for Englishmen, though they were occasioned not so much by events, as by the delusive projects and manœuvrings of the diplomacy of the day. Students of our history will find an enduring value in the *Discourse touching a Marriage between Prince Henry of England and a Daughter of Savoy*, and in its companion tract, entitled *A Discourse touching a match*

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THE DISCOURSES ON THE NEGOTIATION WITH SAVOY.

propounded by the Savoyan between the Lady Elizabeth and the Prince of Piedmont, though both the proposals of which they treat were devoid alike of substance and of result. Both discourses were written by Ralegh in 1611, at the express request of Prince Henry. They are important incidents in the prison-life of their writer. And the briefest account of them, to be intelligible, needs some introductory remark on the negotiations that had led up to those colourable proposals of a double marriage with Savoy which caused the Prince's message. The topic strongly excited contemporary public feeling. Ralegh discussed it with his wonted earnestness. To one class of his countrymen his treatment of the matter was especially distasteful, and that class included men of note, some of whom had powerfully influenced the writer's own fate in life. To that class he applies the term 'Englishmen *Hispaniolized*.' Possibly, the term was coined for the occasion. Anyhow, it has the felicity of summing up an argument in an epithet.

GLANCE AT THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH LED TO RALEGH'S DISCOURSES OF 1611.

Negotiations of some sort about the marriage of James' children began within a day or two of the date which marks the invention—whosoever may have been the inventor—of a phrase, memorable in these pages:—'We will kill the fox, and his cubs.' Ralegh, in all probability, had heard some hint of possible overtures about royal marriages, even before he took that July walk on Windsor Terrace which Lord Cecil so disagreeably broke in upon. The first diplomatic mention of the subject came from France. The Duke of Sully has recorded in his Memoirs the amazement with which, whilst sitting

July, 1603.

at the royal dinner-table at Greenwich,—just a fortnight before the Windsor scene,—he listened to James' convivial allusion to a proffer from France, deserving, as its

hearer thought, of more dignified notice. Over flowing cups of wine,—which, as Sully notes, by the way, in his report to his master, it was not James' habit to qualify with the least admixture of allaying Thames,—the King jested about double relationships. The ambassador would fain have discussed such grave matters only at a set audience. Till that moment, no word had passed from the King about them, since the opening of Sully's mission. But now, lest James should think France over-anxious for his alliance, the Duke tells him, in a whisper, that his master had received proposals for the marriage of the Dauphin from Spain. "I, too, have had the like," rejoined James. "They offer their Infanta to everybody."

Sully's *Mémoires.*

A year afterwards, came the Count of Villa Mediana and the Duke of Frias, with a formal proffer to James of the hand of the Infanta Anne for Prince Henry. To make the best of the time, one of them carried a renewed proposal to Henry the Fourth, on his way homeward. But the success was no greater at Fontainebleau than at Richmond. All parties knew that the things really to be bargained for with Spain were not bridals between youthful princes, but props to Romanism, and weapons of war against the Dutch. And Henry helped, for a time, to strengthen James against evil counsels, both from within and without.

FOREIGN ACCOUNTS OF ENGLISH FEELING ON CONTINENTAL ALLIANCES.

In the course of one of the many valuable contributions to history which M. Guizot has given to the world, he has published, from the Spanish archives, an account sent to Philip the Third, in 1604, of the state of public feeling in England about a Spanish marriage, as the writer had estimated it. But the estimate was that of a staunch member of the Society of Jesus. It bears a family resemblance to those pictures of England, in the closing years of Elizabeth, drawn from the Jesuit point

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of view, of which so many were scattered abroad on the Continent, to be gathered at last amongst our own *Domestic Correspondence;* and to serve as examples how curiously even acute observers can transform things wished for into things seen. This writer represents the King and a few of his Scottish courtiers as leaning towards a closer alliance with France; whilst "the Queen, a majority of the Privy Council, and the bulk of the nation, Protestants as well as Catholics,—although from different motives,—wished to marry their Prince with a Spanish Princess."[1] This highly coloured view has for its item of truth the old national jealousy of the alliance between Frenchmen and Scots. That element in the question doubtless contributed its quota of influence during many years to come. And it was often over-estimated by men of better knowledge than Philip the Third's correspondent. Thus, for example, Count Des Marêts, ambassador from France, writes—as late as 1616—thus: "All the magnates of this kingdom, the Scots excepted, who are few in number, are inclined towards a Spanish alliance. The English retain their jealousy of the Scots, and are always ready to snap at them (*ont toujours une dent de laie sur les Écossois*); they fear, perhaps, that the Scots would profit most by a French alliance."[2] But a wider and deeper feeling was, in truth, daily gathering strength. And it was part of Ralegh's appointed work to aid the development of that feeling, with his might, and in more ways than one.

From time to time, the Spanish overtures were, more or less vigorously, kept alive. And, in 1611, Sir Charles

[1] MS. Simancas 7026, as quoted by Guizot, *Un Projet de Mariage royal* (*Revue des deux Mondes*, Seconde période, tom. xl. p. 207).

[2] *Lettres et Depesches du Sieur Comte Des Marêts;* in Imperial Library at Paris; French MSS. *Fonds St. Germain*, No. 772, fol. 262.

THE INCEPTION OF THE PROPOSALS FROM SAVOY.

Cornwallis was instructed to ask formally at Madrid for the Infanta's hand, on behalf of Prince Henry. Almost at the same moment, proposals for a marriage between the Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine were known to be under discussion in England. By the Spanish Government, the one project was played off against the other. It never intended to marry Anne with Henry. It hoped to defeat the scheme of a marriage between Frederick and Elizabeth. The Spanish ambassador at London was instructed to ask James if he would be willing to give his daughter to the eldest son of Victor Amadeus I.,—that Duke of Savoy whom Milton has made scathingly famous, as prince of

> ". . . , the bloody Piemontese that roll'd
> Mother with infant down the rocks."

When the Duke's ambassador, the Count of Castagnana, was permitted to put the proposition, in form, before the King and Council, instead of proposing a single marriage, he proposed a double one. The hand of the Princess Elizabeth was asked for the Prince of Piedmont; the hand of a Savoyan Princess was proffered to the Prince of Wales. Prince Henry then sent his message to the Tower, inviting Ralegh to express his opinion of the policy of the proposed twofold alliance, and of the relative interests, and relative position, of England and Savoy. These are the subjects, and the occasion, of the two political *Discourses*, written in 1611, but not published until long after their author's death.

Ralegh begins by noting an objection which lay on the surface of the matter. Let us assume, he says, that both marriages are made; and that, at some future time, there should fall out, "if it should please God to lay such a heavy burden upon us," a failure of heirs

1611.

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male, as well in England as in Savoy: a Savoyan—of Spanish race—might become King of England; "yet it would not be easy for a King of England to recover," in a like eventuality, "the right of the Savoyan principalities, all France being interjacent." Nothing, he thinks, would be more impossible, hardly anything less profitable, than the inheritance of Savoy. Then comes the question, Is the uselessness of a Savoyan alliance, for any possible future enlargement of dominion, compensated by any probable future utility in the way of combined action against some too powerful enemy? The State of Savoy, he answers, "cannot be changed by any alliance. It hath ever depended, and must ever depend, either upon France or upon Spain." He passes in review the history of Savoy; shows its present servility to Spain; its past and inherent weakness, when actually at strife with France; its proved unserviceableness as an ally to England, even under circumstances exceptionally favourable. All the good a King of England can look for from Savoy is but a choice of evils. Either he must abandon his Piedmontese son-in-law, if France or Spain oppress him; or he must enter into a war for his defence, of which the prospect of success would hold no proportion to the charge.

Ralegh then glances at the instructive chapter of modern history which—already, at the beginning of the seventeenth century—exhibited the outcome of a long series of political marriages as being, mainly, a group of salient contrasts between performance and programme. He dwells with special zest on the marriages,—and on the betrothals,—of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and on his matrimonial traffic with the hands of his sisters and of his children. He finds the argument of example in retrospect to point precisely to the same negative con-

clusion as the argument of advantage in prospect; and he clinches his conclusions by calling attention to another view of the question, which he deems to be higher and graver than those he had already examined. Let it be seen if the consideration due to the claims and interest of the Princess herself—"one of the precious jewels of this kingdom"—can possibly fall in with such a match as that with Savoy. "She must be removed far from her nearest blood, both by father and mother, into a country as far estranged from our nation as any part of Christendom, and as far differing from us in religion as in climate." What true correspondency, or matrimonial affection, he asks, can be maintained between persons whose minds are different and opposite in the points of their Christian faith? With what security can our Princess long live free from secret practices and treacheries in a country environed with the plots of the Jesuits? He points to the fact—always so fruitful of contention and mental anguish—that either her children must be brought up in a way directly contrary to her conscience, or she herself must be driven to wound her conscience by forsaking her faith. He sums up his whole argument in words few and weighty: "For his Majesty of England to match his eldest and only daughter with a Prince which hath his dependence upon other kings; a Prince jesuited; one which can neither stead us in time of war, nor trade with us in time of peace; a Prince, by the very situation of his country, every way unprofitable to us, and no less perilous for his Majesty's child to live in;—I resolve myself that his Majesty is of too excellent a judgment ever to accept of it, and his Council too wise and provident to advise the prosecution thereof."

Discourse on a Match, &c. Works, vol. viii. p. 236 (Oxford edition).

The closely-connected question of the Dutch indepen-

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dence was always present to Ralegh's thoughts, when turned towards matters of policy. He had scarcely entered on the fulfilment of Prince Henry's command when an episodical little sentence about Holland glided from his pen.—"While the League stands between his Majesty and the Low Countries, he is invincible by them; they invincible by him. All other petty combinations will be rather chargeable than profitable." The like thought comes in again, to clinch a final argument: "I have heard that some overtures have been made for the Prince Palatine of the Rhine. Certainly he is as well born as the Duke of Savoy, and as free a Prince as he is. The nation is faithful. The Prince is of our religion. And by him we shall greatly fasten unto us the Netherlands. And, for the little judgment God hath given me, I do prize the alliance of the Palatine of the Rhine, and of the House of Nassau, more than I do the alliance of ten Dukes of Savoy." In that sentence Ralegh spoke the conviction of the best minds in England. In spite of those floating straws of opinion which had been eagerly gathered and sent abroad,—whether by Jesuits or by ambassadors,—he was substantially at one with no small proportion of the English nobility and of the English people. But his opinion was in opposition to the wishes of James and of many favoured courtiers. It was also another item laid up against its promulgator, in the long account with Spain.

Discourse on a Match, &c. Works, vol. viii. p. 226 (Oxford edition).

THE DISCOURSE ON THE MARRIAGE OF PRINCE HENRY.

This last-named aspect of the matter in hand comes out more saliently still in the second Discourse, which treats of the marriage of the Prince himself. The pith of this tract lies in the propositions:—The Dukes of Savoy are of the blood of Spain. To Spain those Dukes have always been servants. "Whatsoever is

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Discourse, &c. in Works, vol. viii. p. 241.

pretended to the contrary, it is Spain that we ought to suspect. Savoy from Spain is inseparable. Spain to England is irreconcilable." The argument is illustrated by another rapid but masterly review of the history and policy of the Piedmontese sovereigns, and also by glances at the history of other continental realms. And again the inevitable links between the question immediately pending and that greater question which lay beyond it—that of amity with the Netherlands—are dwelt upon, to iteration. By such an alliance, it is urged, "we shall increase the jealousies of the Netherlands. They began to cool towards us, when we made peace without them, which enforced them to make a long truce. They were the last that put down arms; and, though they compounded with the greatest disadvantage—France and England having first compounded—*yet they made a far more noble Peace with Spain than we did.* Since that time, they have neglected us by degrees. Let us look to it with all the eyes we have. For to which of the three those people fasten themselves—whether to England, France, or Spain—he that hath them will become the greatest, and give the law to the rest. If any man doubt it, he knows not much. But this hath been our own fault, and [through] the detested covetousness of some great ones of ours: for whereas, in my time, I have known one of her Majesty's ships command forty of theirs to strike sail, they will now take us one to one, and not give us a good morrow. They master us both in their number and in their mariners; and they have our own ordnance to break our own bones withal." Then, as always, the Future concealed eventualities which it is not given to the wisest to fathom beforehand. But it also concealed some very striking proofs of the truth of Ralegh's forecast. In conclusion, he points to

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France. He points also to the expediency of a prudent delay. "While the Prince is unmarried, all the eyes of Christendom are upon him; for with what King soever he shall be balanced he will cast the scale. . . . . I would advise the Prince to keep his own ground for a while, and no way to engage or entangle himself." "The wounds are too many and too deep,"—he says, finally—"that we have given to Spain, to the Archdukes, and to the Pope, to be healed with the plaister of a peace. . . . . If we look for allies to Savoy or Florence, we leave those that are strongest and nearest to us, for those that are weakest and furthest off."

Discourse on a Marriage, &c. Works, vol. viii. p. 252.

1611, July.

Very soon after these counsels were sent to the Prince of Wales, it was Ralegh's fate once again to be brought into collision with powerful ministers and favourites of the King. That his known influence over Prince Henry's mind excited jealousy and anger is certain; and such a result was plainly inevitable. There is no evidence that these Discourses on an Alliance with Savoy were the specific cause of an angry interview which occurred, between Ralegh and Lord Salisbury, in July. It is probable rather, that they tended, in their measure, to aggravate some other ground of offence. The conversation with Salisbury was immediately followed by one between Ralegh and Lord Northampton, in company with other members of the Privy Council. Both interviews are known only, I take it, by allusions in letters written by Ralegh and by Northampton. The matter of the Sherborne conveyances may, possibly, have been brought once again into question, but there is no proof that the fact was so. Whatever the cause, Ralegh's liberties and indulgences were again much abridged. Just before these interviews, Lord Grey is found complaining that

VISIT OF PRIVY COUNCILLORS TO THE TOWER.

his fellow-prisoners are under less restraint than he is. "Northumberland," he writes to Salisbury, "hath liberty to walk on the Hill; Cobham, to walk freely in the garden. Sir Walter Ralegh hath a garden and a gallery to himself. I, only, am shut up." A few days later, Ralegh is put under special restraint,—under "close imprisonment for three months," at least, according to his own account, in the letter addressed to Sir Walter Cope,[1]—whilst Lord Grey indulges in confident though vain expectations of recovering his absolute freedom.

Lord Grey to Earl of Salisbury; June 26, 1611 (Hatfield).

Letter CXLIV. Vol. II. p. 328. See the Prefatory Note to Letter XVII. of Appendix vi. (Vol. II. pp. 469—481).

That very sharp speeches had passed on occasion of the visit of the Lords to the Tower, in July 1611, is apparent from Ralegh's own narrative to Cope. "I would have bought Lord Salisbury's presence at a far dearer rate than those sharp words, and these three months' close imprisonment; for it is in his Lordship's face and countenance that I behold all that remains to me of comfort, and all the hope I have; and from which I shall never be beaten till I see the last of evils, and the despair which hath no help." Some expressions of personal feeling follow, which I have elsewhere quoted. They afford striking testimony to the existence of generous qualities in Salisbury, whatever the human admixture of alloy. Nor can their testimony be cancelled, either by adverse expressions used at other times, or by the suggestion that those words of gratitude were employed to flatter a man in power, and were uttered for a selfish purpose. Ralegh used no such flatteries to Northampton; though he knew well that Northampton, in 1603, had exhausted neither his venom nor his power to sting. Of the very words of rebuke which the Lord Treasurer had used

[1] By a too close construction of Sir Walter's own expression on this occasion—"my wife hath been a prisoner with me for *six years last past*"—I was led to assign the conjectural date '1610?' to this letter addressed to Cope, instead of '1611,' which is clearly the right date. (Vol. II. p. 329.)

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towards him at this juncture Ralegh says, in the same letter: "I know that he spake them as a Councillor, sitting in Council, and in company of such as would not otherwise have been satisfied."

THE SEPARATION FROM LADY RALEGH.

The hardship of which Sir Walter chiefly complained was his separation from Lady Ralegh, and the continued drain upon the small means on which his children were dependent, that such a separation necessarily entailed. He begs Cope's influence towards Lady Ralegh's return to the Tower. "She being now divided from me,"—by an order of the Privy Council,—"I am driven," he continues, "to keep two houses, to my great impoverishing. . . . . It is no great matter to desire that my wife may live with me in this unsavoury place, though a cruel destiny hath made it so to me." The Tower records, it seems, do not show whether this small request was granted or denied.

THE DISCOURSE OF THE INVENTION OF SHIPS.

Cares, as usual with Ralegh, were medicined by strenuous and varied labour. Amongst other treatises to which the intercourse with Prince Henry—now very soon to be broken off by the hand of Death—gave occasion, at about this period of Ralegh's Tower life, were the *Discourse of the Invention of Ships*, and the *Observations concerning the Royal Navy and Sea-Service*. The first named of these tracts is not, like the second, expressly dedicated to Prince Henry. And there are indications—both in the tract itself, and in some contemporary allusions to it—which, at first sight, seem to suggest an earlier date. On this point the evidence either way is inconclusive. Both tracts, probably, are but fragments of that systematic work on maritime affairs which was planned during some part of the time of imprisonment. Like the *History of the World*, the *Treatise on Naval Warfare* was destined to rest

incomplete. Unlike it, however, an outline, or rough framework, of the intended naval book survives, to testify what it was to have been. What the modern part of the *History of the World* would have become we are left to infer from analogy, or from a casually preserved fragment or two. We know how Ralegh has dealt with the revolutions and the personages of the ancient empires. We have (in the Preface to the *History of the World*) hints how certain grand epochs in English affairs shaped themselves to his intellect. We get inklings here and there (as well in the Miscellaneous Writings as in the *History*), how harmoniously his faculties, both of the understanding and of the imagination, would have worked together in vivifying a narrative of the old struggles, out of which had sprung the England he so well knew, — the fast-growing dominion he had done so much to broaden. But men's opinions of the worth of what Ralegh actually did as an historian are much at variance. Estimates of work which was but planned, formed on such imperfect data, would be sure to differ still more widely. On one point all reading Englishmen would agree. Were it possible to discover only the rudest synopsis of the intended continuation of the *History of the World*—were it but such as we already have of the missing treatise on *The Art of War by Sea*—we should all, I suppose, rejoice, as at the finding of some piece of lost treasure.

MS. Cotton, Titus B viii. § 24. (B. M.)

THE ART OF WAR BY SEA.

Ralegh began this naval work by treating of the antiquities of shipbuilding. He searched diligently, in all sorts of books, for figures and descriptions of the vessels used by Tyrians and Rhodians, by Greeks, Carthaginians, and Romans. In reading, as in life, he was ever unsparing of pains. Old Devonshire men were wont to dilate to the youth of the next generation how

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anxiously Ralegh, when he was young, would strike up an acquaintance with every returned mariner of mark who came to any part of his own neighbourhood, from Exmouth up to Lyme, and would learn from him all he knew. From many of those old seafarers it is probable that he would learn much more than they consciously knew. And he dealt with books, as he had been wont to deal with men. He turned them inside out, before he had done with them.

RALEGH ON THE WEAKNESS OF SPAIN.

The sea-laws of every maritime state, from Carthage to England; the naval tactics of successive ages; the ports and natural harbours which lie scattered throughout the world, and the means of preserving and improving them; the influence of commerce upon maritime strength; the bearings of particular seasons of the year upon the defensibility of particular coasts; and half a dozen other cognate topics, were then passed under review. What he had himself seen[1] was brought to bear upon what he had read of. The events of history were collated with the maxims of science. And, at almost every turn, there comes in for illustration, in one form or other, that pregnant topic, which probably was never, for many consecutive hours, absent from Ralegh's waking thoughts,—the way to raise England by depressing Spain. "*Of the King of Spain's weakness in the West Indies, and how that rich mine may be taken from him*," is the title of one of the chapters. In the rough notes of the Cotton MS. that heading is

[1] Thus—to take but one example—when treating of Seaports, and of the relative advantages of those possessed by the chief competitors for naval power, he notes the possibility of very rapid change in the capacity of natural harbours, and illustrates the topic by this reminiscence:—"I myself may remember when Falmouth in Cornwall had three foot more of water at the entrance than now it hath, and Plymouth little less."—Fragments in MS. JONES, fol. 231 verso (Dr. Williams' Library).

presently followed by a jotting to this effect: "All wisdom, indevor, and valor of private men is without success, *where God takes wisedome from the Magistrate.*" The sentence had a sad significance at the time when it was penned. But, almost at that moment, a youth was preparing himself to leave Huntingdon Grammar School for Sidney College at Cambridge, of whom—amongst the other things that are known about him—it is on record that he was a careful student of the writings of Ralegh. It was his fortune to illustrate, in a very striking fashion, both that chapter-heading, "*Of the King of Spain's weakness*," and the exact converse of the reflection which followed it.[1]

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MS. Cotton, Titus B viii. fol. 217.

The studious labours of the 'Bloody Tower' had been already twice broken in upon by startling news. The Earl of Salisbury died in May 1612. His death directed Ralegh's thoughts with new eagerness and with new hopes towards the resumption of schemes for the colonization of Guiana. Whilst his pen had been busy, by turns, with topics of rabbinical lore—of royal matches with Spain, Savoy, or France—of ancient revolutions of empire—and of the art of shipbuilding, from

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF LORD SALISBURY.

[1] All that is known of the fate of the lost naval treatise is briefly this: (1) Some fragments and a synopsis of chapters are in the COTTON MS. quoted above. (2) Other fragments, on shipbuilding, on naval organization, and about seaports, are extant,—some in the JONES MS. just mentioned; others in print, amongst Ralegh's tracts. (3) There is reason to suspect that Sir Thomas Wilson (the 'Judas the Second' of Chapter XXVII.) may have laid his predatory hands upon some other portions, and that these may yet some day be discovered. Only a very few weeks before his execution, Ralegh's thoughts returned to this subject. Probably he had a hope, even then, that he might be able to complete a work which lay so near his heart. "There is," he wrote to Lady Ralegh, "in the bottom of the cedar chest, some paper books of mine. I pray make them up altogether and send them me. The title of one of them is *The Art of War by Sea*. The rest are notes belonging unto it." (See Vol. II. p. 498.)

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the days of Hiram down to those of Francis Drake—it had many times found parenthetical employment in urging upon Salisbury yet one expedition more in search of the gold mines of Guiana. Every argument Sir Walter could press into the service was urged to iteration. Salisbury, he afterwards said, was wont to listen, to ask new questions, to talk about the assays of mineral ores, to hold out hopes, to advance some steps towards an arrangement, and then to retreat (more quickly than he had stepped forward) as if into a withdrawing chamber ("*arrière-boutique*" is, I think, Ralegh's own phrase), in which he lay unapproachable. This trying sort of ordeal seems to have re-opened in Ralegh's mind the old sores. He waxed silently angry. When his old friend's sudden death in the inn at Marlborough was told to him, he very unadvisedly made his anger vocal. The bitter epigram,—which is said to have brought from James' lips the ejaculation, "I hope the writer of those lines will die before I do,"—does no honour to Ralegh's memory. But I believe it to be really his.[1]

1612, May.

The dying statesman had survived much of the reputation which he had won with his contemporaries. Many of the best-informed among them thought that if he had lived but a few weeks longer, he would have survived both the power he had wielded with so much energy, and the influence over the King's mind, to win and to retain which he had sacrificed health of body, if he had not also sacrificed peace of soul. To Salisbury's labours

[1] It was Lord Salisbury's fate to be often a mark for the epigrammatists. And, usually, some obliging correspondent or other took pains to send the epigrams written upon him to his closest friends. Thus Lord Shrewsbury received a biting one, several years before Salisbury's death. It begins with these lines :

> "The peer content, but not contented peer,
> Saith still 'Content,' but never *is* content," &c.

and aims in government his contemporaries were very far from doing justice. Probably those of them who had been his most subservient flatterers were precisely the observers least able to estimate what he had really achieved for England, or—which in his case is still more to the point—what he had staved off from England, for his own lifetime. Perhaps but few Englishmen do real justice to him now. Chamberlain wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton (three days after Lord Salisbury's death), that the object of the Treasurer's hurried journey towards London, whilst still suffering severely from illness, was "to countermine his underminers. . . . . His friends had fallen from him apace. I never knew so great a man," he adds, "so soon and so generally censured." Lord Dorset, a week or two later, wrote to Sir Thomas Edmondes: "His death hath wiped away the memory of other men's misdeeds."

Chamberlain to Carleton; *Dom. Cor.* James I. May 27, 1612. (R. H.)—Richard, Earl of Dorset, to Sir T. Edmondes June 22, 1612. Birch MSS. (B. M.)

Among the multitude of subaltern statesmen to whom Salisbury had been benefactor, as well as leader, only one seems in any conspicuous measure to have remained loyal to his dead patron. This was Ralegh's correspondent of 1611, Sir Walter Cope,—

> "Among the faithless, faithful only he;
> Among innumerable false, unmov'd,
> His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal."

Cope drew up an elaborate defence of Salisbury's conduct in his many great employments. He especially vindicated the Treasurer's dealings as 'Master of the Court of Wards,'—an office to which, in that connexion, there are so many allusions in the *Letters of Ralegh*. Of the Spanish pension[1] and its little

[1] "I conceive your Majesty will think it strange that your late High Treasurer and Chief Secretary, the Earl of Salisbury (besides the *Ayùdas de costa*, as they term them,—which are gifts extraordinary upon services),

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supplementary perquisites[1] Cope, probably, had no knowledge. It still remains for Spaniards to show what they really received in return.

DEATH OF PRINCE HENRY.

Six months after the Lord Treasurer's death came the death of Henry, Prince of Wales. The one event seemed to have opened to Ralegh's hopes a door that had been firmly shut against them. The other cast a thick cloud over a vista of bright anticipations, in which his ardent fancy had been wont to range at will, during several years. English readers—those of them, at least, who deserve that name in its truest sense—know the words of deep feeling in which Ralegh records his emotion under the sudden calamity that had turned, as he says, his "harp into mourning, and his organ into the voice of them that weep."

History of the World, Book. V. chap. vi.

1612.

Not long before the occurrence of the fatal fever, Prince Henry had wrung from his father—with great difficulty—a promise that at the coming Christmas Ralegh should be set at liberty. One of Henry's last enjoyments was to attend at Woolwich in the hope of seeing the launch of his fine ship, '*The Prince*.' Phineas Pett had built it for him, in accordance with those suggestions by Ralegh which I have reprinted in the second volume of this work. Prince Henry had the prosperity

should receive 6,000 crowns yearly pension from the King of Spain."—Digby to King James, Sept. 9, 1613.

"Velasco... writeth, in his Letters of 14 April, 1612, that there is arrived a Secretary from Florence who.... hath made promises of 100,000 crowns to 'Beltenebras' in case he procure the effecting of the marriage."—*Ibid.*

"The extraordinary sums upon particular occasions that were then given to my Lord of Salisbury and my Lady of Suffolk were very great."—*Ibid.* Dec. 1615.

These passages from Digby's Despatches were first printed in 1862 by Mr. S. R. Gardner, in his *History of England*, &c. vol. ii. pp. 357, 358, 362.

[1] *Ayùdas de costa.*

of the new vessel greatly at heart, and had prevailed on his mother—who felt much more at ease in the hunting field than in a Woolwich dockyard—to come to the launch. But the first effort to float her was a failure. There was no failure in the ship herself. Many years afterwards her skilful design and thorough construction saved life to Prince Charles and his companions, during that tremendous gale in the Channel, which occurred on the return from the wife-hunting expedition to Madrid.

RALEGH'S CORDIAL ELIXIR.

1612, Nov.

Prince Henry's last moments of earthly rest from sharp anguish were brought about by a cordial which Ralegh had prepared in the Tower, under the pressure of sad remembrances and of sad forebodings. In this instance the fear was more than borne out by the event. And an incident which accompanied the sending of the Elixir from the Tower to St. James' Palace had an especially painful consequence.

Some years before the Prince's illness, Queen Anne had received great benefit from a medicine sent to her by Ralegh. She kept the obligation in mind, and urged her son to make like trial of Sir Walter's skill. It was at her instance that the Elixir was prepared. But there had to be a solemn discussion amongst the physicians, and another—more solemn still—amongst the Lords of the Council, before its exhibition was permitted. Henry was almost at his last gasp when Ralegh's medicine was given to him. It gave him strength to speak when he was thought to be speechless. No reader, I suppose, of the minute narrative of the Prince's illness, which was penned by Sir Charles Cornwallis, will now incline to believe that any the most marvellous drug ever compounded could then—without intervention of a skill quite other than mortal—have saved life. But, unfor-

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tunately, Sir Walter had sent, along with his cordial, a letter (now lost) to the Queen. In this letter—with the dash of empirical confidence always observable in him—he assured her Majesty that his preparation was of most assured efficacy "against anything but poison." Ralegh's unadvised expression came, at length, to dwell painfully in the Queen's memory. As her own health declined, it haunted her. She believed, at last, that her son had been killed by poison, and many times uttered her belief. From Somerset House those dark speeches passed very soon into the streets. The populace had already put their own construction on the known fact that a bereavement which caused lifelong anguish to the mother had, to all outward appearance, been but lightly regarded by the father. Foul scandals presently passed from mouth to mouth. And Ralegh must have had the painful consciousness that a momentary ebullition of vanity on his part was, in the main, the origin of them.

Many of the tasks which up to this time had shared with the toils of the laboratory in abridging and enlivening the long days of imprisonment were painfully connected with the firm friend whom Death had carried off in November 1612. Some of them, there is reason to think, may never have been resumed. But it was not so, I believe, with the naval treatise.

RALEGH'S LABOURS ON ENGLISH HISTORY.

Letter CXI. Vol. II. p. 322.

At what time Sir Walter first formed any projects about English history, otherwise than as part of his wider subject in the purposed continuation of the *History of the World*, there is no satisfactory evidence. No doubt the 'Letter to Sir Robert Cotton' (which has for its object the obtainment of early historians and chroniclers, several of whom treated much of English affairs) was written before Prince Henry's death. All that is

known to have come from Ralegh's pen expressly upon our national history (besides the brief but pregnant summary, which, in seven pages of the Preface to the *History*, has given much of the pith of several volumes of Annals) is the *Breviary of the History of England under William the First.*

BREVIARY OF THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE FIRST.

It has been much too hastily and confidently asserted[1] that the *Breviary* was really written by Samuel Daniel, and not by Ralegh. Unquestionably, much of it was printed under Daniel's name as early as in 1618. Whether Daniel was not the plagiarist, rather than Ralegh's editor of 1692, is a very open question.

This historical piece on the reign of the Conqueror was first printed by a bookseller named Keble towards the end of 1692. The manuscript belonged to Archbishop Sancroft—who has some title to speak authoritatively on matters of this sort, and who knew all that was knowable about Daniel's book—but it was printed surreptitiously. Sancroft had then, in 1692, possessed this very MS. during fifty-five years. In the course of that year, Henry North, who had been living at Lambeth with the Archbishop, left the palace, and by accident took away, amongst his papers, the Ralegh MS. When it came out in print, Archbishop Sancroft was surprised. He knew but of one other copy, which had belonged to a Cornishman, Lord Radnor. Lord Radnor was the owner of a most curious library, which is, I believe, preserved to this day at the ancient seat of the Robartes family, Lanhydroch, near Lostwithiel. Possibly the MS. to which Sancroft refers is still there. Be that as it may, the bookseller had got hold by accident of the Archbishop's manuscript, and had printed it without leave asked. "I parted with some pamphlets," wrote

North to Sancroft; MS. Tanner xxv. No. 10, fol. 12 (Bodleian; Oxford).

[1] *Edinburgh Review*, vol. lxxi. pp. 71, 76.

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North to Sancroft, "and amongst them this manuscript of Sir Walter Ralegh was shuffled in, and Keble hath printed it. I knew nothing of it." To this communication the Archbishop replied as follows:—

"My copy of Sir Walter Ralegh's *William the First* I had—soon after I was a B.A. [1637]—taken from the papers of an old Presbyterian in Hertfordshire, which sort of men were always the more fond of Sir Walter's books, because he was under the disfavour of the Court. I never saw or heard of another copy, but one in my late Lord Radnor's hands, which was imperfect, and upon his request [it was] supplied from mine. His [Sir Walter's] grandchild, Mr. Ralegh, my neighbour in Surrey, knew nothing of it. [He] lent me a great MS. in folio of his grandfather's, from whence I took what I liked and had not before. After I had corrected the writing, pointed it, divided it into sections, and caused it to be transcribed fair, I found that Samuel Daniel [had] inserted into his *History of England*, almost word for word, both the Introduction and the Life; whence it is that you have sometimes in the margin of my copy a various reading, with 'D.' after it. . . . If Mr. Keble hath any mind to publish any more of this author's, you may tell him that besides the great volume in his grandchild's custody (which I mentioned before), and some things in mine, I think not printed, David Lloyd in the 2nd edition of his *State Worthies*, 1610, p. 675, tells us,[1] &c. . . . . If Mr. Keble can come at all these, he may soon make a volume as big as the *History of the World*. The preface to the book newly-printed observes well that it is, in all parts, much like Sir Walter Ralegh's way of writing, and worthy of him. But it much sur-

[1] Here the Archbishop quotes that extract from David Lloyd's *State Worthies* which the reader will find in the INTRODUCTION to this volume.

prised me to find so much of it in Samuel Daniel, without his ever mentioning Sir Walter. So that whether Plato philonizeth, or Philo platonizeth, is hard to judge."

What Archbishop Sancroft found it "hard to judge" of, may well be left, by the present writer, as it was left by that able and excellent prelate. No attempt, therefore, will here be made to determine the question of plagiarism, as between Daniel and Ralegh. But an important item or two may well be added to the evidence. One item comes from Daniel's own mouth.

As is well known, that poet's *History of England*, as we now have it, is composed of portions separately published and afterwards brought together. The compilation was made, it is believed, at Queen Anne's request, and in her own palace. It was dedicated to her. How then came the words addressed to William, Earl of Salisbury, into the early MSS. of the *Breviary?*

When Daniel revised his compilation, he modestly wrote thus: "For the work itself, I can challenge nothing therein, but only the sewing, and the observation of those necessary circumstances and inferences which the *History* naturally ministers." Is not this statement very consistent with the inference in favour of Ralegh's authorship, to which Archbishop Sancroft manifestly inclines, though he will affirm nothing?

CHAPTER XXIII.

PRISON LABOURS.—THE '*HISTORY OF THE WORLD.*'

1604—1616.

Ralegh's Views about History and the Duties of the Historian. — Design and Plan of the *History of the World.*—The Prefatory View of the Revolutions in English History.—Modern Analogues of the 'Tigers of Old Time;' new Portraits in old Dresses.—Biblical Narratives and Rabbinical Traditions.—Ralegh's main Sources.—Book I. *From the Creation to Semiramis.*—Ralegh's View of the Relations between Assyrian and Hebrew History.—Book II. *From the Birth of Abraham to the Destruction of Jerusalem.*—Ralegh's Return to the Connection between Sacred and Profane History.—Book III. *From the Destruction of Jerusalem to the Battle of Mantinea.*—Book IV. *From the Accession of Philip to the Throne of Macedon to the Expedition of Pyrrhus against Argos.*—Digression on the comparative Valour of Macedonians, Romans, and Englishmen.—Book V. *From the Outbreak of the First Punic War to the Triumph of Æmilius Paullus.*—Ralegh's Views about Chronology and Chronological Tables.—Ethics of the *History of the World.*—Why did the *History of the World* remain incomplete in relation to its Plan?—Author and Bookseller.—The Helpers in the Work.—The Origin of Disraeli's Fictions about Burhill, Hariot, and Ben Jonson.—Resumption of Correspondence and Negotiations about Guiana.—Assays of Ores in the Laboratory.—An Attack of Apoplexy (said to have been brought on by the Labours of the Furnace).—The *Prerogative of Parliaments.*

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1604-1616.

SEVERAL writers of recent date have repeated an old assertion that Ralegh felt—and expressed publicly, in some way or other—surprise that the appearance of the *History of the World* should have had, upon King James, the effect of increasing his previous dislike of its author. Yet it is hard to understand on what ground Ralegh can have expected that the book

should ever impress James' mind otherwise than unfavourably. All Sir Walter's avowed conceptions of History, and of the burden which a man lays on his own shoulders when he undertakes to write it, were, to James, so many State crimes. The very verses which follow Ralegh's title-page (under the quaint heading, 'The minde of the front'[1]), and which were put there in order to show, by express words, what Ralegh's conceptions of History were, must have seemed to the King steeped in sedition. Those preliminary verses came really from the pen of Ben Jonson, although he did not openly claim them, I believe, until a former and more serious offence against the King had been rubbed out of memory by many loyal Court masques, and by not a little of courtly and even servile laudation. Be that, however, as it may; for any writer to tell the public in 1614 that History must be "the grave mistress of man's life," in order

> "that nor the good
> Might be defrauded, *nor the Great secur'd;*
> But both might know their ways are understood,
> *And the reward and punishment assur'd:*"

was simply to deny James' political creed in its essence. To his mind, it was as intolerable that historians should presume to sit in judgment on the actions of kings, as that the mass of mankind should assume that they had aught else to do with laws than to obey them. The duty of the historian was to chronicle events; not to estimate the merit, or demerit, of the august movers of events: just as the duty of the subject was to submit to every proclamation of the sovereign's will; not to ask questions about statutes, or about prerogative. When James said of Ralegh's book, "It is too saucy, in

[1] I. e. *frontispiece.*

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censuring the acts of Princes," he but expressed, in other words, a thought which he had uttered publicly a hundred times before, with the applause of not a few of his contemporaries. It would be easy to point out certain apparent discrepancies between passages on government which occur in Ralegh's *History*, and others which occur in the *Prerogative of Parliaments*, or in the *Maxims of State*. It would be far from easy, I think, to catch King James tripping in that path. His notions about government were simple. And they were uniformly consistent.

THE SCOPE AND PLAN OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

It was a magnificent ambition in Ralegh to narrate the successive fortunes of the four great Empires of the World, by way of preface to a *History of England*. The revolutions of government and of social life in his own country it was probably his purpose to trace in detail from the time of the visit of Cæsar, down to that of the death of Elizabeth. In a man who had overpassed, by some years, his half-century of life, when he first, of set purpose, took up the author's pen, the scheme was a daring one. And he had its boldness fully present to his mind. "Had my choice been begotten," he said himself, "with my first dawn of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open itself to my younger years, and before any wound received either from Fortune or Time, I might yet well have doubted that the darkness of age and death would have covered both it and me, long before the performance." He remembers, only too vividly, that the best part of his time had already "run out in other travails." When he adds: "Had there been no other defect in me, who am all defect, than the time of day; it were enough,—being the day of a tempestuous life, drawn on to the very

evening ere I began,"—most of us, now, have very good ground for dissenting from both of his modest assertions. For that which he actually lived to do—after those words were written—suggests cogently that had but one of the events of 1612 been otherwise ruled, the *History of the World* might well have come down to us complete, even according to its author's ambitious plan. Had Prince Henry lived, there would probably have been, for Ralegh himself, no gold-hunting in Guiana. What his energy of will and his powers of intellect were still equal to he made visible to all those of his contemporaries in whom the eyes of the mind were not darkened. Such among them as were lookers-on at the doings upon the scaffold of 1618 noticed many things which became the topics of fireside conversation, in after years. One of the incidents of that execution which used to be told by the winter hearth, as long as any bystanders survived, was this: When the headsman did his work, the effusion of blood was so extraordinary, as to make men marvel at the bodily vitality of one who had done so much, and who, for almost two years before his death at the age of sixty-six, had suffered under every sort of misery, peril, and hardship. The man whose mental energies had been equal, under the heavy burden of imprisonment, to the intellectual mastery, and the well-ordered narration, of the story of Antiquity under four great and warlike monarchies,—from the Creation of the World to the triumph of Æmilius Paullus,—might well have proved equal to the task of narrating the rise and nascent progress of a more peaceful empire, which as yet was but in the early vigour of its youth. How that tale would have been told we are not left without fair means of judging.

Ralegh, we are certain, would have been no mere

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RALEGH'S QUALITIES AS HISTORIAN.

annalist of England. His history would have been teeming with life. He would have told of battles, as a man tells of them who in his time had set squadrons in array, and had left his blood upon many a field. He would have told of revolutions of statecraft, as a man tells of them who had conversed familiarly with princes —both with the crowned and with the uncrowned; with William the Silent as well as with Elizabeth the Proud;—who had long lived with statesmen, and who had many times been called into council, on the eve of great events. It was of English history that Ralegh was thinking when he wrote: "I have been permitted to draw water as near to the well-head as another."

History of the World, Preface [p. 39].

Ralegh would not have been an annalist;—neither would he have been an adulator of monarchs; though he had that vein in him, too. He could write obsequious letters. He could pen wheedling verses. But he could not, for his life, have written a servile or a deceitful history. For he had in him the passionate love of fame, and the passionate love of country. He had also a deep-seated conviction that some considerable measure of grateful estimate by the men of any one generation of what their forerunners had handed down to them, is a constituent and essential part of the capability to do something, in their turn, worthy of being handed down to successors. And he was no cosmopolitan. He was an Englishman of the English. And he had, in unusual measure, that glorious shaping power of the imagination, which, when he pondered over the past fortunes of the England he so well loved, and panted with exciting thoughts about the possibilities of the greater Britain to come, lifted him out of himself and above himself. He had one grand qualification more. Now, whilst sitting

down at his table in the Bloody Tower to write History —as always before when standing and striving in the broad currents of active life—it was even harder to him to flatter the multitude, than to flatter monarchs. Certainly, for the historian, the adulation of a people —to say nothing of the adulation of mere populace—is a greater, a more pernicious, and (at least in modern times) an infinitely more common, fault, than the flattery of kings. Before Ralegh set about the writing of History in any fashion, he had (as these pages have too poorly shown) helped to make a good deal of history. In the year of England's greatest glory—1588—he had looked into the multitude, with as sharp an insight as that with which he had ever looked into a Privy Councillor 'Hispaniolized,' or into a plethoric West-country merchant, bent, at any price, on escaping the payment of one farthing beyond the extremest minimum of a subsidy. He knew well that if England, in 1588, had been governed by counting heads or 'votes,' that year would have proved the year of England's agony; not the year of her power and pride. Ralegh had good access to know that, in a very notable degree, it was to the gentry and the nobility of England, rather than to what we now call 'the masses' of Englishmen, that England, under God's providence, owed her safety. He had mixed largely with his countrymen, in every rank of life. He knew the sterling virtues which, then as now, were to be found in the labourer's cottage, in the tradesman's shop, and in the fisherman's hut. He knew only too well the self-seekings and the love of gain and of power which were to be found abundantly in castle and manor-house. But—best of all—he had learnt to discriminate the qualities and the training which make good leaders from the qualities and training which

RALEGH'S QUALIFICATIONS FOR WRITING HISTORY.

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make good followers.[1] And if that be eminently a lesson which statesmen and warriors have to learn—under heavy penalty for failure—it also goes a good way towards the needful outfit of the historian. Every careful reader of the 'Preface' to the *History of the World* will find there a pregnant maxim which experience had taught the writer. Ralegh spends a good many pages in stating and illustrating it. A century afterwards, another famous writer, bred in quite a different school, found himself led to the same conclusion, from a different group of data. And Defoe expresses it more tersely than Ralegh did. But the thought is the thought of both. It is the fair summary and pith, in fewer words, of a large part of Ralegh's preface: "If an impartial writer," said Defoe, "resolves to venture upon the dangerous precipice of telling unbiassed truth, let him proclaim war with mankind, after the fashion of Poland,—neither to give nor to take quarter. If he tells the crimes of great men, they fall upon him with the iron hands of the law. If he tells their virtues, . . . then the mob attacks him with slanders. But if he regards Truth, let him expect martyrdom on both sides;—and

RALEGH AND DEFOE.

[1] Take but one example out of fifty that lie at hand:—

"We find it in daily experience that all discourse of magnanimity, of national virtue, of religion, of liberty, and whatsoever else hath been wont to move and encourage virtuous men, hath no force at all with the common soldier in comparison of spoil and riches. The rich ships are boarded upon all disadvantages; the rich towns are furiously assaulted; the plentiful countries willingly invaded. Our English soldiers have attempted many places in the Indies, and run upon the Spaniards headlong, in hope of the royals of plate and pistolets; which had they been put to, upon the like disadvantages, in Ireland,—or in any poor country,—they would have turned their pieces and pikes against their commanders; contesting that they had been brought, without reason, to the butchery and slaughter." (*History of the World*, Book IV. chap. ii. § 4. First edit. vol. ii. p. 178.) This is spoken in an episode about the grand theme of Ralegh's life as statesman, the death-struggle between England and Spain.

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then he may go on fearless." . . . In the unfinished *History of the World*, it is the episodes, rather than the main narrative, which bring the author close upon those special perils. But in its preface he undertakes expressly to give a rapid view of the revolutions of English government, under Normans, Plantagenets, and Tudors. There, the perilous shoals lie very thickly; and, if Ralegh nevertheless 'went on fearless,' it was just because he could truly say—in the closing words of Defoe's pregnant paragraph: "It is the course I take myself."

CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS IN ANTIQUE COSTUMES.

And there was, in Ralegh's path as historian, one conspicuous peril more. It was not permitted him to approach, in his narrative, towards any delineation of the doings of his contemporaries, or even of their forefathers and his. But some of those contemporaries thought it possible that he might be tempted now and then to portray—to use his own words on the matter—a modern head or two, from the life, though resting upon Assyrian, Greek, or Roman shoulders. And it is much to be feared (notwithstanding his prudent disclaimer) that he did not always, and absolutely, resist the temptation.

Most of us are familiar with the process, in one or other of its Proteus-like forms. To see it, in its delicate perfection, we must, perhaps, cross the Channel,—or even the Atlantic. But we are not without an example or two at home. Our domestic stage has now and then brought before us familiar features, under an ancient head-dress. More recently still, our imported literature has made us acquainted with the labours of a living and deservedly famous historian, who, in the later portions of his book, has gallantly fought the battles

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of two republics at once. In a certain chapter of his history that able writer describes some great events in the warlike struggle,—three hundred years ago,—of a bygone republic with a bygone despotism; and he also elaborates not a few great assumptions in the current diplomatic skirmishes of a living republic with a living monarchy, quite as free as itself. Whilst writing his history the narrator has one eye steadily fastened on the conflicting testimony of Dutch chroniclers, who for ages have enjoyed a peaceful repose on the shelves of libraries, and of Spanish statesmen, who for some centuries have lain no less quietly in their graves. The other eye is not less intent on the sweeping assertions, and the alarming fulminations, of certain widely-known and active publicists of a far more recent date. The historian's hand faithfully reproduces both their statements and their threats, though in much better words. It was Ralegh's fear that a suspicion of this sort might possibly fall on some paragraphs, strewn here and there, in the *History of the World*, and in its Preface.

"It is enough for me," he says, "being in that state I am, to write of the eldest times: wherein also why may it not be said that, in speaking of the Past, I point at the Present, and tax the vices of those that are yet living, in their persons that are long since dead; and have it laid to my charge? But this I cannot help, though innocent. And certainly if there be any that—finding themselves spotted like the tigers of old times—shall find fault with me, for painting them over anew; they shall therein accuse themselves justly, and me falsely."

History of the World, Preface [p. 39].

It would lead us much too far afield to compare these pithy sentences with any among the numerous passages in the work to which they stand prefixed that tend to recall them to the reader's mind, as he goes on with its

perusal. I content myself with quoting only one little piece of "painting anew," which occurs in the Fourth Book. It is part of a miniature to which the contemporary reader might, perchance, have given a name less ancient than 'Demetrius,' without much fear of incurring the guilt of accusing the artist falsely.

"There was in Demetrius a strong medley of conditions. . . . He was of a gentle nature, and of a good wit; excellent in devising engines of war, and curious in working them with his own hands. He knew better how to reform his bad fortune than how to rule his good. Adversity made his valour more active. Prosperity stupified him with an overweening, wherein he thought that he might do what he listed. His fortune was as changeable as his qualities; turning often round, —like the picture of her wheel,—till she had wound up the thread of his life, in such a manner as followeth to be showed."

History of the World, Book IV. c. v, § 10. (Edition of 1614, vol. ii. p. 72.)

On a very different ground of censure, the modern critics of the *History of the World* have been much of one mind. It was probably David Hume who first set the fashion of sneering at "the Jewish and rabbinical learning which compose the half of the volume." The sneer has since been habitually repeated. Critics have rarely borne in mind that, by Ralegh's *first* readers, dissertations on the Epochs of Creation, on the Garden of Eden, on the Tree of Life, even on the construction of Noah's Ark, were far from being regarded as dreary and unwelcome excrescences. To many more enlightened persons of later days such themes as those are, of course, mere obsolete stupidities. But some of the most accomplished among Ralegh's contemporaries felt a keen interest even in the merely rabbinical illus-

History of England, chap. xlix. Appendix.

THE OBSOLETE LEARNING OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

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trations of the Bible. They were so little in advance of the mere vulgar, that when they were wont to say or to sing—not less frequently, perhaps, beside the family hearth, than in their pews at church—'*The sea is His, and He made it; and His hands prepared the dry land*,' they took those words in a plain and literal sense,—and believed them. In that age they were wholly ignorant of the growth of the universe by laws of natural accretion and of natural selection. Where, in wiser times, we write 'Nature,' some even of the most highly cultivated of Ralegh's contemporaries ignorantly wrote 'God.' Ralegh (in his Preface) expressly defends their practice. In accordance with that rude state of things, they expected—such was the darkness of those days—that much of the first portions of a '*History of the World*' would be an elaborate connection of Profane with Sacred Literature. They expected that the Scriptural narratives of the early ages of mankind would be so sedulously illustrated, from all attainable sources, as to make those narratives to the future reader (as yet quite unconversant, be it borne in mind, with the charms of 'sensational' literature) things more and more instinct with life—in *both* senses of the word—and not dead things, learnt by rote and fashion. It seemed to them quite natural that, to this end, the Historian should be a fellow-worker with the Divine. So far from taking offence at minute illustrations of Biblical teaching, they found both instruction and delight—or thought they found them—in dim traditions, in far-off analogies, and even in rabbinical legends, when these (or any of them) seemed to cast but a small ray of additional light on what was still looked upon as *the* Book. Stranger still, when one Oliver Cromwell on a certain day, a few years after the historian's death, breaks off, for the moment,

from some business of State, in order to write an earnest recommendation to his son Richard that he should study, with his best application, Sir Walter Ralegh's *History of the World*, he so expresses himself as to make readers of the letter feel that he rated that work all the more highly on the very grounds which make David Hume,—and so many critics of later times,—depreciate it. So much, at least, may fairly be alleged in excuse of Ralegh's plan. However wrong and unenlightened, it was, by him, adopted advisedly. And it found much acceptance.

THE FIRST BOOK OF RALEGH'S HISTORY.

His First Book carries the story of mankind from its opening, in Paradise, to the death of Semiramis. If that First Book abounds in the 'obsolete learning' which has just been glanced at, it is not a whit less remarkable either for the copious variety of the illustrations from classical authors which are brought to bear upon the narrative, or for the skill with which the widely-gathered lore is blended—so to speak—in the alembic of the writer's own mind. What he retails, he has first mastered. Be his errors what they may, his meaning is almost always as plain to see as an Eastern sun. And no doubt, of the one as of the other, there is sometimes too much. But the vivid way in which he, personally, has realized things unseen, and has brought near to himself things remote, is marvellous. As I write, I open that First Book—quite at random—at the third section of Chapter VIII. Of the first edition this section occupies less than four pages, and it is headed, "*Of the Isles of the Gentiles in Japhet's Portion.*" Besides its many quotations from Genesis, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, it contains several passages from Fathers of the Church, and from later Biblical commentators. It includes three quotations from Greek historians, and two from Latin poets.

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Pliny is cited two or three times over. It contains also, in passing, a keen dissection of one or two of the multitudinous lies which Annius of Viterbo had fathered on the old priest of Belus. Those forgeries first became current, it will be remembered, some seventy years or so before Ralegh's birth, but not a few of his younger contemporaries were still putting their full faith in them, long after his death. And this large amount of quotation and criticism, though piled up within the compass of less than four pages, is so treated that it vividly interests the reader,—if of ordinary education, and even if not of more than average patience,—instead of boring him. In a word, the writer goes, for his material, very far afield, but, before applying it, he assimilates it. He has made it thoroughly his own, before attempting to administer it to his reader. He knows, besides, how to light up an old story by means of new personal experience. Something which he had seen in Ireland, something else which he had seen in Spain, and a reflection or two which had probably crossed his mind by way of reminiscence of an adventure in America, are all put to the same account to which he had already put his reading in Eusebius and in Pliny, in Strabo and in Tertullian. And the reader leaves off—as if with a grateful flavour upon his palate—by help of a prettily turned version of Lucan's *Primùm canasalix*, &c.[1]

[1] "Primùm cana salix, madefacto vimine, parvam
Texitur in puppim, cæsoque induta juvenco,
Vectoris patiens tumidum supernatat amnem.
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus
Navigat Oceano."

"The moisten'd osier of the hoary willow
Is woven first into a little boat;
Then, clothed in bullock's hide, upon the billow
Of some proud river, lightly doth it float
Under the waterman,

[So

Ralegh's Second Book begins with a digression from the subject immediately in hand: 'What is the true date of the birth of Abraham?' That, he says, is a preliminary question very necessary to be solved, in order to a just arrangement of the story of the Assyrians. His treatment of it affords another striking instance of his power to make dead questions living ones. The very evidence which the critical reader might be tempted to mark off as superfluous, is so handled as to make it help towards the vigour of the discussion. And this vein runs through the book. Illustration is superabundant, but full of life. Ralegh is especially fond of pressing geography, for example, into service whenever it can be so used as to bring the reader into nearer contact with some far-off question, say, of chronology or of conflicting traditions. And he is ever ready to acknowledge the foregone labours which have tended to make a rough path somewhat smoother than it once was. Speaking, for instance, of certain difficulties alleged against the received account of the journey of Abraham into Canaan: "The answer," he says, "is easy, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned divines long since." But he has also fairly buckled himself to the difficulties that remain, and therefore proceeds to say: "*To which I will add somewhat of mine own, according to the small talent which God hath given me.*" In what way personal expressions of this sort—

> So on the lakes of overswelling Po
> Sails the Venetian, and the Briton so
> On th' out-spread Oceän."

When this note was written, I was not aware that Ralegh's translation of these graceful lines had also been quoted in Tytler's *Life of Ralegh*. There are in the *History of the World* a score of like passages, not less pleasingly rendered.

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and they abound—bear upon a much-vexed controversy will be seen, I hope, presently.

This Second Book abounds also with illustrations of what seems to me to have been a leading mark of Ralegh's mental stature. He unites the keenest intellectual inquisitiveness with the devoutest and humblest recognition of limits imposed on Human Reason by a Power above it. No writer displays a more energetic resolve to get quit of sham beliefs, and attain to true beliefs. No man can be more bent on rising out of the atmosphere of fog, into that of clear vision. But he never makes Human Reason into an idol, in order to fall down and worship it.

Having closed his Second Book at the date of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans, the Third Book carries on the history to the battle of Mantineia and to the death, almost immediately after it, of the Spartan king Agesilaus the Second, to whom Plutarch assigns the sounding title of virtual 'Commander and King of all Greece.' It opens, as the Second Book did, with a digression ; treating, once again, but more briefly, of the Connection of Sacred and Profane History. Ralegh gives a reason for dealing modestly with the chronology of Assyria, which reason even modern discoveries have not stripped of all its cogency. "I do not," he says, "hold it needful to insist upon those authorities which give, as it were by hearsay, a certain year of some old Assyrian king unto some action or event whereof the time is found expressed in Scripture. For together with the end of Ninus' line in Sardanapalus,—if not before,—all such computations were blotted out. . . . . Let it suffice that the consent and harmony which some have found in the years of those overworn monarchs doth preserve their names, which otherwise might have been

RALEGH ON THE ASSYRIAN CHRONOLOGY.

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forgotten. Now, concerning the later kings of that nation, howsoever it be true that we find the names of all or most of them in Scripture which are recorded by profane historians, yet hereby could we only learn in what age each of them lived, but not in what year his reign began or ended, were it not that the reign of Nebuchadnezzar is more precisely applied to the times of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah. Hence have we the first light whereby to discover the means of connecting the sacred and profane histories. For under Nebuchadnezzar was the beginning of the captivity of Judah, which ended when seventy years were expired, and these seventy years took end at the first of Cyrus, whose time, being well known, affords us means of looking back into the ages past, and forwards into the race of men succeeding."

History of the World, Book III. chap. i. § 1.

Ralegh's account of the great event of Mantineia is characteristic in every line of it—alike in what he rejects, and in what he adopts, from his authorities. It ends with these words—which the reader, I venture to hope, will not deem over many, since they come from a book which nowadays is oftener praised than read: "So died Epaminondas, the worthiest man that ever was bred in that nation of Greece, and hardly to be matched in any age or country: for he equalled all others in the several virtues which in each of them were singular. His justice and sincerity, his temperance, wisdom, and high magnanimity, were no way inferior to his military virtue, in every part whereof he so excelled, that he could not properly be called a wary, a valiant, a politic, a bountiful, or an industrious and provident captain—*all* these titles (and many others) being due unto him; which, with his notable discipline and good conduct, made a perfect composition of an heroic general. Neither was his private conversation unanswerable to those high

CHARACTER OF EPAMINONDAS.

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parts which gave him praise abroad. For he was grave, and yet very affable and courteous; resolute in public business, but, in his own particular, easy and of much mildness. He was a lover of his people, bearing with men's infirmities; witty and pleasant in speech; far from insolence; master of his own affections; and furnished with all qualities that might win and keep love. To these graces were added great ability of body, much eloquence, and very deep knowledge in all parts of philosophy and learning: his mind wherewith being enlightened rested not in the sweetness of contemplation, but brake forth into such effects as gave unto Thebes —which had evermore been an underling—a dreadful reputation among all people adjoining, and the highest command in Greece."

History of the World, Book III. chap. xii. § 7.

As Ralegh closed his Third Book with the deaths—almost at the same date—of the rival leaders of Thebes and of Sparta, so he closes the Fourth Book with the death of Pyrrhus at Argos (B.C. 272); an event, it will be remembered, which gave back the Macedonian empire —after a very brief interval of recovery by Pyrrhus' son—to the line of the Antigonidæ. Ralegh overlooks the short interregnum occasioned by the transitory success of Alexander, son of Pyrrhus, but the omission is of small moment. He is, in substance, expressing the accurate results of the fall of Pyrrhus, when he sums up the story in these words: "From this time forwards the race of Antigonus held the kingdom of Macedon; the posterity of Seleucus reigned over Asia and Syria; and the House of Ptolemy had quiet possession of Egypt, until such time as Rome, swallowing all up, digested these, among other countries, into the body of her own empire."

Ibid. Book IV. chap. vii. § 5.

RALEGH ON THE COMPARATIVE VALOUR OF NATIONS.

He prefaces the Fifth Book by an animated discussion of a theme which lay near his heart. Had Englishmen done enough on pitched fields to warrant an historian in claiming for their soldierly valour a rank no whit beneath that of Greek or of Roman, when at his best? Starting with an examination of Livy's problem, 'Could the Romans have overcome Alexander?'—he reaches, at length, a very unhesitating conviction 'that neither the Macedonian nor the Roman soldier was of equal valour to the English.' Ralegh gives an extra zest to this digression by stealing a bolt out of Livy's own quiver. He calls to mind the saying of certain Roman arbitrators who had been called in to settle a question of disputed title to a piece of land, claimed alike by the men of two conterminous districts. Those arbitrators ended their inquiry by saying: "It belongs to neither of you; it is the property of us Romans." If you ask me, says Ralegh, whether the Roman or the Macedonian were the best warrior,—"I will answer, 'the Englishman.'" And he grounds the proud reply on four facts, of which he finds the undeniable proofs in his country's annals: (1) The great English victories were won by no advantage of weapon. (2) They were won against no savage or effeminate people. (3) They were won against superior numbers. (4) They were won against foes who had enjoyed a training in soldierly discipline, always equal to that of the English, and very often better than it.

This Fifth Book of the *History of the World* tells the tale of which the last lines of the Fourth Book were the epitome,—how Rome, swallowing up all her adversaries, digested them into her own empire. The grand story is grandly told. Two things seem especially notable in the treatment. The incidents which mark successive

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stages in the growth of Roman power bring continually to the narrator's mind a crowd of parallels in modern history. The throng, one is apt to think, must sometimes have been oppressive to the historian himself; yet it is almost always kept in a due subordination. That characteristic is to be found, indeed, in previous parts of the *History of the World*, but less notably. Another and admirable characteristic is hardly seen save in the Fourth and Fifth Books. It is the union of the power of so narrating events as to make the reader almost a looker-on at what is passing, with the recognition —unobtrusive but constant—of what a recent writer pithily terms the presence of 'God in History.' Not a few historians of the graphic school have made the picture everything, and the lesson of the picture next to nothing. Ralegh, when on his mettle, can vie with the best of them in painting a great event, but he is much more intent on bringing out its moral meaning,— with all the power he has. Even when least critical in his use of authorities, this anxiety fully to realize within his own mind what the incident ought to teach, as well as what the incident was, often serves to keep him, in the main, on the path of Truth. His conclusion will sometimes be found consistent with the searching investigations of modern criticism, although some of the steps by which he sought it were very erring ones. The special blemish of these later books is the rare citation of authorities. An editor would find no great difficulty in supplying the omission. But the present is no fit occasion, or these pages the fitting place, for the attempt.

The amount of toil in relation to the chronology of ancient events which Ralegh imposed on himself is wonderful, even in him. And here, as everywhere, the

specially personal impress of the man himself is, to the reader who keeps his eyes open, visible enough; even when the historian avowedly presses another man's toil into his service. He knew well the special difficulties of this part of an historian's task.—"I may truly say, with Pererius, that we ought liberally to pardon those whose feet have failed them in the slippery ways of Chronology, —wherein both learning and diligence are subject to take a fall at one time or other." There is evidence that those laborious chronological tables which, in the original edition of the book, fill twenty-six ample folio pages, were—chiefly if not wholly—compiled by his own hand. And though he was himself very careless about the more or less of labour he had to perform in order to reach the end, provided he did reach it; he took minute pains to make the tables easy to the reader. The importance in studying history of making the synchronism of events, the world over, plain and clear, was always present to his mind. And it will need no great pains now to discover that readers of a Universal History first published in 1614 are in this respect, as in not a few others, much better cared for—by a man who began to be an historian in his old age, after doing a fair stroke of work in quite other fields—than readers of some Universal Histories first published towards 1814, or even a good deal later, by men who, as far as is known, never did anything but write. Perhaps, to see in brief the full difference between a workman and a non-workman, the reader should turn from the author of 1614 to his editor of 1829.

History of the World, Book III. chap. i. § 6.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

The "boundless ambition of mortal men" was the theme of part of Ralegh's preface. It is also the theme of the sentences which close that long 'Dance of

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Death,' traced by the Historian of the World, from its grim inception, near the outer wall of Eden, to that last tragic incident which wound up the 'Triumph of Æmilius Paullus,' at Rome—the death of his chief captive in prison, from an "enforcèd want of sleep." The long survey is summed up by the historian thus: "Kings and Princes have always laid before them the actions, but not the ends, of those great ones who preceded them. They are alwayes transported with the glorie of the one, but they never minde the miserie of the other, till they find the experience themselves. They neglect the advice of God while they enjoy life, or hope it; but they follow the counsell of Death, upon his first approach. It is he that puts into man all the wisdome of the world, without speaking a word; which God with all the words of His Law, promises, or threats, doth not infuse. Death, which hateth and destroyeth man, is beleeved. God, which hath made him and loves him, is always deferred. I have considered, saith Solomon, all the workes that are under the sunne, and, behold, all is vanitie and vexation of spirit. But who beleeves it, till Death tells it us? It was Death which, opening the conscience of Charles the Fifth, made him enjoyne his sonne Philip to restore Navarre; and King Francis the First of France, to command that justice should be done upon the murderers of the Protestants in Merindoc and Cabrieres, which till then he neglected. It is therefore Death alone that can suddenly make man know himselfe. He tells the proud and insolent, that they are but abjects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them crie, complaine, and repent; yea, even to hate their forc-passed happinesse. He takes the account of the rich, and proves him a begger,—a naked begger,—which hath interest in nothing, but in the grauell that

filles his mouth. He holds a glasse before the eyes of the most beautifull, and makes them see therein their deformitie and rottennesse; and they acknowledge it.

"O eloquent, just, and mightie Death, whom none could advise, thou hast perswaded; what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou onely hast cast out of the world and despised. Thou hast drawne together all the farre stretched greatnesse, all the pride, crueltie, and ambition, of man; and covered it all over with those two narrow words: *Hic jacet.*"

History of the World, Book V. chap. vi. § 12.

The reader of these famous lines remembers that it is man's ambition, and man's self-seeking,—not man's work,—which Ralegh here asserts to lie buried beneath a petty gravestone. Than Ralegh, no mortal has seen more clearly that over true work, truly and humbly done, no '*hic jacet*' can ever be inscribed. Nor would it be easy to find any better illustration than that which lies close to hand, in the undying results of his own toil, of the truth that honest and unselfish labour is just as certain to grow as it is to live. In some other noble lines, which are also to be found in the *History of the World*, our historian has recorded his conviction that all human strivings, "wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obscure clouds hindering the influence of that blessed light which clarifies the soul of man, and predisposes it unto the brightness of eternal felicity." Where, on the other hand, that '*due reference*' has really become the seminal principle of human effort, the work has also become, in a very true sense, but another mode of prayer. And then—to quote even grander words than Ralegh's—Death is indeed "swallowed up in victory."

Ibid. Book III. chap. i. § 11.

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ETHICS OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

Throughout the *History of the World* the treatment of ethical questions is almost uniformly in harmony with the thought which has just been cited from its Third Book. That thought grew in Ralegh's mind out of reflections upon the self-apotheosis of Nebuchadnezzar. For a youthful student a little manual might be compiled out of the specially ethical passages of the *History of the World*, of which it would be no extravagant eulogy to say, in proverbial phrase, that it would be worth—to one who should take it to heart—'its weight in gold.' But the extracts that in such a manual would be precious would, in these pages, be misplaced. I will venture to cite two passages, and will abridge both of them. The first is a reflection on an incident in the story of Tissaphernes. The second is occasioned by that famous Greek artifice—ascribed to Demosthenes—by which, at a very critical moment of the wars of Alexander (B.C. 335), a false report of his death, in a skirmish with the Triballi in the remote north, was so dramatically initiated at Athens, that it spread far and wide over Greece, and produced grave results. Both passages express Ralegh's views about lies of policy.

"A lie," he says, in describing the career of Tissaphernes, "may find excuse" [obviously using that word in its sense of 'extenuation'] "when it grows out of fear. But when Power—which is a characteristic of the Almighty—shall be made the supporter of untruth, the falsehood is most abominable. The offender, like proud Lucifer, advancing his own strength against Divine Justice, doth commit that sin with a high hand which commonly produceth lamentable effects, and is followed by sure vengeance."

History of the World, Book III. chap. x. § 7. (Vol. ii. p. 119.)

"There is a certain doctrine of Policy," writes Ralegh in the Fourth Book, ". . that devised rumours and lies,

if they serve the turn but for a day or two, are greatly available. For 'Policy' is nowadays defined by falsehood and knavery." Had Sir Walter lived in our own days, he would perhaps have been tempted to think that the world of traders and of 'financiers' might yield to the moralist examples even more signal than those to be found in the world of politicians. The very anecdote he is telling suggests to nineteenth-century readers recollections of stock-jobbing devices, and of railway-scrip 'telegrams,' which for dramatic cleverness put the artifice ascribed to Demosthenes to the blush, and which occasionally have wrecked the fortunes of quite other than the 'common people.' It is true, he continues, "that the common people are sometimes mocked by them, as soldiers are by alarums in the wars. But in all that I have observed I have found the success as ridiculous as the invention. For as those that find themselves at one time abused by such-like bruits do, at other times, neglect their duties when they are upon true reports and in occasions perilous summoned to assemble, so do all men in general condemn the venters of such trumpery, and, for them, fear upon necessary occasions to entertain the truth itself. This labour unlooked for, and loss of time, was not only very grievous to Alexander, but—by turning his sword from the ignoble and effeminate Persians, against which he had directed it, towards the manly and famous Grecians, of whose assistance he thought himself assured—his present undertaking was greatly disordered. *But he that cannot endure to strive against the wind shall hardly attain the port which he purposeth to recover. It no less becometh the worthiest men to oppose misfortunes, than it becometh the weakest children to bewail them.*" If that last sentence be, as I take it to be, a very fair abridgment of a good

History of the World, Book IV. chap. ii. § 1. (Vol. ii. p. 169.)

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deal of world-history, it is also a summary, not less faithful, of very much of the special biography which these pages have in hand.

RALEGH ON MARRIAGE.

Another pregnant saying, on a subject which belongs alike to social morals and to theology, calls for a brief word of mention. The most striking episode in the Second Book of the *History of the World*—that on Law, and more especially on the Mosaic Legislation—contains an expression of Ralegh's views about marriage. The whole of the passage indeed on the Decalogue is worth reading, although it is eminently unprogressive. As is very well known, Ralegh stood at the opposite pole to all asceticism, and also to all that was narrow and transient in Puritanism. Yet he is dreadfully 'obsolete,' both in thought and style, when he dissertates, at considerable length, on the Ten Commandments. He treats the subject as if it were a thing still full of vitality. Had any one foretold to him that, in course of time, and of human progress, some great reformers would one day arise—in that America to which he looked with such yearning hopes—to propose the improvement of morals and the abridgment of the Decalogue at a breath, by simply changing our social nomenclature, and renaming 'adultery' as 'spiritualism,' there is, in this one passage of the Second Book, good warrant for thinking that Ralegh would have rebuked those too fast reformers as making themselves, by one tempting innovation, at once debasers of their mother-tongue and blasphemers of God's law. He would have thought even the obvious convenience of reducing the Ten Commandments to Nine quite insufficient to justify the change. "Thousands of men and women," he says, "have mastered their fleshly desires. And there is no man living whom the desire of beauty and form hath so

constrained, but he might with ease forbear, . . . did not himself give suck to this infant, and nourish warmth till it grow to strong heat, heat till it turn to fire, and fire to flame." The three or four thousand pages of the *History of the World* contain, I believe, no line or word within which there lies the tiniest spark of prurient suggestion. Some of its readers will, even in this nineteenth century, think that in that one fact there lies a sufficient compensation even for a somewhat obsolete diffusiveness in illustrating the writings of Moses and of Isaiah.

WHY DID THE WORK REMAIN INCOMPLETE?

Why did the *History of the World* remain incomplete, in relation to its plan, notwithstanding the fact that its subsequent portions were actually 'hewn out' by Ralegh? That last fact we have upon his own express testimony. The common answer to the question has always been given—now for more than two centuries—as the author of a very worthless book gave it in 1660. Winstanley's story appeared first in his *Worthies of England*, and was repeated (1687) in his *Lives of English Poets*. It has neither authority nor corroboration. He tells it thus: "Sir Walter Ralegh, *a few days before his death*, sent for Walter Burre, the bookseller who had printed *his first volume*, and taking him by the hand, asked him how that work of his had sold, who answered, 'So slowly, that it has undone me.' Hereupon Ralegh, stepping to his desk, reached out the other part of his History,—*which he had brought down to the times he lived in*,—and then, saying *with a sigh*, 'Ah, friend, has the first part undone thee? *The second volume* shall undo ye no more. This ungrateful world is unworthy of it;' and so stepped to the fire, threw it in, and set his foot on it till it was consumed."

CHAP. XXIII. —— 1604-1616. AUTHOR AND BOOK-SELLER.

Perhaps one's most natural first thought on Winstanley's story is this: What a confident opinion of Burre's entire disinterestedness Ralegh must have had! To take a step so fatal to the labours and the hopes of years on words so vague—not to say, so strictly professional—seems a rash act for such a man as Ralegh. Doubtless in Ralegh's days, as in later times, there were booksellers who were an honour to literature,—as well as others who were only an honour to trade,—but at any period the destruction, irrevocably, of the result of long toil, on the faith of a statement like that given in the story to Walter Burre, smacks rather of fable than of history. Strictly true Winstanley's statement cannot be, since a second edition of the *History of the World* had actually appeared before the date assigned, with so much precision, to this conversation in the Tower between author and bookseller. And such secondary evidence as comes, by implication, from the subsequent fortunes of the book itself points towards the same conclusion. In the course of a century unusually filled with wars, revolutions, and internecine party conflicts, some eleven editions of two ponderous folios appear to have been sold, besides several abridgments. In short,—notwithstanding the difficulties which beset the true statistics of bookselling in that age, (as in most other ages),—there is fair reason to think that the *History of the World* must have gone through *eight* editions in somewhat less time than it took the *Plays of Shakespeare* to get through *four* editions. For the contrasted fortunes of the *History* and the *Plays* in later days there are a good many more reasons than one.

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

Ralegh's acknowledgments of the sources and authorities on which he founds are, in the earlier books of the

History, both full and minute, and very much otherwise in the later books. There is reason to think that their paucity towards the end is the bookseller's fault, not the author's. In the first volume we constantly find citation of authorities both in text and margin. In the second, although many authorities are named in the text, very few indeed are set out in the margins.

The help derived from living helpers in the work is several times acknowledged by Sir Walter, and always in the generous spirit which testifies sufficiently that the man who has occasionally profited by the learning and the thinking of his contemporaries has helped them, also, and very willingly, in his turn. Isaac Disraeli's wonderful "discoveries of the secret history" of Ralegh's book make it necessary to devote a page or two to the discovery of the too ingenious discoverer himself; although that task has been, more than once, performed heretofore. By Mr. Corney, in particular, it was done very sharply some thirty years ago. But the material is still abundant.

DISRAELI'S FICTION ABOUT THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

The author of the *Curiosities of Literature* has devoted a section of his book to the '*Life and Habits of a Literary Antiquary,—William Oldys*,' and it is far from being the least interesting part of the book. In the course of it the author asks, "How much of Malone may we owe to Oldys?" When reading the "Secret History of Rawleigh's '*History of the World*,'" an attentive reader will be tempted to ask, in his turn, "How much of Disraeli may we owe to Oldys?"

Oldys found, in Ralegh's own pages, an acknowledgment of the friendly help he had derived, in the earlier part of his book, from a learned friend whose conversancy with Hebrew literature supplied, very fully, Ralegh's own avowed deficiencies in that branch of

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learning. Oldys thought,—as candid readers will be apt to think still,—that probably Dr. Robert Burhill had some reason for desiring not to be mentioned, by name, in the Preface to the *History of the World*. Oldys does not treat that omission as a 'secret.' Neither does he treat the mention of Burhill's rabbinical contributions as a 'discovery.' With characteristic simplicity he mentions the fact of those contributions by Burhill—as constituting one of Ralegh's distinctive merits.

OLDYS' ACCOUNT OF RALEGH'S FELLOW-WORKERS.

He has been speaking of the long array of encomiums, from the highest and most varied sources, which during several successive generations the *History of the World* had elicited. "Ralegh," he then adds, "took no ordinary care to deserve these encomiums. For, besides his own learning, knowledge, and judgment—which many would have thought sufficient for any undertaking—he, with that caution wherewith we have beheld so many others of his great enterprises tempered, would suffer no part of this *History* to pass his own hand, *before some of the most able scholars* (whom he assembled, it seems, for this purpose) *had debated the parts he was doubtful of, and they most conversant in, before him.* Thus in the Mosaic and Oriental antiquities, or fainter and more remote footsteps of Time, he would sometimes consult the learned Dr. Robert Burhill. In all parts of chronology, geography, and other branches of mathematical science, he wanted not the opinions of the learned Hariot. . . . Wherever he scrupled anything in the phrase or diction, *he would hear the acute and ingenious Sir John Hoskyns,* . . . who viewed and reviewed the said History, as we are told, before it went to press."

Oldys' *Life of Ralegh*, pp. 451-453.

As they read words like these, readers are, I think, likely to be conscious of two things: They are reading the words of a single-minded man, who is sincerely both

a seeker and a lover of Truth. They are also reading the words of a man who is fully aware of the difference between a Walter Ralegh and a William Oldys. From the statement of Oldys they have now to turn to that of Disraeli. The manuscript referred to appears to contain mere rough notes, collected by Anthony Wood.

DISRAELI'S ACCOUNT OF RALEGH'S FELLOW-WORKERS.

"In imprisonment it singularly happened that Rawleigh lived among literary characters, with the most intimate friendship. There he joined the Earl of Northumberland, the patron of the philosophers of his age, and with whom Rawleigh pursued his chemical studies; and Serjeant Hoskins, a poet and a wit. . . . . And that Rawleigh often consulted Hoskins on his literary works I learn from a manuscript. . . . . But however literary the atmosphere of the Tower proved to Rawleigh, no particle of Hebrew, and perhaps little of Grecian, lore, floated from a Chemist and a Poet. The truth is that the collection of the materials of this History was the labour of several persons, who have not all been discovered. It has been ascertained that Ben Jonson was a considerable contributor; and there was an English philosopher, from whom Descartes, it is said, even by his own countrymen, borrowed largely —Thomas Hariot—whom Anthony Wood charges with infusing into Rawleigh's volume philosophical notions, while Rawleigh was composing his *History*. . . . . But if Rawleigh's pursuits surpassed 'even those of the most recluse and sedentary lives,' as Hume observed, we must attribute this to a 'Dr. Robert Burrel, Rector of Northwald, in the county of Norfolk, who was a great favourite of Sir Walter Rawleigh, and had been his chaplain. All, or the greatest part, of the drudgery of Sir Walter's *History*, for criticisms, chronology, and reading Greek or Hebrew

Curiosities of Literature (edit. of 1866), p. 427.

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authors, were performed by him, for Sir Walter.' Thus a simple fact, when discovered, clears up the whole mystery."

The passage in Ralegh's Preface on which the remarks of Oldys were founded deserves to be compared, verbally, with these strictures of Mr. Disraeli. Probably it may be thought to supply a sufficient answer to a principal part of the charge. Anyhow, it points to that vital distinction between assistance and plagiarism on which the issue of the controversy must in great measure depend.

Sir Walter has been stating the grounds of the arrangement and main divisions of his book. He then speaks of its diction: "If the phrase be weak, and the style not everywhere like itself, the first shows their legitimation and true parent; the second will excuse itself upon the variety of matter. For Virgil, who wrote his Eclogues *gracili avenâ*, used stronger pipes when he sounded the wars of Æneas." And then he proceeds: "It may also be laid to my charge that I use divers Hebrew words in my First Book, and elsewhere, in which language others may think, and I myself acknowledge it, that I am altogether ignorant. But it is true that some of them I find in Montanus; others, in Latin character, in S. Senensis; and of the rest I have borrowed the interpretation of some of my learned friends." Here he adds a remark which reads like an anticipatory rejoinder to Hume's 'sagacious detection' that the learning of Ralegh's History could only have been acquired by a man of recluse and sedentary life: "Had I been beholden to neither, yet were it not to be wondered at; having had an eleven years' leisure to attain to the knowledge of that or of any other tongue." It may here suffice to add that

Anthony Wood saw reason to leave, in the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, the story of the co-workers in the *History of the World* substantially as Oldys afterwards told it, in the *Life of Ralegh;* that "the considerable contributions" of Ben Jonson are simply a myth, growing (most naturally) out of a little bit of brag uttered, over flowing cups, in the well-known gossip with Sir William Drummond, at Hawthornden, about a year after Ralegh's death; and that the simple outcome of the whole matter is that the Historian of the World profited, before publication, as well by friendly hints, by friendly assistance, and by friendly criticism, as by his own strenuous wrestling with the classical authors, with the Biblical commentators, with the ancient chroniclers, and with the multitude of modern writers of Italy, France, Spain, and England, who ranked, after death, amongst Ralegh's 'contributors.' Is it too fanciful to think that a good many of them would have been proud of the distinction, could they have foreseen it?

And, after all, on a point like this, the *internal* evidence is the thing to be looked to. Probably there are not many books in our English literature which can better afford to be so tried. But there is one point of view from which the question raised in Disraeli's *Curiosities* assumes another aspect. The taste for what might be called the literature of patchwork is a widespread taste. To a considerable public the anecdote-mongers supply opinions ready made. To test, from the internal evidence of the book itself, the extent of Ralegh's claims on the gratitude of Englishmen, in his capacity as author of the *History of the World*, needs time, patience, and strenuous application. Not a few readers must, of necessity, take their estimate on trust. Isaac Disraeli had both fine parts and a most genuine

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and lifelong love of literature. He ought to have become, to the public, a true and safe guide; to the literary fame of a man like Ralegh, a firm and generous guardian. How came it to pass that in both particulars he has so conspicuously failed?

The three articles about Ralegh in the *Curiosities* supply an obvious and a conclusive answer. They are expressly so framed in plan, and so worked out in execution, as to make the salient things, in all of them, the ingenuity and mysterious knowledge of Disraeli; not the characteristics and genius of Ralegh. A *History of the World* is, by its nature, a compilation. But Ralegh's History—for a compilation—has about it a marvellous intellectual unity. Few men have had a finer capacity for eliciting and illustrating that quality in a book than Disraeli possessed, had he but set himself strenuously to use it. Yet from the article headed "Literary Unions," in the *Curiosities of Literature*, the reader gets no inkling of the one hinge-fact whereon the question raised by that article really turns. He might fairly suppose that the author obtained *all* his information about the *History of the World* (to quote his own words) "from a manuscript."

Curiosities of Literature, p. 427.

OTHER TOWER PURSUITS.

Sir Walter Ralegh's labours on the *History of the World* were many times temporarily broken in upon by other labours of a literary sort, as well as by the resumption, from time to time, of his chemical researches. He possessed the art of finding refreshment in variety of toil, to a degree in which few even among famous toilers have possessed it. Several political tracts (besides those which have been mentioned in Chapter XXII.), and more than one philosophical tract, were, during the Tower time, hammered out upon the anvil of that

untiring brain. In the region of abstract philosophy, as in that of the most intensely concrete problems of statecraft, Ralegh was able to anticipate some of the ripest conclusions of men who have given—two hundred years after his death—large sections of their lifetime to statesmanship apart, or to philosophy apart. Should the reader desire an example as proof of this assertion, he need but turn to Dugald Stewart's *Philosophy of the Human Mind*.[1] It would be no difficult task to add many like illustrations, of equal point and cogency, in other departments of thought. But the one may suffice.

THE CORRESPONDENCE ON GUIANA AND VIRGINIA.

And to diversions like these were added that of a busy and varied correspondence. When Lord Salisbury could no longer be plied with frequent letters, and even with an occasional conversation, about the exploring and colonizing of Virginia, or of Guiana, Queen Anne of Denmark, Lord Carew, Sir John Ramsay (afterwards Earl of Holderness), and—at a somewhat later period—Secretary Sir Ralph Winwood, were by turns entreated to take up one or other of the tempting enterprises. To those by whom thoughts about gold mines, rich in present profit, were sure of being more readily entertained than thoughts of plantations, teeming rather with hopes of future national empire, the mineral wealth of Guiana, and the facilities for lucrative commerce possessed by Virginia, were asserted and dwelt upon. To those who could be roused by less selfish visions of Spain humbled,

1 "It has been observed to me very lately by a learned and ingenious friend, that in one of the phrases which I have proposed to substitute for the *Common Sense* of Buffier and Reid, I have been anticipated, two hundred years ago, by Sir Walter Raleigh—'Where liberal reason,' &c. The coincidence in point of *expression* is not a little curious; but is much less wonderful than the coincidence of the *thought* with the soundest logical conclusions of the eighteenth century. The very eloquent and philosophical passage which immediately follows the above sentence is not less worthy of attention." (Stewart, *Philosophy of Mind*, vol. ii. p. 508.)

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and Britain magnified, the wisdom of at once fighting the national battles in remote seas and far-off realms, instead of leaving them to be fought—at some time and place of unknown disadvantage—in defence of hearth and home, the political side of colonial enterprise was insisted on. And it was illustrated from half a dozen different points of view.

THE ATTACK OF APOPLEXY.

Amidst toil so incessant, the already broken health began to break more and more. Still the toil went on. At length came an attack of apoplexy. An interval of rest became imperative. But it proved to be a very brief interval indeed.

Among the current gossip of London there ran a rumour that the immediate occasion of the attack was too much and too protracted labour in the chemical laboratory, and especially at the assaying furnace. Ralegh had kept the Guiana enterprise afoot, otherwise than by his frequent correspondence about it. He had, to some extent, paved the way for its resumption, by at least one actual preliminary expedition at his own charges, if not by more than one. It was, of course, on the small scale to which alone his comparatively narrow means were at that time equal. But it had brought, amongst other things, an additional quantity of mineral ores, and some of these ores came to the Tower. There is no direct evidence that, at the moment of his illness, Sir Walter was busied in his laboratory with assaying them. But there was a contemporary belief to that effect, and the opinion seemed a probable one. The overtasked brain, however, not the over-heated furnace, was the true cause of the mischief.

Chamberlain to Carleton; *Dom. Cor.* JAMES I., vol. lxxx. § 38. Compare same Cor. of 1609 (Dec.); and *Andr. Melvini Epistolæ*, p. 55.

On the 5th of January, 1615, a command was given for calling in the current impression of the *History of*

the World, on the ground mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Ralegh, it is obvious, was in no position to defend himself. But an anecdote of the day says that he found a friend sufficiently generous to withstand, on this point, the King's anger, by questioning the justice of the offence at the book which James had taken. Unfortunately, the friend is anonymous, and the anecdote unvouched. Lord Carew was quite frank and bold enough for such a friendly effort, and he had easy access to the royal closet. But the story cannot pin itself on Carew's sleeve. It is only Court gossip. James, it says, when challenged, during a conversation, in the course of which he had laid himself open to the question—despite his royal dignity—'Why is Ralegh's *History* to be condemned?' replied, 'For censuring King Henry the Eighth.' The teller of the story remarks—by way of stage whisper—that James himself, in the flow of his very exuberant conversation, had a special fondness for doing the same thing; and hints that the King could have given a truer reason for his dislike of Ralegh's book, if he had chosen to give it. That "truer reason" we may get from another contemporary anecdote, handed down by another lover of the anonymous. This last tradition is worth repeating for its pithy illustration of Ralegh's own remark about painting old portraits anew: "There was a time when one of our most renowned historians could not comment upon a piece of the Old Testament, without being thought to write a libel upon his own times: King James was almost led to fancy he saw his own features in the face of Ninias, son of Queen Semiramis. But surely if the King could think his justice censured in the story of Achab taking away Naboth's vineyard, and not commended in the French King's conduct towards his Judge

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and Admiral of France, he must not only have been a captious and self-tormenting reader, but must have satirized himself more sharply by engrossing of applications, *or acquiescing in resemblances*, than he could have been by the Author, had he really intended any."

A Short Review of the Life of Sejanus, p. 11.

Whatever that author had really intended in his delineation of Ninias or of Ahab, he was wholly beyond such reproof and correction as King James was able to administer. He watched passing events no less keenly than he studied ancient evil-doers intently, in order to pourtray them to the life. His *Prerogative of Parliaments* grew out of an incident which occurred at Westminster within a few weeks of the attempt at suppressing the *History of the World*, or at least of checking its circulation. King James had a presentation copy (still to be seen amongst our State Papers) of the Treatise on Parliaments in his royal hands so soon after the issue of his proclamation against the *History of the World*, that the censure has been misapplied; as if the King's thunder had been directed against the political work, not against the historical one.[1]

THE TREATISE ON THE PREROGATIVE OF PARLIAMENTS.

The incident which occasioned the tract in question is an instructive incident; and the man to whom it happened ran (if Oldys' identification of the Oliver St. John of 1615 with the Oliver St. John whom Charles the First

Oldys, p. 439, note.

[1] It is by James' recent and able historian, Mr. Gardner (not wont to spare pains in his research), that the attempt at suppression has been applied to the political treatise of 1615 itself. There is no adequate reason to think that *The Prerogative of Parliaments* was ever *printed* prior to the date (1628) of the first edition of it now known to collectors. Anthony Wood, indeed, speaks of an edition of '1621.' But it was never suggested —until the appearance of Mr. Gardner's book—that the treatise went to the press within Ralegh's own lifetime (*History of England*, vol. ii. p. 179). The existence of so many MS. copies of it as are known is an additional piece of evidence to the contrary,—were any needed. The book of 1628 has the imprint 'Middelburg.'

made Lord Tregoz in 1626 is to be trusted) a career of the sort which gave rise to the old adage, 'Truth is stranger than Fiction.'

In April 1615 some one or other of Ralegh's many friends or correspondents brought him word of an exciting sequel to an incident in Parliament which our prisoner had heard of in the preceding year. No application — how intense soever — whether to chemistry, to history, or to philosophy, could have prevented Ralegh from taking note, in 1614, of a bold speech against 'Benevolences.' That speech proved to be a prelude to certain other bold speeches and famous doings, a few years afterwards, against ship-money. But its first result (to the speaker) was a fine of 5,000*l.*—a sharper punishment than a fine of 20,000*l.* would, it will be remembered, prove in like circumstances now.

The man fined was Mr. Oliver St. John, a descendant of the Norman barons of Tregoz and of St. John of Stanton, and a great-great-uncle of Lord Bolingbroke. Oliver St. John's training for public life had been suddenly baulked—in Elizabeth's time—when he was a young student at one of the Inns of Court, by the fatal result of an affray with one of Ralegh's 'Yeomen of the Guard.' He then fled to Ireland, and made a new career for himself as a soldier. Under James he attained an uncourtly distinction in the English Parliament, and having brought his early studies to the aid of his opposition to the Government, both in speech and writing, he was thus punished by the Court of Star Chamber. Under Charles he attained high office in Ireland, and became a peer of both countries. Three of his nephews fell in the field, fighting for Charles and for kingly prerogatives. Three of his collateral relatives

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were amongst the staunchest supporters of the Parliament and of the Commonwealth.

The drift of Ralegh's discourse on privilege of Parliament in regard to supply, and on the relations between the Commons and the Crown, is to be found in this one sentence of the Dedication :—"May it please your Majesty to consider that there can nothing befall your Majesty, in matters of affairs, more unfortunately than meeting the Commons of Parliament with ill success." Cast in the form of a Dialogue between himself and a Privy Councillor, the treatise has all the life and vigour of an animated conversation, in which the interlocutors are men intent on business, and careless of mere style and beauty. There is some terrible irony in it. In a single sentence Ralegh discloses at once his unconquerable love of hitting hard,—whatever the risk of the recoil,—and the degree of sincerity there can have been in that humble laudation from subject to Sovereign of which, upon almost innumerable occasions, he had been so lavish. In the Dedication, as well as in the body of the Treatise, the attentive reader—if he be familiar with Ralegh's *Letters*—will now and then come upon a passage suggestive of such thoughts as these: 'Can Ralegh have taken more accurate measure of the intellect of the man he is addressing than his readers have been wont to take?' 'Have we all, occasionally, been reading, as merely fulsome flattery, what the writer knew would to some contemporary eyes be welcome as praise, and to other contemporary eyes be not less welcome as satire?' On the present occasion nothing can well exceed the courtier-like humility of the sentences which precede and which follow these words: "The bonds of subjects to their kings should always be

Prerogative of Parliaments; MS., *Dom. Corresp.* JAMES I., vol. lxxxv. (R. H.)

wrought out of iron; the bonds of kings unto subjects but with cobwebs."

The Stuart kings, from the very moment of their transplantation, would almost seem to have taken these bitter words, by way of a ruling and permanent maxim. They were written in 1615. A good deal of the history of the next seventy years is but a long-drawn commentary upon Ralegh's short text.

CHAPTER XXIV.

A YEAR OF LIBERTY. — PROJECTS OF ENTERPRISE ON THE CONTINENT.

1615—1617.

The Death of Arabella Stuart. — Council Warrant to Ralegh about her personal Chattels. — The offered Service to the King of Denmark. — Ralegh's Correspondence with French Huguenots. — Terms of Ralegh's Freedom. — Visits to the new Lions of London. — New Plans for Guiana. — The Partners in the Enterprise. — Ralegh and Secretary Winwood. — Interviews with the French Ambassador Des Marêts. — The Count of Gondomar, and his Career in Spain. — Gondomar's Embassy to the Court of London. — His Gratitude to King James. — The Outfit of the Expedition, and the 'Bills of Adventure.' — Levies of Mariners. — The Correspondence with Sir Adrian Thibaut of Amsterdam. — Sale of Lady Ralegh's Mitcham Estate. — Interview and Correspondence with the Count of Scarnafissi, Ambassador of the Duke of Savoy. — Lionello's Account of Ralegh's alleged Project against Genoa, as given to the Venetian Council of Ten. — The Relations between the Duke of Savoy and the King of Spain. — And those between Savoy and Genoa. — The Diplomatists of France and Savoy; and the 'Pirates' of England.

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DEATH OF ARABELLA STUART.

NOT a few among the minor incidents of the Tower life must needs be passed over. But it is essential to spend a few words on an event which occurred within those gloomy walls just four months before Ralegh's liberation. It closed, in much sadness, a life which would have had no place at all in history, had it been a prosperous one. To Arabella Stuart misfortune gave all the charm which has made her career a theme for the

poet and novelist; as well as for the biographer,—when in straits for a subject. She died on the 27th of September, 1615.

Her death had been preceded by several most painful circumstances—some of which are gloated over in the vile letters of the vile Northampton; where they may, very fitly, be left. The event must have sent some of Ralegh's thoughts—whatever their busy pre-occupation—far backwards. He would naturally think of that first interview between himself and Arabella, in Burghley's dining-room, at a moment when life seemed to all three (great as were their diversities of age and circumstance) full of bright hopes of joy to come. He would think, too, of that startling incident in the hall of Wolvesey Castle, when Arabella stood up suddenly by the side of his old comrade of the Armada cruise and of Cadiz, for the purpose of giving a semblance of reality to an imaginary plot, by disclaiming all intention to have made profit out of its success. On that day Ralegh had listened to Coke's invectives against the wickedness of the conspiracy to enthrone Arabella, somewhat as an old traveller might listen to a new and marvellous story of the discovery of 'antres vast and deserts idle' in some far-off region. His quiet incredulity works its natural impression on the other listeners; but, in a moment, their thoughts take a new channel from the well-timed appearance of corroborators, who give the story an aspect of truth, by paring it of some portion of its extremer marvels.

ARABELLA STUART'S JEWELS; AND THE COUNCIL WARRANT ADDRESSED TO RALEGH.

Scarcely was the lady's body cold, ere an order of James' Privy Council came to the Tower for the seizure of her apparel and jewels. Arabella had always possessed an intense love of finery. Her taste for choice pearls and precious stones was one of the few things in

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which she could have had a true fellow-feeling with Ralegh. His love of jewels is notorious. He was as fond of them as Burghley was of long pedigrees, or of broad manors. There was an especial anxiety at the Council Board about the safety of a certain rich gown, extensively powdered with pearls. This weighty subject gave occasion to several Minutes of Council, in the September, October, and December of 1615. The last of them is to this purpose: "Let an open warrant be sent to Sir Walter Rawley, Knight, the Lady Helwis,[1] Robert Branthwaite, and Katherine Crosbie, requiring them, immediately upon sight of the warrant, to deliver into the hands of Samuel Smith all such goods of the Lady Arabella, lately deceased, as are in their hands and custodies, and are not due for fees; *notwithstanding any former warrant touching them.*" I can give no authoritative explanation of Ralegh's connexion with Arabella's jewels. But it may perhaps be inferred from the closing words of the warrant that some previous order—not now on record—had been given, under which some of them were sold, and that Sir Walter's taste for pearls, more especially—revived, it may be, under the influences of his impending liberation—had gratified itself by a purchase, the conditions of which were as yet unfulfilled.

Elwes.

Register of Privy Council, JAMES I., vol. ii. p. 167. (C. O.)

COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS ON ALLEGED ISSUE OF ARABELLA.

It may here be added that the same Council Book from which I have drawn this little incident contains some striking proofs how intensely anxious James was about the popular rumour of issue of the marriage between Arabella and William Seymour; as well as about that legal recognition of the marriage of Hertford and Lady Catherine Grey, on the procuring of which, by hook or by crook, Seymour's grandfather (loyally submissive as

in his own person he always carried himself towards James) was so persistently bent. No careful student of the documents will doubt that James, in his heart, was very far from pinning his faith on the doctrine so sweepingly, and so triumphantly, asserted on his behalf in the Proclamation by the Privy Council, at the instant of Elizabeth's death. Prior to the 'Act of Recognition' by Parliament, his *title*, in the strictly legal sense of that word, was but a wise and politic fiction; and the new King knew that it was so. James' English contemporaries stood near enough to Plantagenet days to have lingering conceptions about a real and practical *interregnum* between the death of one monarch and the coronation of another, which came to be treasonable conceptions in Stuart days, and dark problems to constitutional lawyers sitting down to write '*Commentaries on the Laws of England*' in Hanoverian days. That old doctrine of the interregnum had had not a little influence in helping George Brooke on his way to the scaffold at Winchester. When Lord Hertford, after many difficult searches, at length succeeded in finding new evidence of his marriage, a question of technical limitation was so used as again to foil his effort. When he seemed to be on the point of gaining an indirect but important step towards his object (in 1607, during the proceedings in the suit *Lord Beauchamp* v. *Lord Monteagle*), the Crown lawyers had again to dodge the case (if the expression be permissible), by a trick of their craft. Many years afterwards, James tried to force his Ministers to extract from Parliament an express Act of Illegitimation. Meanwhile, the hopes of Hertford's granddaughter-in-law, Arabella, dwelt in their turn, no less intently, on issue by her perilous marriage. She really believed, at the time of her imprisonment in Sir Thomas

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Parry's house at Lambeth, that the darling hope would be fulfilled. And she spoke much of her expectations to the women about her. The gossip of that day gave some anxious hours to Privy Councillors in 1617. Bacon, Archbishop Abbot, the Earl of Suffolk, and Secretary Winwood, were all employed in the examination of lady's maids, physicians, and even of grooms of the chambers; and the Clerk of the Council was sent down post into Derbyshire to take the evidence of an aged woman, who was too infirm to be brought to London.

Minutes of Privy Council, Feb. 1617; *Register*, JAMES I., vol. ii. pp. 529, 530. (C. O.)

PROJECTS OF CONTINENTAL SERVICE.

Ralegh's hopes of freedom were long very fitful. Many times over they seemed as likely to prove mere visions, as the longings of Arabella Stuart had proved to be. He tried nearly all the paths in the wood, before he could light upon the only path which had the desired outlet—that of bribes to courtiers. Among those which were tried gropingly and unsuccessfully, and tried (as we have seen) more than once, was an effort to get out of the Tower by the influence of the King of Denmark. That monarch had certain plans of maritime enterprise in his head. Ralegh would have been very serviceable to Christian. Christian was willing to make him his Admiral. But James would lend ear to no entreaties. That path remained obstinately closed. All that Ralegh can have derived from the new effort is but a renewal of the consoling thought of 1606: 'The wife, the brother, and the son of a King do not use to sue for men suspect.'

Letter CXLIX., Vol. II. p. 340.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE FRENCH HUGUENOTS.

With the French Huguenots Ralegh, there is reason to think, had all along maintained some sort of friendly correspondence. The first impressions of opening manhood, and the ripest convictions of mature age, tended

alike to keep both his sympathies and his enmities in unison with theirs. He and they were at one in the love of free thought, and of the free expression of thought. His hopes and theirs were ardently turned towards the humiliation of Spain, the great adversary of both. The particulars of the renewal of his old intimacy with the chiefs of the liberal party in France are not now traceable. Probably too many people on either side the Channel had an interest in their suppression. But it seems certain that when James' refusal to permit Ralegh to enter the service of Denmark as Admiral closed all hope of a career in that quarter, he made overtures,—or did something to prepare the way for the receipt of overtures,—which had for their ultimate object, under certain eventualities, a career of service in France. The details are wrapped in obscurity. Some of them, in all probability, will for ever remain problems indeterminable. But be that as it may, what can now be said on this French negotiation is matter rather of suggestion than of assertion. Its chief importance lies in its bearing on the events of 1618. Biography, like history at large, is apt occasionally to repeat itself. The reader remembers how much of obscurity overshadows Ralegh's early career in France. But upon one fact there is no obscurity at all. The early soldiership was service against Spain, and against what was bad and oppressive in the Church of Rome. Had there been permitted to Ralegh another period of soldiership in France, it would still have been service against the tyrannical dominion of Spain, and against the corruptions and the obstructiveness of Romanism. Ralegh, however, was no bigot. He struck many hard blows against Spain and the Pope. But no man recognised more frankly the chivalry of Spaniards, or the vital truths which lay at the

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THE NEGOTIATION FOR FREEDOM.

core of Romanism, and which no amount of external corruption could cancel, howsoever sufficient to veil.

At the end of 1615 there was no hope of freedom through Danish influence or through French. But there were new courtiers at Whitehall who had no personal animosities against Ralegh. His great enemy, Northampton, was dead. The old favourite who, with Northampton's aid, had ousted Lady Ralegh from her home, and had succeeded her husband in the ownership of Sherborne, was now on the point of succeeding him in the tenancy of his Tower prison. The new favourites, if they did not resemble the old ones in their hatreds, were as like to them as twins in their susceptibilities. To the ears of Villiers the clink of gold was as sweet as it had been to those of Carr. And when his own coffers had been so well filled by the prodigality of his master as hardly to admit of more gold, there were plenty of brothers and of half-brothers—Villierses and St. Johns—who were under no such plethoric embarrassment. To two of them Ralegh gave 1500*l.* between them (750*l.* a-piece, in the money of 1616). Sir William Saint-John and Sir Edward Villiers had a conversation with Sir George Villiers: Sir George, in turn, had a conversation with the King.

James had been already pressed for Ralegh's liberation by another advocate, and from another starting-point. Ralegh had urged on Secretary Winwood the bright prospects of gold-mining in Guiana. And to the Villierses, also, the charms of gold in prospect had been presented by way of reinforcement to the charms of gold in hand.[1] On the 30th of January, James sent his

[1] On the 17th of March, 1616 [N.S.], Ralegh wrote thus to Sir George Villiers:—"If it [my enterprise] succeed well, a good part of its honour

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warrant to Sir George More for Ralegh's release from the Tower.[1] During the next two months, however, he continued under the oversight of a keeper; although living in his own house. On the 19th of March following the Privy Council addressed a Minute to Sir Walter in these terms:—

Warrant to Sir George More, Lieut. of the Tower; Jan. 30, 1616. (Losely Castle.)

"His Majesty, out of his gracious inclination towards you, being pleased to release you out of your imprisonment in the Tower, to go abroad *with a keeper, to make your provisions for your intended voyage*, we think it good to admonish you—though we do not prejudicate your own discretion so much as to think you would attempt it without leave—that you should not presume to resort either to his Majesty's Court, the Queen's, or Prince's; nor go into any public assemblies wheresoever, without especial licence obtained from his Majesty for your warrant. But only that you use the benefit of his Majesty's grace to follow the business which you are to undertake, and for which, upon your humble request, his Majesty hath been graciously pleased to grant you that freedom."

Registers of the Privy Council, JAMES I., vol. ii. p. 202. (C. O.)

VISITS TO THE NEW LIONS OF LONDON.

1616. March or April.

The first use to which Sir Walter put his liberty was not, by any means, 'the following the business he was to undertake.' If a glorious intellectual energy was his prime quality, a far-stretching intellectual inquisitiveness was very prominent among his secondary qualities. It was as comprehensive as it was keen. It embraced the activities of architect, sculptor, and painter, as well as those of soldier, mariner, and statesman. One of his

shall be yours; and if I do not also make it profitable unto you, I shall show myself exceeding ungrateful."

1 I owe my knowledge of this document, now amongst the MSS. at Losely belonging to Sir George's representative, Mr. More Molyneux, to the kind communication of my friend Mr. W. H. Hart, F.S.A., of the Record Office.

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first thoughts, on getting out of the Tower shade into the clear sunshine, was that he would see what the London builders, and the immigrant artists of France and Italy, had been doing for the embellishment of the capital, since he had last got sight of it—otherwise than by distant glimpses from a Tower window or battlement. He made a sort of tour round London.

Chamberlain to Carleton; *Domestic Corresp.* 1616. (R. H.)

What kind of morning walk—for the business Ralegh was now intent upon would not have been achieved by riding—that tour would involve in these days, the reader can imagine.

About a hundred and thirty years after the time of Ralegh's walk, it took an active man between nine and ten hours to circumgirate the town, as it had by that time expanded itself. Sir Walter was a very poor pedestrian. He has told us, more than once, that he felt much more at his ease in the saddle than afoot. But, I suppose, he could easily manage to see all that claimed his notice in the London of James the First within three or four hours.

James had imitated Elizabeth by many proclamations against the increase of buildings in London, save by express licence—which was granted very sparingly indeed. Two years before Ralegh's release there had been a sharp controversy between Privy Council and Corporation about the right claimed by the City authorities to build on the walls, ramparts, ditches, and waste places around the town. James looked with the greatest jealousy on any and every building for which he had not given a royal warrant. Like Henry the Eighth,—whose example on this score, as on some others, he was far from contemning,—his Majesty was "much desirous to have the game of hare, partridge, pheasant, and heron preserved, for his own disport and pastime,

Privy Council Registers, 1605, 1608, 1614; passim. (C. O.)

Domestic Corresp. JAMES I., vol. lxxvi. §§ 10–14. (R. H.)

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from his palace of Westminster to St. Giles in the Fields, and from thence to Islington, ... and from thence" [back again, by another route] "to his said palace at Westminster." But the buildings grew nevertheless. Some of them James caused to be pulled down. But, after a few years, they sprung up again. The novelties that would chiefly interest Ralegh were his old friend Salisbury's "New Exchange," close to the familiar Durham House, and the new Banqueting House at Whitehall. The old one, in which he had stood, not very far from the Queen, at many a splendid feast, had been pulled down by James' order in 1606. It had been replaced by a building which, we are told, was "very strong and stately, and every way larger than the former; having also many fair lodgings new builded and increased." The absence of the Court from Westminster presented more than one opportunity for the gratification of Ralegh's curiosity at Whitehall and at Westminster, despite the solemn warning of the Council that he should not dare to show himself within the Court precincts. And there is express testimony that he went to one palace at the least.

Proclamation of King Hen. VIII. July 1546. (R. H.)—*Registers of Privy Council*, vols. ii. iii. passim. (C. O.)

Domestic Corresp. JAMES I., March 1616. (R. H.)

We may also be sure that he visited Westminster Abbey. He would see there more new tombs than one capable of awaking old memories: amongst them, those of his old comrades in arms, Henry Norreys and Francis Vere. But one, especially, would arrest his step and his thoughts. Beneath a richly-carved canopy lay a well-known effigy. There he read an inscription to two sisters, *Elizabeth and Mary,—'having filled the same throne, they sleep in the same grave, in hope of the Resurrection.*[1]

[1] '*Regno consortes et urnâ, hîc obdormimus* ELIZABETHA *et* MARIA *sorores, in spe Resurrectionis.*'

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And presently the preparations for Guiana went prosperously onwards. There was a great eagerness to join in the expedition. The seed first sown by Ralegh's publication of the *Discovery of Guiana* had been growing fast during Ralegh's imprisonment. Many years had now passed since a famous satirist had noted the spread,—not only in towns, but along many a country side,—of the new thirst for distant enterprise :—

Virgidemiarum of Bishop Hall (1599).

> "Vent'rous Fortunio his farm hath sold,
> And goes to Guiana-land to search for gold."

But, unhappily for Ralegh, — and for Guiana, — the Fortunios who, in his time, were so very anxious to go to America that they were willing to sell their farms, were, for the most part, such as had virtually sold both their farms and their families beforehand, by riotous living. There were but few of the middle sort amongst those who joined in the expedition of 1617. There were many English gentlemen. There were several old servants of Ralegh—men of the true stamp, in more than one of whom was still to be seen, in its perfection,

> "The constant service of the antique world,
> When service sweat for duty, not for meed."

But many of the volunteer explorers, and of the crews, belonged to the then world's scum. Not a few of them were such "drunkards, blasphemers, and others, as their fathers, brothers, and friends thought it an exceeding good gain to be discharged of, with the hazard of some thirty, forty, or fifty pounds; knowing they could not have lived a whole year so cheap at home." It proved, in the sequel, to be Ralegh's special misfortune that on this sad hinge-fact the issue of the expedition greatly turned.

Apology for the Voyage to Guiana (*Works*, vol. viii. p. 480).

The gentlemen who were volunteers in the expedi-

tion adventured a considerable sum of money. The entire amount of the joint stock was nearly thirty thousand pounds. Ralegh himself called in a sum of three thousand pounds which he had lent to the Countess of Bedford. Lady Ralegh sold a valuable estate at Mitcham, Surrey, of especial value to herself from its nearness to her brother's beautiful seat of Beddington. Under the provisions of an Act of Parliament for the encouragement of shipbuilding, Ralegh received from the King as tonnage money the sum of 700 crowns (175*l.*).

Among the volunteers with Ralegh were Sir Warham St. Leger, son of Ralegh's comrade of the Irish wars; George Ralegh, his nephew; William Herbert, a scion of the family of Pembroke and Montgomery, and Ralegh's cousin; Charles Parker, brother of William Parker, Lord Morley and Monteagle (the Lord Monteagle of the Gunpowder Plot discovery); Captain North, brother of Dudley, Lord North; and Edward Hastings, brother of the Earl of Huntingdon. Of Captains Lawrence Keymis and Sir John Ferne, as of some other captains in the fleet, much will need to be said in a subsequent chapter. Assistance was sought by Ralegh from abroad, as well as at home; and especially from those invincible enemies of Spain, the enterprising Netherlanders. The ships, as their outfit went on, naturally became the subjects of very keen curiosity. Amongst those who watched them most eagerly were Des Marêts, Ambassador from France, and Sarmiento, Ambassador from Spain.

Apology for the Voyage to Guiana (*Works*, vol. viii. p. 481); compared with Letter CLVIII. (Vol. II. p. 372.)—*Privy Council Registers*, 1617. (C. O.)—*Warrant Book*, Nov. 1616. (R.H.)

Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, afterwards Count of Gondomar, had now been resident in London for more than three years. He had, as the proverb says, succeeded

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SPANISH AMBASSADORS BEFORE GONDOMAR.

in taking the exact length of James' foot. A more striking contrast than that presented by Sarmiento to his predecessors in the embassy from Philip the Third could hardly be imagined. Our old acquaintance Prince Arenbergh—as much the Ambassador of Madrid as of Brussels—was a diplomatist, "who can neither walk nor talk," said James himself. "He asks me to give him an audience in my garden, because he cannot go up stairs." His colleague, Don Juan Baptista de Tasis, —we have it on like royal authority—was "a postillion Ambassador, sent by Spain that he may travel fast, and attend to his business by post." These had been succeeded by a personage no less august than Don Ferdinand de Velasco, Duke of Frias, and Constable of Castile, who might well have awed James, had he been less impatient to do it. He had the unfortunate quality of showing his teeth before the opportune moment for using them. Gondomar, on the other hand, was an adept in talking, and he had certainly no lack of agility. But he was quite content to be stationary, as long as anything was to be gained by quiet waiting. And although he had venom, as well as teeth, he was completely master of both. The last two years of Ralegh's career may be said, with all the sobriety of truth, to have been simply a protracted death-struggle between him and Gondomar.

There has always been a tradition that Gondomar had a personal quarrel, or grievance of some sort, against Ralegh, before his arrival in England. It is not easy to prove the rumour, or to disprove it. Twenty-seven years before Gondomar's first embassy to London, Lord Burghley made this entry in his Diary of events: "Pedro Sarmiento de Genaboa was taken by a ship of Sir Walter Rawley's, and brought into

Burghley's *Diary*, under *anno* 1586 (Hatfield). [Printed by Murdin, p. 785.]

England." There is an obvious probability that a connection may have subsisted between the unfortunate Spaniard of 1586 and the future Ambassador of 1613, but the tie—if any existed—is not apparent on the face of Gondomar's pedigree, as we have it in the *Nobiliario Genealogico de España*. The family names that connect themselves immediately with the Sarmientos of the Ambassador's time are those of Acuña, Sotomayor, and Mendoza.[1]

Don Diego was born on All Saints Day in 1567. He was therefore Ralegh's junior by about fifteen years. When he reached England, he was a man already practised in affairs. Many readers will be familiar with his portraits, of which there are several in our galleries. His features display plenty of intellect, and also plenty of boldness. And they indicate—just as history indicates—that the boldness was of that useful sort which combines wariness with promptitude. There is also in them a very noticeable dash of pruriency,—another quality which, in several well-known instances (notably,

[1] Lopez de Haro gives Gondomar's pedigree thus:—

GARCIA FERNANDEZ SARMIENTO,
Adelantado Mayor of Galicia.

..... SARMIENTO,
Lord of Sobroso.

DIEGO SARMIENTO DE SOTOMAYOR.

GARCIA SARMIENTO DE SOTOMAYOR.

GARCIA SARMIENTO, Lord of Gondomar. [Second Son.] = JUANA DE ACUÑA.

JUAN SARMIENTO.

DIEGO SARMIENTO DE ACUÑA, Count of Gondomar. [Born 1567.]

GARCIA SARMIENTO DE SOTOMAYOR.

JUAN SARMIENTO DE MENDOZA.

Nobiliario de España, p. 239.

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for example, in that of another famous Spaniard of the same generation, Antonio Perez), has been found to help the career of a foreigner desirous to acquaint himself with domestic secrets, in order to gain influence over the affairs of conspicuous families. The student of our State Papers will easily call to mind in the instance of Gondomar, as in that of Perez, some striking documentary proofs of this assertion.

PORTRAIT OF GONDOMAR, FORMERLY IN HORACE WALPOLE'S COLLECTION AT STRAWBERRY HILL.

But, in that portrait of this famous Ambassador which by its vigour and its verisimilitude is likely to impress a picture-lover most strongly, there is yet another quality which dominates alike over the vigour of mind and over the corruption of soul which are so conspicuous. In that portrait, more especially, we have an air of self-conceit so marked as that it approaches to sublimity.

Gondomar's public career began by service against England, and against an English hero. Exactly at the age (17) when Ralegh was fighting against the Balafré, Gondomar was serving (though not actually in arms) against Francis Drake. That was his entrance upon a career which, even for so stirring an epoch, was unusually crowded with incidents. He served against Portugal in 1589. He was made Civil and Military Governor of Tuy,—one of the keys of the Spanish frontier,—in 1596, when the news came to the Escurial of the sailing of the expedition under Essex and Ralegh. In Galicia he acquitted himself so much to his master's satisfaction, that Philip the Second soon afterwards made him a Knight of the Order of Calatrava and Governor and Alcaldé of Bayonne; with which he retained his important command at Tuy. He also became Corregidor of Valladolid and, eventually, a member of the Spanish Council of State

('*Consejero de la Real Hazienda*').[1] And here again, by way of special mark of the royal confidence, Philip the Third, or rather Philip's all-powerful master, allowed him to cumulate the councillorship with the corregidorship.

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Gondomar (to call him by a title not yet conferred on him as Count, though he possessed the name seignorially) landed at Portsmouth, as Philip the Third's Ambassador, at the close of July 1613.

THE BEGINNING OF GONDOMAR'S ENGLISH EMBASSY.

The Governor of Portsmouth and the Port-Admiral were so ill-advised at the moment of the new Ambassador's arrival as to forget that they were living,—not under Elizabeth,—but under James. They insisted that decent respect should be shown by the incoming Spaniards to the English flag. Gondomar had the time of day perfectly in mind. And, in exact accordance with the chronology, he indulged his Spanish pride. The Portsmouth men handled him somewhat roughly; and, when Gondomar got to Court, he complained of them. James justified the Ambassador of Spain, and reprimanded the Governor and Admiral of England, for insisting, in so uncourtly a fashion, on the obsolete pretensions of their country's flag. The Ambassador had made an excellent beginning, and he was wise enough not to be too boastful, or too much elated, about it.

Readers of history know how easy it would be to sketch the Spanish Count's career in England by a series of telling and amusing anecdotes. In our 'Domestic Correspondence' of James' day anecdotes of Gondomar are as abundant as are apple blossoms in our orchards at the end of April. The conversations about the Spanish marriages;—the many incidents of Gondomar's intercourse with and influence over Salisbury's pliable great-nephew, Lord Roos, and the inci-

[1] Lopez de Haro, *Nobiliario Genealogico de España*, sub voce.

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dents (both comic and tragic) which grew thereout;—the stories of the fair but too open mouths, which it needed something more costly than fine words or loving kisses to shut;—the happy reply to King James' rebuke of the inelegance of the Ambassador's Latin style[1]—are all of them touches which help to depict the man to the life. But they do not belong to the *Life of Ralegh;* though some true idea of the man Gondomar is a very needful key to certain problems connected with Ralegh's death. To that end,—and also in order that this by-way may offer no temptation to digress hereafter from the main road of our story, as it approaches the crisis of the struggle between the diplomatist of Spain and the hero of England,—the reader will pardon an unchronological glance or two at some later incidents in Count Gondomar's embassy.

King James the First has, by the most natural of events, had his recent whitewashing. His turn had fully come; but the process, in his case, was found to be more than usually toilsome. The result, too, is but dubious. It is fortunate for the truthful knowledge of those times that Count Gondomar was less reticent in writing, than he was (sometimes) in speech. Hence, by way of reaching due limitations in the public estimate of the work recently accomplished on James' score, there is no need to re-accredit old sources of information so justly suspicious as are the Weldons, Wilsons, and Osbornes of a bygone day. Some testimony from Gondomar's lips will be more to the purpose. It will tell us, in a breath, the Ambassador's real power over

[1] "If it please your Majesty, I speak Latin like a King. Your Majesty speaks it like a Master of Arts." Mr. Gardner quotes this saying in his able *History of England* under James. He also quotes the pithy words from MS. Addit. 14015, fol. 77, which the reader will come upon at p. 574.

the King, and his honest opinion about the King. Both will be of yeoman service in getting at the true moral of that part of Ralegh's story which has yet to be told.

In one of his letters of thanks to James, written from Madrid in 1622, Gondomar writes thus:—"That a Spaniard should have been and should still be *a Councillor, not merely in your Majesty's Privy Council, but in your private Closet itself*, doth not only exceed all possible merit of mine, but also exceeds all the services that I can possibly have been able to render to your Majesty." (*Qu'un Espagnol ait esté et soit Conseiller, non seulement de votre Conseil d'Estat, mais du Cabinet intérieur, cela surpasse non seulement tous les mérites, mais aussy toutes les services que je vous ay peu rendre.*)—'Nothing, Sir Ambassador, can possibly be more true.'

Gondomar to James; MS. Tanner, vol. lxxiii. § 160. (Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

Before Gondomar wrote these thanks to James for his access to the most secret deliberations of the Council and Cabinet of England in the critical years 1614–1619, he had two or three times crossed the Channel, and he never crossed it empty-handed. His correspondence shows his high appreciation of the beauty and of the kindness of certain English ladies of James' Court. The *Registers* of our Privy Council show also his appreciation of the skill of our English goldsmiths, and of our English tapestry-workers. Of the merits of their precious wares, James—at a time when his exchequer was virtually bankrupt—enabled the Spaniard to judge accurately by presenting him with 2,000 oz. of plate, and some choice specimens of needlework. But the Count did not limit the gratification of his splendid tastes to English beauty, and to English plate. He was also a student of English literature. Three weeks before Ralegh's death, Gondomar carried over to Spain, along with his twenty chests full of tapestry, forty other chests full of books. No

Privy Council Books, JAMES I., vol. iii. pp. 527–538.

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doubt Ralegh's tracts on foreign policy, and Ralegh's *History of the World*, were part of that valuable cargo. Gondomar was not a man who would exclude from his reading the writings of his enemies.

Having quoted Count Gondomar's account of his debt to James, I will now quote his confidential estimate of James,—when speaking his mind without stress of flattery, or fear of disclosure. James, he says, has a vanity so enormous that, in order to make him play his adversary's game, you have simply to let James believe that it is from himself that the adversary has learnt to know how to play. And he illustrates the character so drawn by referring to a pending negotiation. ("*El rey que oy es de Inglaterra por lan poderosa la vanedad, que siempre tendria mucha fuerça con el averse hecho pazes por su medio, de que se le sigue autoridad,*" &c.) With James on the throne of England, Buckingham at the helm of State in England, and Gondomar in the Privy Council of England, we have a key to a good many things besides the scaffold of the 29th of October, 1618.

MS. Addit. 14015, fol. 77. (B.M.)

It is no cause of marvel that the French Ambassador watched Ralegh's proceedings in the river Thames and elsewhere with scarcely less intentness than did the Count of Gondomar. He sought opportunities of conversing with persons believed to be in Ralegh's confidence. When the outfit of the ships had made considerable progress, he paid them a visit. What needs to be said, however, concerning the intercourse between Count Des Marêts and Sir Walter Ralegh will be more opportunely told at a later period of the narrative, when we shall have to look, briefly, at the outcome of that intercourse. At present the story involves some account of the proceedings of another ambassador—a less conspicuous

Despatches of Des Marêts; MSS. 1616-7. (Imperial Library, Paris.)

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personage than Gondomar and Des Marêts, but one whose doings had an important bearing on the fortunes of Ralegh; though their negotiation came to no practical issue.

RALEGH'S INTERCOURSE WITH THE AMBASSADOR OF SAVOY.

The Count of Scarnafissi had come to England as the Ambassador of Victor Amadeus—known to his countrymen as Victor Amadeus 'the Great'—of Savoy, in the course of whose turbulent career not a few things had happened which made the Duchy of Savoy, in the interval between 1611 and 1616, to hold a very different rank, in the international politics of Europe, from that which it had seemed to hold at the date of Ralegh's *Discourse on the Match proposed for Prince Henry*. Sir Walter had now, in some conversations with the Savoyan Ambassador on the attitude of Savoy towards Spain, and on cognate topics, reason materially to modify his former views; not assuredly about a Savoyan alliance by royal marriages with England, but about a Savoyan alliance, by way of common effort abroad, for a common object. What then passed between Scarnafissi and Ralegh is chiefly known by the account given of it by a looker-on. The Venetian resident at the Court of London had reasons for watching Count Scarnafissi somewhat akin to those which prompted Des Marêts to watch Gondomar. It follows that his account of these transactions of the Savoyan with Ralegh is not an unbiassed one. It also needs watching.

Above, pp. 497-502.

Ralegh knew that Gondomar would move heaven and earth, were it possible, to get the means of baulking the Guiana enterprise. He had no access indeed, as Gondomar had, to the secret councils of James. But he knew Spain and Spaniards tolerably well. Very small straws would to him serve as indications of wind and current. It was natural—and no less wise than natural

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THE PROPOSED EXPEDITION UNDER RALEGH AGAINST GENOA.

—that if opportunity offered for rendering service abroad to England, and to causes which lay near to English hearts, howsoever remote from the wishes or the caprices of the Scoto-English king, such an opportunity should by Ralegh be welcomed. And, for the exploration of Guiana, more favourable times might, still more wisely, be awaited. Overtures about continental service were made to Ralegh, through Winwood, by the Ambassador of Savoy. The service was to be rendered to Savoy, the enemy of Spain; not to Savoy, the friend and tool of Spain. Yet only five years had passed since Ralegh himself, as we have seen, was earnestly impressing on the minds of all Englishmen in power, or expecting power, how constantly Savoy had shown itself a mere satellite to Spain. But when he said, "Savoy cannot help its subserviency," he had made, hypothetically, an important reserve, on one point. And on that very point the new aspect of things between Spain and Savoy in 1616 had turned.

Above, p. 501.

It was proposed by the Savoyan that the force now preparing in the Thames to sail under Ralegh for Guiana should make for the southern coast of France, instead of shaping its course towards America; that, at some convenient French port, it should be powerfully reinforced, and placed under the command in chief of the Duke of Montpensier; that it should then sail for Italy; and swoop, as with the suddenness of a bird of prey, upon

> "ill-fated Genoa,
> Once the Superb!—the Tyre of Italy!"

Had the bold enterprise which Scarnafissi and Ralegh both thought to be a feasible enterprise been carried out, the words of an English poet might have had an earlier realization than the historic one; and the

mariner, when passing along the Gulf of Genoa, might sooner have had occasion to drop a tear of pity—

> "——when he view'd
> The fearful gaps where once stood palaces,
> And mourn'd the fleets of mighty argosies,
> The armèd galleys, which once swept the seas,
> And e'en from rival Venice snatch'd the palm." [1]

An excellent, but hasty, writer has spent some virtuous indignation *against Ralegh* for this audacious proposal of a "piratical attempt to seize the city of Genoa." The indignation was surely misplaced. The proposal was not Ralegh's. It was made by the Count of Scarnafissi. Nor was it first made by that Savoyan Ambassador *to Ralegh*. It was proposed, in form, to the English Secretary of State, Sir Ralph Winwood. It received the qualified, or the pretended, sanction of King James. And the qualification by which the King's approval was limited had for one of its chief bases—if the Venetian Resident is to be believed—an assertion that, although the scheme was praiseworthy for its prospect of bringing gain to the coffers of James (and of Buckingham), its execution could not possibly be entrusted *to Ralegh*, lest the chief gain, as far as English stockholders in the affair were concerned, should fall, after all, to the reluctantly liberated prisoner of the Tower, rather than to the favoured courtiers of Whitehall.

This state of things is so curiously different from what would be looked for in the details of a plot, by Ralegh, to bring upon himself and his native land the infamy of "piracy" on the largest scale, that I lay before the reader—in a note at the end of this chapter—the full and exact text of the Venetian despatches themselves.

[1] I borrow these lines from the fine play of Mr. Zouch Troughton, *Nina Sforza*.

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They will tell the tale better than I could tell it, even if I had more space at my command.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SAVOY, SPAIN, AND GENOA.

But the Genoa question has one important phase on which Lionello's despatches throw but little light. That will need a few final words before we turn once again to the fatal expedition of Guiana in 1617.

How came it to pass that the Duke of Savoy was now ready to draw upon himself the anger of that Great Power of Europe to which (as we had occasion to see in the course of Chapter XXII.) he had so long been subservient? A full answer to the question would need many pages. Here a few lines must needs suffice. They will be found, eventually, to have their bearing on the catastrophe of our immediate story.

The subserviency of Savoy to Spain—like that of the dwarf to the giant in the fable—had brought to her much more of hard knocks than of hard cash. At length there had been war. The war was followed rather by a truce than by a peace; and, just before the plot against Genoa, it had broken out afresh. Genoa, on the other hand, was now—as it had been long years before—completely under Spanish influence. When Philip had plotted to steal Marseilles from France, Genoese aid was both his inducement and his reliance. As Genoa had been drawn, by political changes in Europe, to the side of Spain; so Savoy had been drawn somewhat to the side of France. But Genoa was coveted by France as well by Savoy. The Duke played a deep game. If Spain would give him Genoa, Spain would have his vote and influence on questions of polity in Europe. If France would lend him aid towards winning Genoa for his own hand, French counsels would in turn command the Duke's impartial and independent suffrage.

Guichenon, *Histoire de Savoy*, tom. i. pp. 383–390.

A by-incident complicated, in 1615, these fine schemes for Savoyan aggrandizement. On the Gulf of Genoa, and not far from the mouth of the Impero, the Duke was already in possession of a useful little stepping-stone. The name of it, Oneglia. During the war between Spain and Savoy (1614-15) the Spaniards attacked Oneglia. The Duke sent powerful reinforcements to its aid, but Genoa stopped their passage, and enabled the Spaniards to win the Duke's town. When the truce came, Spain delayed rather than refused to restore it; but by Spain it was kept—through the action of the Genoese.

Scarnafissi's proposal to James to grant his permission that Ralegh should enter for a time into the service of Savoy, against Spain, was accompanied by the proposal that the King should send some ships of the royal navy along with Ralegh's ships, and that Hollanders and Venetians should be invited to join in the expedition.

NOTE TO CHAPTER XXIV.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE VENETIAN RESIDENT AT LONDON WITH THE COUNCIL OF TEN, ON RALEGH'S ALLEGED PROPOSITION TO CHARLES EMANUEL I., DUKE OF SAVOY, FOR AN ATTACK UPON GENOA.

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From the Venetian Archives, CONSIGLIO X.: *Comunicationi*, vol. vii. 1615-17. [See *L'Archivio di Venezia; Saggio*, &c. Vers. Italiana di Cérésole e Fulin, pp. 196—203.]

SONO alcuni giorni, che havea qualche ombra, che 'l Signor Conte di SCARNAFIS,[1] Ambasciatore del Sero di Savoja, trattasse col Re et Secre-

[1] Count Antonio de Scarnafissi. Soon after the date of Lionello's letter the Count, as Ambassador of Savoy, received a warrant from King James I. for the release of certain Romanist recusants who had been imprisoned in the Gate-House at Westminster, for refusing to take the oath of

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tario VINUT[1] negocio importante, nel quale non poteva penetrare alcuna cosa ne anco con quei mezzi, da' quali soglio pur haver in altre occasioni qualche lume de' negotii che passano alla Corte, et premendomi infinitamente la curiosità per il servitio di S. Serenità, Dominica andai a ritrovar esso Ambasciator, col quale prendendo 'l ragionamento alla lontana, lo redussi a tale, che non potendo negarmi di maneggiare negocio rilevante, si contentò, anco dopo qualche renitenza, di appalesarmelo, volendo prima ch' io li promettessi di chiuderlo nel mio petto, et non scriverne nè anco a Venetia, fin che non fusse condotto a segno perfetto di doversi esseguire; et facendomi mille protestationi, che risapendosi dal canto mio, o da quello di S. Serenità, il Re della Gran Bretagna, et il Duca di SAVOJA avrebbono grande occasione di dolersi della Serenissima Repubblica, per il considerabil danno che ne riceverebbono, et per interrompersegli una bellissima impresa, che non ha quasi difficoltà; con servitio notabile della provincia d'Italia, a mortificatione delli vasti pensieri de' Spagnoli. Io l' assicurai che il comunicarmi cosa, qualunque si sia, sarebbe come non detta, et li promisi di non avvisarne nè anco per hora Vostre Serenità; ma non potendo questa promessa pregiudicare all' obbligo mio principale di scrivere fedelmente, et di portar alla pubblica notitia tutto quello que capita alla mia, ho stimato per il meglio scriverne riverentemente di ciò alle Eccelenze Vostre, rimettendo poi alla gran loro prudenza o di trattenere appresso sè stesse il secreto fino alla perfetta sua maturità, che sarà fra pochi giorni, o pure comunicandolo all' Eccelentissimo Senato, farlo in tal maniera che si possi assicurare della più severa et esquista segretezza, che suol la pietà di questo Eccelentissimo Consiglio inseguare nelle materie importantissime, et che concerneno in primo grado i proprî pubblici interessi.

Ser VAT RALLE, Cavalier inglese molto ricco, amato già et favorito grandemente dalla morta Regina ELISABETTA, come il più esperimentato et intelligente huomo delle cose marittime che a giudicio de' molti habbia l' Inghilterra, et che, passato curiosissime navigationi nelle Indie, fu posto in prigione nella Torre alla venuta del Re GIACOMO in questo regno, per sospetto che volesse egli con altri gran Signori contrastar la successione di S. Maestà alla corona; dopo esser dimorato nella Torre fino a questi ultimi mesi, ha finalmente ottenuto gratia dal Re di poterne uscire, con promessa et sicurtà di andar con buoni vascelli armati a far acquisto di parti di mondo fin hora incognite, dando ad intendere con ragioni anco probabili di dover far per S. Maestà acquisti immensi: dalle quali speranze allettato il Re, li ha sumministrato qualche comodità di armar otto forbitissimi vascelli, li quali essendo di già all' ordine, par che altro non vi manchi al ponersi in viaggio, che stagion più favorevole. Hora *col mezzo di un Francese* è nato negocio secretissimo, fra questo Cavalier et il Conte di SCARNAFIS, di rivoglier la destinata impresa in altra parte più facile, et di più certa utilità; offerendosi, *che se sarà con buona gratia di S. Maestà, la qual vogli anco accom-*

allegiance. (*Sign Manuals:* JAMES I., vol. vii. No. 65. R. H.) The condition of the release was, as usual, the banishment of the recusants.

[1] Sir Ralph Winwood.

pagnar seco quattro delle sue navi, con quali se ne aggiongeranno dell' altre dell' Inghilterra et dell' Olanda ben all' ordine, non solo di buona soldatesca di questi paesi, ma della Francese di Linguadocca, che li sarà somministrata dal Duca di MOMPENSIER, *parente del Signor Duca di* SAVOJA, *vuol egli entrar nel stretto senza far conoscere la sua intenzione ad alcuno, et accompagnandosi con altre navi di Savoja, che ritroverà verso la Provenza, dissegna dar all' improvviso sopra la città di Genoa; del sito e conditioni della quale essendo informatissimo, si assicura impatronirsene con sorpresa; et quando anco (cosa che stima impossibile) gli andasse la sorpresa fallita, si troverebbe ad ogni modo così gagliardo d' armata, che la prenderebbe a viva forza; non potendo Spagnoli occupati nella diffesa del stato di Milano lasciar il proprio paese in preda alli nimici, per correre ad ajutar i vicini.*

Si è abboccato egli medesimo coll' Ambasciator, et gli ha fatto tal dimostratione di tutta l' impresa che gli ha imbuito concetto di assai facile et molto riuscibile : *ma ricercandosi per essa la licenza di S. Maestà, qualche numero di navi regali, et denari per la gente, ne ha già nell' ultima udienza parlato l' Ambasciatore col Re, et poi col* VINUT, *li quali ambidue* (per quanto egli mi dice) *vi entrano facilmente.* Et è stata rimessa la consulta et la rissolutione a questi prossimi giorni ; per la quale, quando di qui segui a progresso del negocio, dissegna l' Ambasciatore di espedire alcuno a posta, o andar egli in persona con diligenza in Piemonte, a farne consapevole il Signor Duca di SAVOJA che fin hora non ne sa cosa alcuna, a prenderne il suo beneplacito, et far che per esso ne sia data parte alla Serenissima Repubblica, sì per non essere intentione loro di voler tentar tal cosa senza il consenso di S. Serenità, si perchè desidereranno et faranno instanze di haver qualche numero delle sue galee, per valersene particolarmente nell' accostarsi a terra, et fino a quel tempo non desidera il Conte,[1] che se ne sappia, nè che io ne scrivi a Venetia cosa alcuna.

Per quello che io hó da lui inteso, posso creder che di certo la cosa caminerà avanti, et ne seguirà il tentativo, imperocchè quasi tutti, che vi hanno da concorrere si ritrovano di tal dispositione ; che quando anco l'impresa contenesse difficoltà maggiori di quello che contiene, tornerebbe più commodo ad essi l' arrischiarvisi et il tentarla, che per timidità rimoversene. Il Signor Duca di SAVOJA non è dubbio che, con la grandezza naturale del suo animo, prontamente abbracierà il partito, imperocchè è molto antica la competenza et la poco buona volontà, che passa fra lui et quella Repubblica accresciuta hora in estremo per le comodità che danno al suo nemico contra di lui in molte occasioni ; sà, che per il loro mezzo li fu presa Oneglia ; che i loro denari sono l' herario de' Spagnoli ; il loro porto sempre aperto ad essi, et tutte le cose loro servono alla comodità et alla volontà del Cattolico ; onde, quanto e grande il servitio che al presente ne cava S. Maestà da quella città, altrettanto sarebbe il danno, quando, restando egli privo di quella parte, capitasse in mano di altri : oltre ciò li saranno accresciuti stimoli dalla speranza di acquistarne infinite ricchezze, con quali potrà poi meglio contraporsi agli eserciti et violentie de' Spagnoli ; et quando tutto

[1] Scarnafissi.

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andasse anco a vuoto, non resterebbe per ciò, a giudicio del suo Ambasciatore, di non riceverne S. Altezza due segnalati beneficii;—l' uno, di divertir le forze dello Stato di Milano in gran parte, che dovranno rivogliersi alla diffesa di Genoa, et doverà l' inimico applicar l' animo et la spesa in più d' un luogo, per il sospetto et danno che li cagionerà questa potente armata nei mari d' Italia; l' altro, che il Re d' Inghilterra impegnandosi con questa attione, qualunque evento sortisca, sarà per necessità, tirato alla guerra col Cattolico, et doveranno uscir da questo principio conseguenze rilevanti. Questo Re medesimamente essendoli rappresentata l' impresa per molto facile, et nella quale con poca spesa, che vi avventuri, può guadagnarvi assai di ricchezza et di honore, fin hora vi si dimostra inclinato, et con speranza di qualche profitto particolare si è offerto di ponervi del suo proprio, bisognando qualche migliaro di scudi.

Il Cavalier RALLE cangerebbe ancor lui volentieri le sue offerte di cercar novi mondi coll' andar a Genoa, ove la speranza del quadagno li pare più facile; et in ogni caso che non riuscisse, si troverebbe già fuori dell' obbligo, et così forte sul mare, che non temerebbe in esso alcuna forza di Spagnoli. Di quello poi che più oltre si anderà trattando, ne darò di tempo in tempo riverente avviso alle Eccelenze Vostre, o in altro luogo, ove esse lo comanderanno; aggiongendoli solo, che sopra Ser VAT RALLE havevo anco io l' occhio di valermi di lui et de' suoi vascelli, quando da S. Serenità si fosse deliberato in qualche tempo di dare i suoi stendardi a vascelli da guerra nel Mediterraneo; ma non vi mancheranno altri soggetti, et forse che questo servirà di principio.

Nel sopradetto ragionamento col Conte di SCARNAFIS ho atteso più tosto ad informarmi, che a discorrere, non volendo in materia così importante formare in me medesimo alcun senso, senza haver prima cognitione di quello di S. Serenità. All' Eccelenze Vostre con ogni humiltà inchinandomi, bacio riverentemente le mani.

Dell' Eccelenze, &c.

GIO. BATT. LIONELLO.

Di Londra, a 19 Gennaro, 1616-17.

II.

NELL' audientia che hebbe Dominica il Conte di SCARNAFIS parlò con S. Maestà sopra il negocio dell' impresa di Genoa, del quale nel mio passato Dispaccio ne scrissi riverentemente alle Eccelentie Vostre, ritrovò tutta via il Re assai disposto alla trattatione, che mostrò di applaudir i suoi pensieri, et le disse, che anco di questo ne parlasse con il Signor VINUT et ESMOND,[1] con quali essendosi trovato l' Ambasciator il giorno seguente, et passato fra di loro qualche discorso per all' hora; hieri di nuovo lo chiamarono a colloquio, et le dissero che havendo posto essi consideratione sopra le sue propositioni, desideravano di essere informati di due cose,—

[1] Sir Thomas Edmondes.

della facilità dell' impresa, et della sicurezza che, riuscendo bene, ne sia S. Maestà per haver la parte che se li deve del bottino. Rispose il Conte, che la facilità si dimostrava grandissima da sè stessa, et che poi, posta l' esecuzione nelle mani del Signor Duca suo Signore, et Principe di tanto valore, quando però la vogli intraprendere (che fin hora non parla di ordine di S. Altezza, ma di proprio suo motivo), si poteva creder che non vi haverebbe mancato di ogni industria per condurla a buon fine; et sopra l' altro quesito le rispose, che da quella osservanza che ha sempre dimostrata S. Altezza versa la Maestà Sua, dalli beneficii ricevuti, et da quelli che ne aspetta, massime hora che con questa attione più si inimicherà con Spagnoli, non si deve attender dal Sr Duca, se non in tutte le occasioni quelli effetti che potranno riuscire più a soddisfattione di S. Maestà, ma per tanto maggiormente rendersi certi di haverne la sua parte del bottino, si poteva impiegarvi il Re maggior quantità di vascelli et di gente, perchè quanto più fosse stata potente la sua armata, tanto più si assicurava che le cose procederebbono a suo gusto.

Piacque a questi ministri la rissolutione delli doi punti, et le dissero, che quella sera o il giorno seguente haverebbono riportato l' intiero della trattatione a S. Maestà, et di suo ordine poi li haverebbono data la rissolutione, dimostrando essi inclinatione che il Conte vada in persona in Piemonte con diligentia, sotto altro pretesto, per far sapere il tutto a S. Altezza, et accordare anco da quella parte il negocio; il che farà egli molto volentieri anco per suoi particolari rispetti.

Dimostrano quì inclinatione di armar per questa impresa sedeci navi regali; ma dovendo essere molto grande la spesa, dubito che non saranno tante; onde congionte a queste le otto de Ser Vat Ralle, et di un' altra privata persona, si potrà far molte cose in danno de' Spagnoli, perchè in particolare il Ralle ha in animo di darle dentro ove può, et non li perdonare, nè a coste di paesi, nè a vascelli, nè a qual si sia altra cosa, chi dipenda da Spagna, et ove se ne possa sperare guadagno.

L' Ambasciator[1] l' altro giorno m' interrogò se la S. Repubblica haverebbe havuto volentieri parte in questa impresa, accompagnando qualche numero delle sue galere con l' armata. Le risposi che nelle materie così difficili come è questa, dovendo passar le rissolutioni per gran consulte et deliberationi de' Consegli, nè io, nè altro huomo, haverebbe potuto dirne alcuna cosa di fermo, ma per un mio particolare senso non lo consigliavo a fermar questa impresa sopra la speranza di vascelli Venetiani, perchè facilmente poteva avvenire che i altri affari della Repubblica, la guardia del golfo, et simili rispetti, non permettessero questa concessione, et così con esso seco non son venuto ad altri particolari, et con qual si sia altro non ho aperto bocca di questo negocio, nè meno l' aprirò senza un espresso comandamento di S. Serenità; con che alle Eccelenze, &c.

Gio. Batt. Lionello.

Di Londra, a 26 Gennaro, 1616-17, &c.

[1] The Count of Scarnafissi.

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III.

NELLA trattatione di questi passati giorni hanno li deputati regii detto all' Ambasciator di Savoja a nome del Re, che S. Maestà vuol bene ajutar S. Altezza con forze marittime in quello che sarà conosciuto essere di suo servitio, ma non vuol per alcun modo che se dia questa impresa a Ser VAT RALLE, essendo rissoluto, che egli se ne vada nell' Indie a tentarne altre di diversa qualità ; et perciò resta per ora quasi tronca ogni trattatione sopra l' impresa di Genoa ; se ben io per me credo che il RALLE, come habbia sciolto le navi da queste ripe, sia più tosto per entrar nel Mediterraneo, che mettersi all' Oceano ; poichè havendo speso duecento millia scudi in armar otto vascelli, et essendosi molto indebitato, pochi credono che sia più per ritornar in Inghilterra, ma gettandosi alla rapina, et forse sopra cadauno indifferentemente, procurarsi grandi acquisti ; et è di tal valore, che li saprà ben tentare.

La causa principale perchè non ha voluto il Re prevalersi di lui, è forse per non si imbarazzare in cosa che possa disgustare tanto Spagnoli, et perchè, anco riuscendo l' impresa, *non si fidarebbe di haver da lui la giusta portione del guadagno.*[1]

Si mostra esso RALLE pronto ad obbedire coll' andar nell' Indie ; perchè dando qualche ombra di altri disegni, restarebbe ruinato. Ma di quello a che si risolverà, quando sarà al mare, il tempo lo farà chiaro.

All' Eccelenze, &c.

GIO. BATT. LIONELLO.

Di Londra, a 3 Febbraro, 1616-17.

[1] These twelve words are underlined in the original.

CHAPTER XXV.

AGAIN IN GUIANA.

1617—1618.

The Remonstrances of Gondomar, and his Interviews with Secretary Winwood.—Gondomar's Mission to Madrid with Copies of the Papers obtained from Ralegh.—Ralegh's Conversations with Bacon.—Prince Charles' Opposition to the Guiana Expedition.—The Terms of the Royal Commission.—The Erasure before Ralegh's Name in the Warrant.—M. Des Marêts' Despatches to Paris about his Visits to Ralegh.—Survey of Ralegh's Fleet, for the Information of the Spanish Government, by Officers of the Admiralty of England.—Their Report to the Lord Admiral Nottingham.—Cardinal Richelieu on the Enterprise of Ralegh.—Orders for the Government of the Fleet issued at Plymouth.—The alleged Correspondence from Plymouth with De Buisseaux, formerly French Ambassador in London.—Silvanus Scory's Remonstrance to Ralegh on his Danger, prior to the Departure of the Expedition.—Sailing of the Fleet.—The Gale near Scilly, and its Consequences.—The Refitting at Cork, and the Weeks of waiting for a Wind.—Ralegh and Henry Pine of Mogelie.—Incident connected with the old Enterprise of Pipe-staves in the Mogelie Woods.—The Fleet makes a new Departure.—The Chase near Cape St. Vincent.—Ralegh sends News of his Progress to Lord Carew.—Lancerota and the Barbary Corsairs.—Correspondence with the Spaniards.—De Viera's Notice of Ralegh's Visit to the Canaries.—Desertion of Captain John Bailey in the Ship *Husband*.—Other Spanish Accounts of what passed at Lancerota, and their Reception at Madrid.—Ralegh's Visit to Gomera, and Intercourse with the Governor and his Anglo-Flemish Wife.—The Governor's Letter to Count Gondomar.—Great Sickness and Mortality on board Ralegh's Fleet.—The Storm in Brava Roads.—Continuance of the Mortality.—Deaths of Pigot and of John Talbot.—Arrival in the Cayenne.—Interviews with an old Servant of 1595 and with Janson, a Fleming.—Letter to Lady Ralegh.—Bailey's Arrival in England, with Accusations against Ralegh, to cover his Desertion.—His Examination before the Privy Council.—Rendezvous of Ralegh's Fleet at the Triangle Islands.

—George Ralegh made Lieutenant-General of the Fleet, on the Sickness of Sir W. St. Leger.—His Instructions and Departure for Orinoco.—The Instructions to Keymis about the Gold Mine.—Arrival of the Fleet at Point Barima.—And at Terra de Bri.—News of Ralegh's Fleet brought by Reeks.—The First Affray, between Sir John Ferne's Crew and the Spaniards.—Spanish Account of the Skirmish.—Adventures of the Orinoco Expedition under George Ralegh and Lawrence Keymis.—Its Arrival off Yaya, or Assapana.—Palomeque's Attack on the Englishmen before their Arrival at St. Thomas.—Death of young Walter Ralegh.—His Life and Character.—Ralegh's Letter to his Wife on their Son's Death.—Proceedings of the English Privy Council against Bailey.—Gondomar interferes to protect Bailey.—Keymis' Abandonment of the Search for the Gold Mine.—Ascent of the Caño Seiba.—Keymis' Return to Trinidad, and his Report to Ralegh.—Death of Keymis.—The Narrative of the Rev. Samuel Jones, Chaplain on board *The Flying Chudleigh*.—Abandonment of the Enterprise.—The Letters to Secretary Winwood.—Incidents of the Homeward Voyage.—The alleged Project for the Attack on the Mexican Plate Fleet.—Desertions of Whitney and Wollaston.—Arrival of News from St. Thomas in London.—Gondomar's Audience of King James.—James' Proclamation.—More Storms at Sea. Arrival of Part of the Fleet at Kinsale.—Seizure of Pennington's Ship by the Lord Deputy of Ireland.—Ralegh's Arrival at Plymouth, with a single Ship.—Imprisonment of Pennington in London.—Negotiations at Madrid.—The near Approach of the End.

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RALEGH, WINWOOD, AND THE COUNT OF GONDOMAR.

THE one zealous friend who worked, with might and main, to further the Guiana enterprise, in the hope of benefiting—not of destroying—Ralegh, was Secretary Winwood. He was the supporter of an English alliance with France, rather than with Spain. If Ralegh's enterprise should, in its issues, tend to lessen Spanish influence with James, that result will but make the prosperity of the Guiana expedition all the more welcome to Sir Ralph Winwood. Meanwhile, if any other legitimate enterprise should offer better hopes of success and profit to Ralegh, and be at the same time conducive to Winwood's political plans, that—as we have seen in the last chapter—will to him be equally welcome. Gondomar tried every possible channel of opposition to Ralegh's schemes, whether directed

towards Genoa or towards Guiana. On James he tried, by turns, flattery and menace. He pestered Winwood with interviews and with remonstrances. But on the Secretary he made much less impression than on the King. The English statesman, however, was not a match for the Spaniard in diplomatic craft.

Winwood was certainly no tyro in affairs at home; and he had seen many foreign courts. But he had attained no mastership in the deceptive arts. Even the friendly feeling towards Ralegh by which, beyond question, Sir Ralph was actuated, would help to put him and his knowledge, unsuspectingly, into Gondomar's power. It would be easy, for example, to work the Secretary to indiscreet disclosures, by angrily attributing to Ralegh, in the heat of conversation, some perfidious design or other, of which Winwood firmly believed him to be innocent. In this way it may well have happened that Gondomar was able to extract even from the friendliness of Winwood some important addition to the knowledge of Ralegh's plans which it is certain that he drew, without difficulty, from the enmity and cowardice of James.

Letters CLIV., CLV., CLX., Vol. II. pp. 354, 362, 378.

It was by Winwood that Ralegh had been introduced, as we have seen, to Count Des Marêts, who, in 1616, had obtained conditional permission to engage English mariners in the service of France. That country was then a prey at once to Spanish hostility and to civil discord. Both Ralegh's correspondence and the notes of his subsequent conversations show that he watched the struggles of the rival parties with keen interest. His sympathies, as of old, were with those of the French statesmen who stood equally aloof from the party of the Queen Regent and her creature Concini, and from that of the 'King's friends,'—the 'friends' of a boy-

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king, as yet but sixteen years of age. When, some months later, Ralegh expressed satisfaction at the King's bloody triumph over his mother's hated favourite Concini, he makes the cause of the satisfaction very apparent:—"I hope," he says, "it will be a check to the Spanish party." The writers who have so gushingly expressed their moral reprobation of Ralegh's mercenary eagerness—as they allege—to sell his services to France, or to make a 'piratical' swoop upon Genoa, find it convenient to say not a word of the one prominent fact in their own story. They are pleased to forget that, in 1617, to strike at Genoa, or to lend a hand of help to the 'third party' at Paris, was (in either case and in both) to aim a blow at Spanish policy, in a vital part. It was to do one vigorous stroke of work more for the cause to which the prime of Ralegh's life, and the maturity of his powers, had been persistently devoted.

GONDOMAR AND KING JAMES.

The information which the Count of Gondomar had so successfully extracted from Ralegh himself, through James and through Winwood, was sent instantly to the Spanish Court. James had insisted on a minute enumeration of the particulars of Ralegh's plans and of his proposed route. For greater clearness, he insisted that the route should be laid down upon a chart. These documents were supplemented by such other details about the expedition as the Ambassador could obtain, in other ways, and were despatched to Madrid in August 1616.

It was not Gondomar's only piece of service to his master, performed at this eventful juncture. There is reason to believe that more than one hired servant of the Spaniard sailed in Ralegh's fleet. With a provident eye to future contingencies, and with a most praise-

worthy sense of the responsibilities, towards the King of Spain, which his recognised position as a member of James' Privy Council—'*non seulement du Conseil d'Estat, mais du Cabinet intérieurs*—imposed upon him, he also persuaded James to have certain awkward words scratched out from the Royal Letters Patent of Commission to Ralegh. To take off, on the first convenient opportunity—as the head of a piratical offender against the Crown of Spain—the head of a 'trusty and well-beloved' servant of the Crown of England, instructed by express commission to do a thing which, without offence to Spain, it was simply impossible to do, would (even under the most favourable auspices) be a delicate business to handle. But the man whose head was wanted was fortunately a man already under sentence of death. In 1616 and 1617 there was a good deal of conversation in London about that same sentence of 1603. It had never been remitted. But lawyers had been heard to assert that the words of grace and favour customarily employed in a Royal Commission (such as that now in question for Guiana), and sealed with the Great Seal of England, were tantamount to a pardon in express terms. It was also matter of current rumour that the precise legal effect of such a Commission of Admiralty had been a topic of conversation between the doomed man himself and a very great lawyer indeed. It was rumoured that Ralegh had asked the Lord Keeper Bacon whether or not it would be wise for him to draw his purse-strings once again, and, by increasing his previous payment to the friends at Court, obtain an express pardon under the Great Seal. Such a pardon had already been offered him by those who knew the way to master the King's reluctance. The illustrious lawyer, it was added, replied thus: "You

Count of Gondomar's Letter, Chap. xxiv. above, p. 573.

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have it already, by the terms of your Commission. Money is the knee-timber of your Voyage. Spare your purse in this particular. For, upon my life, you have a sufficient Pardon for all that is past already; the King having, under his Great Seal, made you Admiral of your Fleet, and given you power of martial law over your officers and soldiers. Your Commission is as good a Pardon for all former offences as the Law of England can afford you."

Observations on Sanderson's *History*, p. 10; Howell's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 371 (edition of 1678).

Far be it from the present writer to take upon himself to affirm that in 1616 those words were spoken by Francis Bacon to Walter Ralegh. All that he affirms is this: words to that effect and of that purport were current in London at the time. The Count of Gondomar was as well acquainted with the story—true or false: its truth, or its falsehood, is wide of the mark—as he was with the sentence which had been passed, at Winchester, on the 'Spanish Conspirators' of 1603; with the attack on Cadiz in 1596; with the *Discourse on a Marriage with Savoy*, written in 1611; or with any other the best-conned political tract included amongst those forty chests of books which were being made ready in London for transmission to Spain, under a Privy Council warrant. The Count's remonstrances against permission for the sailing of the Guiana expedition had failed, though they had, more than once, been very nearly successful. One of Gondomar's most useful agents in this business was found to be the little more than half-witted Lord Roos. To be a handy tool for working upon James, cunning did better than wit. Presently, those remonstrances were to be supported (on due consideration) by Prince Charles, and by his means were to attain—as it seemed, for the moment, to almost all observers—still nearer to success. At what time the Spaniard's efforts to obstruct

Ralegh's journey ceased to be sincere, and became a mere mask, the known papers do not disclose to us. No one who studies them will doubt that the remonstrances were earnest enough at one moment, and deceitful enough at another. The precise *when* is, perhaps, buried with Gondomar, and with James. At all events, they were to fail.

But there was consolation in store. The important words in the Admiral's Commission on which English lawyers seemed to lay so much stress had been already used by the King. Those words, however, could be erased. As to the further legal question about inferential deductions from delegated powers, *that* was one of the mysteries of jurisprudence—which it might need months of quiet argument in Westminster Hall to elucidate. Much, certainly, could be said on both sides of it; and there might be many ways of rendering the argument superfluous. *The words were erased*,—after they had been written. Any further comment on that fact would be an idle waste of the reader's time.

Signs Manual Book, vol. vi. p. 80; vol. viii. p. 62: *Warrant Book*, vol. i. p. 209. (R. H.) Comp. *Fœdera*, vol. xvi. fol. 789.

Whatever may be the exact amount of veracity which underlies the alleged conversation, between Bacon and Ralegh, on the terms of the Commission from James, it was probably at the same interview in which that Commission was in some way talked of, that Ralegh made his famous reply to Bacon's sudden question—'What will you do if, after all this expenditure, you miss of the gold mine?'—'We will look after the Plate Fleet, to be sure.'—'But then you will be pirates!'—'Ah, who ever heard of men being pirates for millions?'

The previous intercourse between Ralegh and Des Marêts was destined to be resumed in a curious way. On the 15th of March, 1617, the French Ambassador,

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DES MARÊTS' VISIT TO THE SHIP 'DESTINY;'

finding that he had a little leisure time on his hands, and that the weather looked rather favourable—due allowance being made for the detestable English climate—for a boating excursion on the Thames, determined to spend his morning in a visit to Ralegh's ship *The Destiny*. Its fine structure and its rich equipment had become topics of familiar talk in London circles, and for more than a week or two such a visit had been a fashionable lounge. Even Queen Anne had appointed a day for the purpose; not a little to her husband's annoyance. But an influence was brought to bear upon her Majesty which induced her to abandon her intention.

AND HIS CONVERSATIONS THERE WITH RALEGH.

Much, of course, to M. Des Marêts' surprise, he met there the owner and Admiral himself. After a little friendly talk about the ship, and the natural polite wishes towards the expedition, the Ambassador took occasion to assure Ralegh of his deep personal sympathy "under the sufferings inflicted on him by his long and unjust imprisonment, and by the confiscation of his property." The talk was thoroughly diplomatic, both in tone and time. Des Marêts was a statesman much better endowed with the useful and Gondomar-like qualities of his craft than was Mr. Secretary Winwood, though Winwood, like the others, had served a long apprenticeship to foreign embassy. "I had heard"—Des Marêts tells Richelieu (already Bishop of Luçon and Secretary of State at Paris)—"from another quarter, that Sir Walter Ralegh greatly resented the recent gift of Sherborne to Sir John Digby" (then a newly returned Ambassador from Spain). He used his information adroitly. He discovered—or thought that he had discovered—in Ralegh much dissatisfaction with King James, and with the then dominant policy at Court. Not a few Englishmen, of some mark in our history, were

Des Marêts to Richelieu; 'Gravesinghe,' 17 Mars, 1617; *MSS. de Dupuis*, No. 420, tom. ii. (Imperial Library, Paris.)

(as the reader will remember) already much of that mind. Upon this, adds the Count, Ralegh expressed a wish, before they parted, that it were possible to have a little further conversation,—"at a time and place less inconvenient than the present."

CHAP. XXV. 1617-1618. Des Marêts to Richelieu, as above.

The swift-coming crisis of affairs in France has much need to be here borne in mind by the reader of Count Des Marêts' despatches to Richelieu. It was not mere general philanthropy that led the benevolent Frenchman to pay that morning call to the ship on the Thames. No doubt he was deeply impressed by the wrongs done to a famous Englishman, in the Tower, and at Sherborne. But even a keen moral resentment of wrong-doing does not exhaust the category of human motives assignable, by fair hypothesis, to the Count's action. He, like Gondomar, knew a good deal more of Ralegh's history than the imprisonment in the Tower and the confiscation in Dorsetshire. Among the things he knew was Ralegh's past intercourse with certain French statesmen, with whom neither the Ambassador who writes, nor the great Cardinal (to come) who is written to, had much in common. And the war of parties at Paris was, at the moment of Des Marêts' visit to *The Destiny*, approaching its deadly crisis.

The only mention of Ralegh which I have seen in the *Letters of Richelieu* himself, was made a few days before the date of that despatch of Count Des Marêts from which I have just quoted the hope, expressed to Richelieu, that something, perhaps, might be got out of Ralegh. It is worth citing, both for its knowledge and for its ignorance: "That English squadron you refer to," says the Bishop of Luçon, "is only fitting out for a naval enterprise, undertaken by Walter Ralegh,—a

1617. February.

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great mariner and a bad leader (*Ouastre Raly, grand marinier et mauvais capitaine*). I do not think we have much to fear on that score." As early as on the 12th of January, Des Marêts had sent intelligence to Paris of the considerable force about to embark under Ralegh. The news, it seems, had excited fears of a possible attack upon some French port.

Richelieu's curiously inappropriate words about Ralegh's character were written to a man who seemed, at the moment, to be at the summit of power, but who in truth, when he read them, resembled Boccaccio's 'Lorenzo,'—in the version of a famous English poet. Whilst still riding busily about Paris, in the apparent vigour of health and bloom of greatness, Concini was already 'a murdered man.' The Marshal of France, who had never drawn sword; the Minister of France, who was ignorant of the very primer of politics, had been—before his correspondence with Richelieu on the secret designs of Ralegh—doomed by Luynes and by Lewis. Within a week or two of the receipt by the French Secretary of the despatch from London, the Marshal's fall led the way to Richelieu's retirement from office, as well as to scenes of mob violence, hardly exceeded in horror by the doings of 1794.

It also opened prospects—not immediate but eventual—to that party amongst French statesmen which had a real friendliness of feeling towards Ralegh, and towards all those, whether countrymen or strangers, who held Ralegh's views of European policy. To Des Marêts and his friends it was, virtually and for the time, a defeat.

Unless I greatly err, this state of things at Paris—howsoever little it may seem to bear on the enterprise of Guiana—is an essential element in rightly estimating

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the grains of qualification and allowance with which Des Marêts' report of Ralegh's conversation on board *The Destiny* should be read. And it may help to explain *omissions*, as well as statements. I now return to the Ambassador's despatches. They are here an essential part of the story of Ralegh's misfortunes.

THE INTERCOURSE WITH DES MARÊTS.

A fortnight after the news sent to Paris from Gravesend, the Count Des Marêts keeps the subject of Ralegh's enterprise alive, by mentioning, parenthetically, that he had received another intimation from the 'great mariner' of his wish to speak to him again, before setting sail. But it is not until more than a week had passed after Ralegh's departure from the Thames that he reports any further conversation. He then narrates it rather diffusely, to this effect (he is still, it is to be remembered, addressing Richelieu): "Sir Walter Ralegh told me that he had a great and signal enterprise in hand, from which he hoped, for great advantage. It will bring, he said, 'both honour and 'profit *to the Sovereign who shall reap the fruit of* 'my labours. Seeing myself so evilly and tyrannically 'treated by my own King, I have made up my mind— 'if God shall send me good success—to leave my country, 'and *to make to the King, your Master, the first offer* 'of what shall fall under my power.'[1] Thus you have *what I was able to extract from him.* I did my best to strengthen him in this good purpose. I assured him he could not possibly betake himself to any quarter from which he would receive more of courtesy or friend-

[1] These words are too important to rest upon a translation. I quote the text literally: "Ce voyant si mal et tiranniquement traité de son roy, qu'il se résoult, si Dieu luy envoye bonne fortune, de quitter son royaume et de rendre le roy nostre maistre premier reffusant *de ce qui luy tombera en main.*"—MSS. du fond DUPUIS, 420, tom. ii. (Imperial Library, Paris.)

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ship. I thought it well to give him good words, although I do not, for my own part, anticipate that his voyage will have much fruit."

Des Marêts to Richelieu; London, 24 Avril, 1617: *MSS. Dupuis*, as above. (Paris.)

Whatever faith the reader may, on mature reflection, incline to place in the accuracy of Des Marêts' report of Ralegh's conversations with him, he will see the necessity of keeping two antecedent facts fully in mind. (1.) The intercourse of Ralegh with the French Ambassador,—as previously with the Savoyan, Scarnafissi,—was begun at the instance of the English Secretary of State, and was carried on with the knowledge of the English King. All that passed between Ralegh and Des Marêts at this time passed on board *The Destiny*, and not elsewhere. The "more convenient time and place" story must have been a mistake,—or a fiction,—by the Frenchman's own showing. (2.) Other negotiations, having *for their object French assistance, under certain contingent eventualities, to the Guiana enterprise itself*, were carried on by Ralegh, with French agents, other than the Ambassador at London; and this also was known both to Winwood and to James. Henry the Fourth had given a commission for 'the Conquest and Planting of Guiana' to René Maree, Lord of Montbariot, nearly fifteen years before. Montbariot had associated with himself in his projected enterprise a certain Daniel De La Touche, Lord of Ravardier. To the Frenchmen, as to the English, it was still but a project. These men, however, and their agents, were naturally numbered among Ralegh's French correspondents about Guiana. The assertions of '*secret* plotting' are made against Ralegh by these three persons: Des Marêts, Sir Thomas Wilson, and a certain Anthony Belle. The position of Des Marêts speaks for itself. The reader will have the satisfaction and pleasure of making

Translations of French Letters Patent (dated at Blois, May 8, 1602), &c. in MS. Harl. xxxv. ff. 402. seqq.

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his own estimate of Wilson's character and authority by and by. For the character and claims to his confidence of Belle, I ask him to refer to the 'Prefatory Note' which accompanies Letter CLII. of Ralegh's correspondence. And he will find it instructive to compare that Letter, addressed to De Buisseaux, with the despatches of Des Marêts to Richelieu. De Buisseaux was, at this period, an influential member of the French Council of State. He had followed La Boderie and had preceded Des Marêts in the French embassy at London.[1]

Vol. II. p. 347.

THE CORRESPONDENCE WITH DE BUISSEAUX.

THE ADMIRALTY SURVEY OF RALEGH'S FLEET.

1617. March 22. *Domestic Corresp.* JAMES I. (R. H.)

James now directed a minute survey of that portion of Ralegh's fleet which had already assembled in the Thames to be made by the officers of the English Admiralty. And he gave a copy of the Survey to the Count of Gondomar. Gondomar sent an express to Madrid with this valuable paper, and by the Government of Spain it was transmitted instantly to America, with special and secret instructions. Cottington, our Ambassador at Madrid, is at this critical moment directed by James to assure the King of Spain and his Ministers, that effectual care will be taken by the English Government, on its part, that no harm shall possibly come to Spain, by means of Ralegh's expedition.

THE DOMESTIC DISSUADERS AND PROMOTERS OF THE GUIANA ENTERPRISE.

Very naturally, as the fears of Ralegh's Spanish enemies waned, those of his English friends increased. Several of them tried to dissuade him, even at this eleventh hour, from the prosecution of his purpose. One true friend, Sylvanus Scory, a Londoner, sent him

[1] De Buisseaux succeeded La Boderie as Ambassador to the Court of London early in January 1611. (Villeroy to La Boderie; MS. King's Library, cxxxii. fol. 646: and MS. Cotton, Otho E viii. fol. 284; British Museum.) He was also a Judge of the Parliament of Paris.—(*Reports and Certificates in Chancery*, 1611 and 1612, R. H.) His residence here lasted from January 1611 until late in 1612; but there is scarcely any mention of him in contemporary documents, other than those of our Court of Chancery. His first successor was Bouillon; then came Des Marêts.

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a remonstrance in verse.[1] Lord Carew was also a true friend to Ralegh, but he was one of those who thought favourably of the enterprise. His well-known letters —written by way of journal of passing events—to their common friend, Sir Thomas Roe, then Ambassador at the Court of the Great Mogul, contain minute accounts of Ralegh's preparations and progress. By Roe they would be read with the greater interest, from the circumstance that, long before he thought of representing James in remote India, he had been much inclined to prosecute, in person, the colonial plans of Ralegh, in more remote Guiana. Many other old friends and family connections promoted the enterprise in various ways. Lady Ralegh's relative, the Earl of Huntingdon, gave both his good wishes and his active furtherance. He had, it seems, acquired possession of two fine pieces of brass ordnance—"being sakers made in Queen

Privy Council Registers, JAMES I., vol. iv. p. 198, and vol. v. p. 215. (C. O.)

[1] Probably the reader will deem it not unworthy of the space it will occupy by way of note :—

> "Raleigh, in this thy selfe thyselfe transcends,
> When howerly tasting of a bitter challice,
> Scanning the sad faces of thy friends,
> Thou smil'st at Fortune's menaces, and malice.
>
> "Hold thee firme *heere;* cast anchor in this port;
> *Heere* art thou safe till Death enfranchise thee.
> Heere neither harme, nor feares of harme, resort;
> Heere,—though enchain'd, —thou liv'st in liberty.
>
> "Nothinge on earth hath permanent abode,
> Nothinge shall languishe under sorrow still.
> The Fates have set a certain periode
> As well to those that doe, as suffer, ill."

Ralegh Miscellanies, in COTT. MS. Titus C vii. fol. 94 (British Museum).

It was to the author of these lines that Keymis wrote his interesting letter, 'from on board *The Destiny*,' of the 18th November, 1617. (MS. University Library, Cambridge, E e, v. 23.) It is Scory, I think, who is one of those 'friends at Lothbury' to whom Ralegh desired to be remembered, when he wrote his letter of anguish to his wife from the Cayenne.

Mary's time, and marked M.R."—weighing 26 cwt., and these he gave to Ralegh. Another old acquaintance, the Earl of Arundel, gave liberal assistance in money.

At the beginning of April, Sir Walter's fleet sailed from the Thames. Young Walter went as captain of *The Destiny*, the Admiral's flag-ship. The Venetian resident Lionello again, at the moment of departure, favoured the Senate of Venice with his personal cogitations about the great mariner's real plans and purposes. "I know very well," he wrote, "that Sir Walter Ralegh's only object in embarking in this enterprise was to free himself from his imprisonment. He would gladly change this scheme for any other. Many people know the fact, as well as I." And so on.

Lionello's Despatch of April 1617 (quoted in Hardy's *Report on Venetian Archives*, p. 18).

Ralegh's little fleet as it sailed out of the Thames consisted only of seven vessels, the aggregate burthen of which was 1215 tons. The crews of six only are enumerated in the Admiralty survey made for Gondomar, as it is now extant. Of those six the aggregate strength was 318 mariners, besides the captains and masters, and exclusive of an indefinite number of 'servants and labourers.' Those six enumerated ships carried ninety gentlemen and a small number of land-soldiers. To this strength have to be added the crew and the soldiers who sailed with Captain Edward Hastings in *The Encounter*,—a ship which carried seventeen pieces of ordnance. At Plymouth Ralegh was joined by four vessels more, under the command, respectively, of Captains Sir John Ferne, Lawrence Keymis (the explorer of 1596, and the faithful friend of the Tower years), Wollaston, and Chudleigh. A carvel and two fly-boats also joined at Plymouth. One of the latter was commanded by a man whose name

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will be salient in a subsequent part of the story. Thus far the beginnings seemed, to uninformed bystanders, to promise well. But one of the best of the Thames ships (*The Star*, Captain Pennington), which had put in at the Wight for provisions, was there detained for lack of needful money. Its captain rode back post to London, to get, from Lady Ralegh, means with which it was his duty to have supplied himself, before leaving the Thames. A similar piece of oversight had befallen one of the captains who joined at Plymouth. For him, Sir Walter sold a great portion of his own plate. Both of these incidents occasioned a delay, which proved to be most infelicitous to the enterprise in hand.

THE ORDERS OF DISCIPLINE.

On the 3rd of May Sir Walter published his Orders to the Fleet. I wish it were practicable to print them here; but they have been printed heretofore, and they are far too long for present insertion. Admirable as expositions of maritime and soldierly discipline, they have another value not less prominent. They illustrate, with some new light (even in 1617), the character and the energies of their framer. A contemporary writer said of them, in words that are far from being extravagant: "There is no precedent" of such Orders, "of so godly, severe, and martial government; . . not only in itself so laudable, . . . but also fit to be written and engraven in every man's soul that covets to do honour to his king and country, in this or like attempts."

Newes of Sir Walter Rauleigh (1617), p. 17.

SAILING OF THE FLEET.

On the 12th of June the conjoined fleet sailed from Plymouth. It met almost instantly with weather so unusually disastrous as to recall to Ralegh's mind the crowding calamities of the Islands' Voyage of '97. Many of the ships were forced to take refuge in Falmouth harbour. Adverse weather pursued the expedition for many weeks. When the fleet had passed

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THE STORM OFF SCILLY.

some eight leagues to the west of the Scilly Islands, a terrible gale scattered it. One vessel was lost ; one or two vessels were forced into the Bristol water. Ralegh—who, when he set sail, had no intention of visiting Ireland—now found it expedient to lead his fleet into the harbour of Cork. There the expedition was detained, waiting for a favourable wind, from the 25th of June until the 19th of August. It was a calamitous beginning to a voyage destined to be full of disasters. The delay consumed provisions which afterwards were much needed. It gave time for the bad element in the fleet to spread. More disastrously still, it absorbed in fruitless expectation and idleness much of the finest season of the year.

Journal ; Titus B. viii. fol. 193 (B. M.): *Relation of late Voyage to Guiana ;* MS. Corpus Christi Coll. ccxcvii. B. 2. 2. fol. 160 (Oxford).

At Cork Ralegh met with intelligence of his quondam partner in the Munster industrial enterprises of 1582–1600, Henry Pine of Mogelie. Pine's grasping and litigious spirit had, as the reader may perhaps remember, given plenty of trouble in bygone days to Ralegh, and to his other co-workers in Munster. Richard Boyle's fortunate purchase from Ralegh, in 1602, of the Munster estates had now largely helped to raise him to political eminence, as well as to great wealth and social position. What to Ralegh had brought little save loss and anxiety, had to Boyle brought both riches and power. But he, too, had had his turn of minor troubles, and, amongst them, that of a long contention with Henry Pine. Lord Boyle (not yet 'the great Earl of Cork,' but well on the road to that dignity) now profited by Ralegh's unexpected presence at Cork, to consult him as to certain bygone transactions, and especially as to the terms of a lease given to Pine by Sir Walter, in 1592. It was almost on the eve of his departure, and in the full tide of more pressing affairs, that Sir Walter had to

Testamentary Note ; Vol. II. p. 493.

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answer Lord Boyle's inquiry. Amid the earnest self-examination of those last days of the next autumn but one, in which the long journey between the Oxford of 1569 and the Guiana of 1618 lay outstretched in mental retrospect, this communication to Boyle recurred to his memory. He thought that he had spoken too hastily, and too confidently, against Pine's claim. It was one of the latest acts of his life to express his doubt about the still-pending question of the Mogelie lease, and to entreat that a thorough examination might be made of the evidence on both sides, so that his old enemy should not suffer by what he himself might have replied, too positively, when on the point of embarking, once again, for Guiana.

When the sudden change of wind freed the impatient Admiral from his long detention in his old quarters, he must indeed have had a busy crowd of thoughts. He was (for the last time) leaving a place which had been the scene, by turns, of much labour and much festivity, of many anxieties and of many hopes, in the golden days of youth. Then, he was chafing impatiently at being kept busied with matters which (as he said to Leicester) he would "as much disdain, as to keep sheep,"—but that they might help to pave the way to a brighter career elsewhere. Now, he was about to make a great effort for the realization of one of the favourite schemes of his maturity. But, in 1582, he had the cheering visions of a long and glorious life in prospect. In 1617, he had but the retrospect of a splendid career, suddenly overclouded when at its prime. Then, his cares were lightened, not only by the consciousness of the energy within, but by promises of aid from many powerful friends, both in Ireland and in England. Now, the felt decline—howsoever gradual the perception—of

internal vigour must have been made sadder by the prescience of struggles to come, against the bitterest hostility of many powerful enemies, at home and abroad. It seems scarcely possible but that a presentiment that in Guiana he was to make his *last* fight against Spain, —and that it would be a death wrestle in the face of terrible odds,—must have haunted Ralegh when taking his departure from the familiar shores.

One thing, however, had suffered no change at all. The indomitable will was still, in 1617, what it had shown itself in 1582. The physical strength was fast breaking. The resplendent intellect had, now and then, already been overshadowed. But the firm and patient force of character yet remained unimpaired. It had led this man, in 1582, to throw his full energy into petty and distasteful duties, instead of shirking them. It led him now, in 1617, to face, with every power he had, the perils of a foredoomed enterprise. The difficulties are, in truth, past counting. But all that effort, bravery, endurance, and persistency can do against them, will assuredly be done. And now, once again,—in Guiana, as in Ireland,—the plain path of duty to Britain will prove to Ralegh in 1617, as it had proved so conspicuously in 1582, the path to glory.

THE CHASE NEAR CAPE ST. VINCENT.

As the fleet sailed on and on, and began to near Cape St. Vincent, four ships hove in sight and were chased. It was a long chase and a brisk one. When the quarry was at length run down, Ralegh found that the vessels were French. They were of a questionable cut, and had a large quantity of fish and of oil aboard. By their own account they were traders, bound for Seville. But they were looked into by keen and practised eyes. More than one of Ralegh's captains asserted his clear con-

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viction that they were unmistakeable corsairs. Their equipment was warlike. They had a most suspicious abundance of Spanish apparel, and of Spanish merchandise and stores. Sir Walter kept them with him for two or three days,—that they might not carry hurtful intelligence,—and, having a brisk wind, they ran with him, in that time, about 100 leagues to southward. Some of the Englishmen were eager to turn such questionable-looking cargoes to a better account, but were met by the Admiral with a stern refusal. It is lawful, he told them, for the French to make prize of Spaniards to south of the Canaries, and to west of the Azores. "And if it were not so, it is no business of mine to examine the subjects of the French King." He bought of the Frenchmen a pinnace, a fishing seine, and some oil, for which he paid sixty-one crowns; and then dismissed them. Incidentally, and several weeks afterwards, Ralegh met with proofs that the confident assertions of his captains as to the true vocation of their momentary consorts had a good foundation.

Journal, &c. Titus B viii. ff. 155 seqq. (B. M.): *Relation*, &c. MS. Corpus Christi Coll. 297, B 2. 2. ff. 160 seqq. (Oxford.)

ARRIVAL AT LANCEROTA.

On Saturday the 6th of September, Ralegh's fleet made Lancerota (lat. 28° 57′ N.; long. 13° 33′ W.), one of the well-known islands called the 'Great Canaries.' He found the islanders in no small commotion. At the moment, Sir Walter had with him thirteen sail, and probably almost nine hundred of valid men; although the number of sick in the several crews was already large. To people under present panic, the result of a terrible and recent experience, the arrival very naturally seemed alarming.

Lancerota had suffered severely, and more than once —in common with several other of the Canary Isles— from the savage ferocity of Algerine pirates. Not long before Ralegh's fleet came in sight, news had been

brought to the Islands that the corsairs of Barbary were at that very time preparing another expedition against them. That the Englishmen on their arrival should be taken for Algerines was an easy mistake. It would probably have had no fatal consequence, if some of the ships had not landed men at night, eager to stretch their legs on the beach; and if the fleet itself had carried no traitors. As it turned out, the unlooked-for incident at Lancerota gave—not a pretext, indeed, even of the flimsiest sort—but an opportunity, for treachery long premeditated. A certain Captain John Bailey seized his opportunity on the instant it offered itself.

Ralegh's sole motive for calling at Lancerota was to get water and to buy some fresh provisions. The provisions were promised, but delayed. Meanwhile, three Englishmen were killed, or mortally wounded, as suspected 'Turks.'

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE GOVERNOR OF LANCEROTA.

This was done after Sir Walter had had first a correspondence, and then (with one gentleman only in his company) an interview, with the Governor. That Spanish official concealed from his people his own knowledge that the ships were English ships. When most of the Englishmen who had landed had already (at the Governor's request) re-embarked, an attack was made on others, who had been advanced as sentinels. Their comrades were nearly frantic with eagerness to avenge them, natural in the sailors, but curbed resolutely by the Admiral. It is a hand unfriendly to Ralegh that makes, at the moment of the occurrence, the record: "Our men were basely murdered; but, without doing any harm to the murderers, we retired to our ships." "I knew," said Ralegh himself, "that revenge would not only offend his Majesty, but that our mer-

THE ATTACK ON THE ENGLISH SENTINELS.

Relation, &c. in MS. Corpus Christi Coll. ff. 160 seqq. (Oxford.)

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chants' goods—those merchants having a continual trade with the Islands—would have been stayed ; and amongst the rest, that poor Englishman, then riding in the road —having all that he had brought thither ashore—would have been utterly undone."

Apology for the Voyage to Guiana (*Works*, vol. viii. p. 484).

CAPTAIN BAILEY'S DESERTION AT LANCEROTA.

Bailey, of *The Husband*, now stole away from Lancerota, with ship stores, munitions of defence, and crew, in order to tell a pre-arranged and pre-purchased story. We shall never have the satisfaction of reading any record of the preliminary conversations in London, Plymouth, and elsewhere, which had paved the way to this man's treachery. No 'Sir Judas Wilson' will come to his side, even to revive them in retrospective memory. The reader must perforce, on that one point, make his own inferences. On all points besides the evidence is superabundant.

And, as if it were by an irony of Fate, there is evidence, *from Madrid*, to convict Bailey as a perjured liar. Bailey said at one time, and in one quarter: "I left Sir Walter Ralegh, *because he landed in hostile manner at Lancerota.*" At another time, and in a quarter in which, as he probably thought, a little amplification would tell, he said: "I left Sir Walter Ralegh at Lancerota, because I had become convinced *he 'meant to turn pirate.'*" The phrase will be seen to have a material bearing on a famous piece of comedy afterwards performed at Whitehall. Bailey, it was found, had given the cue prematurely. Such, however, was Bailey's story, on his arrival in London, of what had passed at Lancerota. We have now to turn to the report sent to Spain by Spaniards not in the secret, and also a little prone to exaggerate—but without evil intention.

"Sir Walter Ralegh landed some of his men in the

night at Lancerota. The people of the island came upon them, taking them to be Turks, and killed *fifteen*. Afterwards, by day, finding them to be English, they gave them leave to water; and the Englishmen departed." This story was an unacceptable one to some of the administrative hands at Madrid, to which it came in October. It was essential to get up, presently, a charge of piracy *there*, as well as in London. It did not fail. In November, charges of piracy were rife at Madrid. But Cottington was not in the conspiracy. When he was told that his famous countryman was "a pirate," he made inquiries about the proofs. After making them, he wrote thus to Secretary Winwood: "The great complaint brought hither against Sir Walter Ralegh appears, as I am certainly informed, to be only for the taking of victuals *from some few Frenchmen*, and that of so small consideration as not worthy to be spoken of." It was, in fact, when probed, and stripped of its Spanish accretions, simply the story of the chase off Cape St. Vincent,—minus the sixty-one crowns of sterling money paid out of Sir Walter's purse.

Cottington to Winwood; Madrid, Oct. 21 (o. s.), 1617. *Spanish Corresp.* JAMES I., 1617. (R. H.)

Ibid. Nov. 4. (Extract from Spanish Despatch.; in *Dom. Corresp.* JAMES I. vol. civ. § 33.)

1617. Sept. THE AMBUSH AGAINST THE WATERING PARTIES.

Before finally leaving Lancerota, the Englishmen tried once again to get water in a remote part of the island, which was entirely uninhabited. But their movements had been watched; and an ambush was laid for them, in which—almost before danger was suspected—one of Sir John Ferne's crew was killed. Most of the seamen were busily employed with the water-casks. But young Walter and Sir Warham St. Leger gathered six or eight stout fellows of the right sort, and presently made some forty assailants run. Meanwhile the watering parties hastily left Lancerota. Thence Sir Walter sailed to Gomera ['Gomarrah' of Ralegh's *Apology*], one of the smaller Canaries, but one

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of the best fortified, and possessed of an excellent harbour. The ships had watered, partially, at Lancerota, notwithstanding the opposition; but they were still in need.

THE INTERCOURSE WITH THE SPANIARDS AT GOMERA.

At Gomera, a fortunate incident of former days stood the Admiral in good stead. The Spanish Governor had married a woman of English blood,—and of the noblest. Her mother was a Stafford; her father was of the illustrious Netherland family of Horn; and Ralegh's message to her husband (which had already received a courteous answer) brought, when she heard of it, no strange name to her ears. With the message there came to her a present of English gloves. She seized instantly the opportunity of sending a noble return in fruits, rusks, sugar, and other produce, very grateful to the Englishmen, whose own stores had now been drawn upon during almost five months. Ralegh distributed some of the choicest fruit to his sick men. He said afterwards, when himself a convalescent in the mouth of the Cayenne, that, without the lady's gift of fruit, "I should certainly have died." The Admiral took vigorous measures to make sure that kindness so generous, and so welcome, should not be abused. He knew, to his sorrow, that he had a good many knaves in his crews, and he told them, in the plainest English, that if any man was caught stealing but an orange or a grape, he would swiftly hang, in a commanding position, upon the market-place of the port, for the instruction of his comrades. To the Spanish Governor the strict Ralegh discipline was somewhat novel, in his experiences of nautical visitors to Gomera, and it was proportionately acceptable. He even felt a friendship for his guest; wrote him several letters of thanks; and, when casting about for other means of showing his sense of Ralegh's

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conduct, he offered to address to the Spanish Ambassador in London an account of the exemplary behaviour at Gomera of the English ships. He was, of course, innocent of all knowledge how extremely unacceptable any such communication would be to the Count of Gondomar, should it ever come to his hands. Sir Walter, on his part, and in view of the recent occurrence at Lancerota, thought it possible that such a certificate might not be useless.

THE DEPARTURE FROM GOMERA.

Sept. 21.

With much interchange of courtesies—the worthy Governor's share in which would not benefit him at his Court—the fleet sailed from Gomera on the 21st of September. Before his departure, the Admiral found means to testify in an acceptable way his gratitude to the Anglo-Flemish Countess, by whom he had been so generously welcomed. He was himself a lover of pictures, and had learned, as it seems, that his benefactress shared the taste. He had brought with him, to adorn his cabin, a fine picture of the Magdalen. He might, perhaps, have desired a different subject for his gift, but of pictures he had then only Hobson's choice. He sent it, and with it some lace, of curious workmanship, and some choice perfumes—prepared in the Tower laboratory; and before he left, the gift was acknowledged with a lady's thanks, as well as with fresh baskets of fruit, and store of poultry. This incident at Gomera was to prove, for a year to come, the one pleasant oasis amidst the dreary memories of a voyage crowded with calamity.

The more serious disasters began on the third day after the fresh departure. Fourteen days had been spent at the Canaries, and the sickness amongst the crews

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THE TERRIBLE SICKNESS OF SEPT. AND OCT. 1617.

had lessened. On the 24th of September the sickness returned, as a giant refreshed with sleep, and it spread like a plague. In the evening fifty men in the flagship alone lay helpless. Two captains and a provost marshal lay elsewhere dead. On the last day of the month the fleet stood in towards Brava (lat. 14° 48′ N., long. 20° 44′ W.), and by that time the chief surgeon and several officers had been added to the rapidly-blackening Bill of Mortality. At that moment a great hurricane added its perils to the perils of the pestilence. One vessel was lost. Others suffered severely. During the first days of October four more among the officers died, together with Fowler, one of the chief of those refiners and assayers who had sailed with the expedition for the special service of the Mine, and several of the Admiral's personal servants. He was left with no attendant but his pages. Amid all these perils and anxieties he made some careful observations of the prevalent currents, which proved to be valuable additions to nautical science, and which have stood many a subsequent mariner in good stead.

Oct. 1.

THE STORM IN BRAVA ROADS.

Journal; Cott. MS. Titus B viii.

More of the best men in the fleet rapidly died. Torrents of rain fell; so that men well-nigh drowned in their cabins. Then came a calm, which to the sick mariners proved worse than the tornado of Brava Roads. On the 13th of October Ralegh lost his Lieutenant-General for the land service, John Pigott, and his beloved servant and friend John Talbot, who had shared for eleven long years his imprisonment in the Tower. "He was," says the Admiral, "my honest friend; an excellent general scholar, and as faithful and true a man as lived. I lost him to mine inestimable grief." Well might he mourn for honest John Talbot, servant, and true gentleman. It was by men of that stamp that

DEATH OF PIGOTT AND TALBOT.

Journal, as above; and Letter CLIII., Vol. II. p. 349.

Walter Ralegh was, his life long, followed and beloved. To him but few of them were now left.

Young Walter stood against the fierce heat and the pestilential vapours, as very few even of the young and strong could withstand them. He never felt himself, he said, in better health. And this was the one grateful item of news that was presently to come—in the midst of a catalogue of sorrows—under the lovingly anxious eyes to which the name of 'little Wat' was the dearest name, save only one, in all the world.

ARRIVAL OFF THE COAST OF GUIANA.

On the 11th of November they made Cape Wiapoco or Oyapoco (now called 'Cape Orange'), and three days afterwards they sailed into the harbour of the river Cayenne ('Caliana' of the Admiral's letters home). Here Ralegh's first action was to write to his wife,—to tell of the sorrowful losses, of the weakened fleet, of his own terrible calenture (such as few of the veterans had ever heard of a man recovering from, even when yet in the prime of life), and of the fears which he had found but too much reason to form concerning the results of Gondomar's intrigues in London. His second action was to ask after his old servant 'Harry the Indian,'—one of the many anxious inquirers who had so eagerly boarded Robert Harcourt's ship, in 1608, in quest of Sir Walter; one of those whose dreams for years had been that the great foreign cacique, who had so won their hearts in 1595, would surely come back some day to be (in their conception of kingship) 'King of Guiana;' and whose countenances had so often been overclouded, as they saw,—in successive seasons,—Keymis, Leigh, and Harcourt, but no Ralegh. "My name hath still lived among them" is almost the last line of his letter to Lady Ralegh, dated "from Caliana, in Guiana, the 14th of November." Twenty-one years had then passed

RALEGH AND THE INDIANS OF GUIANA.

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since those retentive Indians had seen his face. But they had had many messages from the well-remembered friend. They had had, too, not a few well-chosen and useful gifts of remembrance.

The intercourse between Spaniards and 'wild Indians' lasted during a great many generations, and was spread over many vast territories. Of how many Spaniards had, at its close, any aboriginal man a like tale to tell?

'Harry the Indian' sent provisions beforehand to announce his coming. Presently he came himself, better laden still. "He brought great plenty of roasted mullets (which were very good meat), great store of plantains and pine-apples, with pistachios (or ground-nuts), and divers other sorts of fruit." The Admiral was still so ill that, although he had a most vivid and grateful recollection of the Guiana pine-apples ("they tempted me exceedingly," he says), he dared not yet eat of them. By and by, but very slowly, he began to gather strength.

Journal, as above.

RETURN OF ALLEY FROM THE CAYENNE.

Captain Peter Alley was the bearer of the letter to Lady Ralegh. He, too, had suffered from calenture so severely, that no hope remained of his validity in active service. At Ralegh's entreaty he came back to England.

BAILEY IN ENGLAND, AND HIS SERVICE THERE.

Meanwhile in England men's mouths were still full of the Lancerota story, as it was duly retailed by the gaol-bird Bailey, on his reaching the coast in October. The men who knew Ralegh had a good key to the knowledge of Captain Bailey. The men who misknew him had a key, no less serviceable, to the uses to which Captain Bailey might be put hereafter. But, as yet, there were not a few difficulties. Lord Carew, for example, was Master of the Ordnance to James, and a Privy Councillor. "Those that malice Sir Walter," wrote Carew in October

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(to his and Ralegh's distant friend at the Court of the Great Mogul), "boldly affirm him to be a pirate; which, for my part, I will never believe."

Dom. Cor. JAMES I. Oct. 1617. (R. H.)

Bailey set to work with considerable cunning, and also with some caution. He kept out of the way of men like Carew, as much as he could, until he had spread his story. The authorities of the Admiralty, however, were watching him. Howsoever strongly the old Lord Admiral had been warped against his former friend in bygone years, by the combined temptation of family influences, and of that thirst for gold which an enormous expenditure—enormous even for that age and for such a grandee as Howard was—had so intensified, he was incapable of lending any willing help or countenance to the machinations of those who were seeking for Ralegh's blood. He caused the ship and cargo of the deserter to be seized by the proper officers, and Bailey himself to be summoned to appear before the Privy Council. Unfortunately an attack of sickness prevented the veteran Lord Admiral from attending at the board on the day appointed.

BAILEY AND THE LORD ADMIRAL HOWARD.

On the 18th of November a Council letter about Bailey was sent to the Lord Admiral, in these terms:—"We are sorry to understand that your Lordship's ill disposition of health hath been such as not to suffer you to be present at the day appointed for the examination of Captain Baylie; but that business may well attend your leisure. In the meantime, if your Lordship can discover anything against Baylie, *or to clear those doubts which*[1] *upon this occasion have been raised of Sir Walter Rawley's courses and intentions*, which[1] as it appears by

1 These numerous 'whiches' are so in the Council Book. They make the sense of the paragraph very doubtful. But the context renders it clear that (at this time, at all events) Nottingham himself had given no counte-

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a letter which we have seen (from your Lordship unto Sir George Calvert, Clerk of the Council), we shall be as willing to entertain the knowledge thereof as yourself. But, till then, we *are of the same opinion*, under your Lordship's favour, *as before we were, for the release and delivery of the ship and goods unto Captain Baylie;* he putting in such sufficient caution as the Judge of the Admiralty shall think meet, to give satisfaction" [not to his Admiral, for desertion, and for slander, but] "unto all such as shall make any just claim to have interest in her or the goods by way of adventure or otherwise; *for which we pray your Lordship to give immediate order accordingly.*"

Registers of Privy Council, JAMES I., vol. iii. p. 175. (C. O.)

DEATH OF SECRETARY WINWOOD. 1617. Oct. 27.

Twenty days before this intervention at the Council Board for the protection of the deserter of Lancerota, Secretary Sir Ralph Winwood had suddenly died. Popular rumours about poison are things deserving very little attention. But it was certainly unfortunate for the medical reputation of Dr. Theodore de Mayerne, that several conspicuous men died under his treatment, with unusual precipitancy. Winwood was one of many among that unlucky doctor's patients who exhibited this exceptional precipitancy, when yet in the vigour of manhood. In 1617, Winwood's death was to Ralegh a bereavement hardly less fatal than that he had sustained, in 1603, by the death of Elizabeth; or in 1612, by the death of Prince Henry. But many months were to pass, in this instance, before he knew his loss. Almost six months later, he was still addressing himself to Winwood as to the Secretary of State, and the trusty friend. Naunton, by whom Winwood was to be succeeded in the Secretaryship, had in him the malleable

nance to the aspersions circulated, with such notable celerity, against the distant Admiral, on the faith of a mere deserter from his fleet.

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stuff of which abler and bolder politicians are wont to make their most useful tools. Ralegh's terrible fever struck him down in America almost at the instant of Winwood's death in London. For twenty-eight days he lay prostrate. He was unable to take sustenance, except by suction. None of those about him thought it possible that he could recover.

THE CALENTURE AT SEA.

1617. November.

Several ships of Ralegh's fleet had now to repair damages sustained in the many storms they had encountered, and were accordingly delayed in the Cayenne. The Admiral, still looking like a man much more than half-dead in body, though quite himself in mind, pushed on towards the Orinoco. The 'Triangle Isles'—now called the 'Isles of Health'—were appointed as the general rendezvous. There Ralegh himself had a relapse.

THE RELAPSE.

Sir Warham St. Leger had fallen sick while they were yet in the Cayenne, and just as the Admiral had begun first to recover. St. Leger was succeeded as second in command by Captain George Ralegh, Sir Walter's nephew and a tried officer. Under his leadership, the expedition for the Mine was organized at the Triangles. The Admiral draughted 400 soldiers and picked marines into five of the smaller vessels, commanded by Captains Whitney, King, Smith, Oleston, and Hall. The smaller vessels alone could sail up the Orinoco. The flagship had already grounded under circumstances of peril, just as the Admiral had relapsed into his second calenture. Two or three of the other best ships were unable to pass the shoals. The command of the land forces—under George Ralegh as chief—was entrusted to young Walter, and to Captains Parker, North, Thornhurst, and Hall. Keymis had the special charge of the landing

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INSTRUCTIONS TO GEORGE RALEGH FOR THE EXPEDITION UP THE ORINOCO.

1617. December.

Apology, in *Works*, vol. viii.; *Journal*, in MS. Cott. Titus B viii. ff. 153, seqq. (B. M.)

within the Orinoco, and of the search for the Mine—of which he alone had the requisite knowledge.

To George Ralegh and to Keymis, in common, stringent instructions were given that they should do their best to reach the Mine without any conflict with the Spaniards. The whole force of the expedition was ordered to keep together to the latest possible moment; and the land force, it was specially ordered, should encamp "between the Spanish town and the Mine, if there be any camp near it; that being so secured, you may make trial what depth and breadth the Mine holds, and whether or no it answers our hopes. If you find it royal, and the Spaniards begin to war upon you, you, George Ralegh, are to repel them, if it be in your power, and to drive them as far as you can." George Ralegh had served a long apprenticeship to war in the grand school of the Netherland contest against Spain. He had acquired the esteem and confidence of his commanders. He had sterling qualities, but was still young. Some of those who had now to serve under his orders, unable to find other fault, found fault with his youth. And then came to Keymis individually this urgent charge: "If you find that the Mine be not so rich as may persuade the holding of it, and draw on a second supply, then you shall bring but a basket or two,—to satisfy his Majesty that my design was not imaginary but true, though not answerable to his Majesty's expectation. Of the quantity I never gave assurance, nor could. On the other side, if you shall find that any great number of soldiers be newly sent into Orinoco—as the cacique of Caliana told us that they were—and that the passage be reinforced so that, without manifest peril of my son, yourself, and the other captains, you cannot pass toward the Mine, then be well advised how

you land. For I know, a few gentlemen excepted, what a scum of men you have. *And I would not, for all the world, receive a blow from the Spaniards to the dishonour of our Nation.* I myself for my weakness cannot be present. Neither will the companies land, except I stay with the ships; the galleons of Spain being daily expected. Pigott, the Sergeant-Major, is dead; Sir Warham, my Lieutenant, without hope of life; my nephew, your Sergeant-Major now, is but a young man. It is, therefore, on your judgment that I rely, whom,[1] I trust, God will direct for the best." And then he adds, by way of postscript, "Let me hear from you as soon as I can. You shall find me at Puncto Gallo ('Curiapan' of the Voyage of 1595, and now called 'Point Hicacos'), dead or alive. And if you find not my ships there, you shall find their ashes. For I will fire, with the galleons, if it come to extremity; but run will I never."

Apology, as above.

The Orinoco expedition sailed away on the 10th of December. They carried a full month's victuals. The Admiral, as a parting charge, ordered them to search the Surinam ('Shurinamo' of Ralegh) and the Essequibo ('Dessekebe') for pilots. The main fleet under Sir Walter made Point Barima ('Puncto Anegada' of Ralegh[2]) on the 15th of December, and Point Hicacos (or Curiapan)—the south-western point of Trinidad—on the 17th. On New Year's Eve they came to a good anchorage at Terra de Bri.

THE FLEET ANCHORS AT TERRA DE BRI.

Whilst Ralegh's ships were still coasting Trinidad, and whilst the Admiral himself was slowly recovering

[1] So written, for '*which*.'

[2] See Schomburgk's notes on the *Journal* (p. 203), in the Appendix to his excellent edition of Ralegh's *Discovery of Guiana*, printed for the Hakluyt Society (1848).

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ARRIVAL OF INTELLIGENCE OF RALEGH'S FLEET IN ENGLAND.

strength of body, news of him were brought to England by a certain seafaring merchantman named Reeks, of Ratcliff. Reeks told a plain tale in a plain way. He was 'the poor mariner, then lying in the roads,' at the moment when Ralegh had so sternly curbed at Lancerota the natural eagerness of some of his men to avenge their murdered comrades, and the eagerness—not less natural in them—of certain others, "to fill their chests and their pockets." It was an unfortunate arrival for Bailey. His powerful friends were unable, for the time, to make head against the just indignation of the friends of Ralegh. They had to abide a more favourable season. And it soon came. Meanwhile Bailey was committed to the Gatehouse at Westminster.

Above, p. 606.

Registers of Privy Council, JAMES I., vol. iii.; *Letters of Lord Carew to Sir T. Roe*, Dec. 1617. (R. H.)

But Reeks' story rendered a further service—and a less temporary one than the disclosure of Bailey's lies proved to be—to truth and justice, by casting another little gleam on the remote origin of the 'piracy' charge. Very curiously do these successive gleams tend to unite into a focus, like the rays collected by a burning glass. Sir Walter, said honest mariner Reeks, had solicited the Governor of Lancerota for leave to water and to buy provisions, and the Governor had replied: 'You shall want for nothing that the island affords.' But (as we saw at the time) delays were interposed during three days. The behaviour of the fleet continued to be exemplary. 'When all the goods in the town of Lancerota were sent to the mountains,' continues Reeks, 'the Governor sent Sir Walter Ralegh word *that he was a pirate, and should have no more than what he could win by his sword.*' We have now seen three steps in this instructive process. (1.) A rumour is spread in London that Ralegh, in *a conversation with the Lord Keeper*, unadvisedly let out a secret purpose he had to do some-

Ibid.

thing which, in the opinion of that great lawyer, would certainly throw on him the guilt of 'piracy.' (2.) The Governor of Lancerota, instantly that Ralegh's fleet calls there—money in hand, for provisions and for water, in the due course of the voyage—tells him that he is 'a pirate.' (3.) The worthy Captain of *The Husband*, of Southampton, having seen nothing in his Admiral (whatever he may have seen in his own crew) but what was exemplary, is so afraid that he *means*, some day or other, '*to be a pirate*,' that he steals away to England; and directly he lands charges him with piracy, to make sure. The other steps in the process will come, by and by, in their due order. We have now to turn to the adventurers in the Orinoco.

ADVENTURES OF THE EXPEDITION UP THE RIVER ORINOCO.

The ascent of the river took them twenty-three days. When they arrived off the island of Yaya ('Assapana' of Ralegh)—one of a considerable group of islands in the Orinoco, and lying almost opposite to the present town of 'St. Raphael of Barrancas'—a fisherman watched them, and carried the intelligence of their approach to Palomeque, Governor of Trinidad, who was then at St. Thomas—but not the St. Thomas formerly known to Ralegh and to Keymis. That, or its site, lay far away, and almost close to the confluence of the Caroni with the Orinoco. Of the removal of the old settlement (after many disasters had befallen it) the Englishmen must needs have heard. But it seems equally apparent that their knowledge of the altered geography of the place was very slight. Very probably it rested but on rumour. As they drew towards the new settlement, they were fired on by Spaniards from the banks, both with musketry and with ordnance.

Letter CLIV., Vol. II. pp. 352–355. Comp. *Apology*, &c. (*Works*, vol. viii. p. 491.)

Sir Walter's own account of the formation of the second 'San Thome' is worth quoting, though he tells

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nothing of the date at which he first became aware of the transfer. "Her Majesties death," he says, "and my long imprisonment gave time to the Spaniards to set up a town of stakes, covered with leaves of trees, upon the banks of Orinoco, which they called 'San Thome;' but they have [neither] reconciled nor conquered any of the caciques." The same letter in which these words occur mentions another incident in the annals of Guiana voyages, antecedent to the expedition of 1617, but still recent. Ralegh's acquaintance with that occurrence implies some knowledge of the removal of the old settlement, but not, necessarily, any knowledge of the exact geographical position of the new one. Their distance from each other was considerable.

Ralegh to Carew; Letter CLX., Vol. II. p. 377.

The Admiral's well-known account of the treachery which ensured a conflict with the Spaniards before any attempt could be made upon the Mine is fully and expressly confirmed by the Spanish historian, Pedro Simon, who assigns to the despatches sent from Madrid to Palomeque de Acuña, and to the other Governors, the same dates as those which were given by Ralegh from the documents, when they came into his own hands. Palomeque, however, had but a very small force at command, and he weakened it by division.

Simon, *Setima Noticia Historiale*, c. xxiii. p. 636.

It was about eleven o'clock on New Year's morning that the English vessels hove in sight of Point Araya. They were still far from the chosen landing-place; but the soldiers were landed before sunset. They were, says Ralegh, "as weak men as ever followed valiant leaders: yet were there amongst them some twenty or thirty very adventurous gentlemen, and of singular courage." He particularises several, and amongst them one who bore the illustrious name of John Hampden. Knevitt, Hammond, and Plessington are also named with special

Letter CLIV., Vol. II. p. 352.

commendation. Part of the Spanish force already occupied an ambuscade on some rising ground in advance of the village. These men were under a certain Geronimo de Grados.

SPANISH ATTACK ON THE ENGLISH CAMP.

The Englishmen had neither the design nor the expectation of an immediate encounter. Their plan was to encamp on the river's bank for the night, and to prosecute the attempt on the Mine on the following morning, leaving part of the force to protect the ships, and to watch the town. Grados attacked them soon after nightfall, and took them by surprise. "The common sort," says Ralegh, "were so amazed, as, had not the captains and some other valiant gentlemen made a head and encouraged the rest, they had all been broken, and cut to pieces."

Suddenness of attack and knowledge of the ground were the only advantages which the Spaniards possessed. Whatever the inferiority of the 'common sort' of Englishmen here present, they had pluck enough to fight when rightly led. And on this occasion they were led nobly. Walter Ralegh, in particular, showed that his mettle was worthy of his strain.

Grados and his Spaniards, too, fought well against superior numbers. But they were driven fiercely back, and, as they retreated, the Englishmen followed. It is apparent, alike from the English accounts and from the Spanish, that Ralegh's men were as ignorant of the close proximity of the village, as of the nature of the ground and of the defences. As the Spaniards under Grados came near to their comrades — already under arms within St. Thomas, and headed by Diego Palomeque, the Governor—the pursuers were for a moment checked by new and fresh opponents. The English musketeers were behind; the pikemen were in advance.

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DEATH OF YOUNG RALEGH.

Young Ralegh was the first to rally his men under the unexpected charge of Palomeque. Calling cheerily to the pikemen not to wait for the musketeers, he dashed on at their head. It is probable, but not quite certain, that Palomeque himself fell under his hand. There is no doubt that he killed a principal leader of the Spaniards who had sallied out from St. Thomas. John Plessington, his lieutenant, slew another. One of the men of Walter's own company—'John of Morocco' by designation—slew two other Spaniards in quick succession. In the *mêlée* young Ralegh received a musket shot, but, bleeding as he was, he pressed on vigorously, sword in hand, and struck at a Spaniard, named Erinetta, who defended himself with the butt-end of his musket. Ralegh was felled to the ground, mortally wounded, but quite undismayed. He had breath but for very few words. The last words that were audible from his lips were these: "Go on! May the Lord have mercy upon me, and prosper your enterprise."[1]

Apology, p. 491; Letters CLIV., CLV., CLX., Vol. II. pp. 352–362; Simon, *Setima Noticia Historiale*, pp. 636–640.

EPISODE ON THE LIFE OF YOUNG RALEGH.

So died, in an obscure ambush laid by foemen who were far from being 'worthy of his steel,' all that was mortal of young Ralegh. He had shown—more than once before—his fiery temper, and his utter contempt of personal danger. He had also shown not a little of firm endurance and persistency. Whatever seed of still finer qualities to come may have lain within him, had lacked time to grow. A few incidents of youthful turbulence and of soldierly valour, and an anecdote or two which

[1] I do not know on what ground Sir Robert Schomburgk based his conclusion that an Englishman who was lustily calling out 'Victory! Victory!' and was killed by Grados with a sword-stroke—so vigorous "*que embio el herege a que le respontieran a su canto en el Infierno*" (Simon, as above, p. 640)—was "most probably young Ralegh." Sir Walter's express assertion is conclusive to the contrary.

show that he had before him the prospect of a somewhat ambitious alliance, make up the story of his short life. He had barely reached twenty-three years of age, when he fell at St. Thomas, under the musket of the Spaniard Erinetta.

The first mention of Walter appears in a letter written by Lady Ralegh, in October 1600. Parents and child were then at Weymouth. Ralegh himself was just about to visit Jersey, for the first time, as its Governor. On a fine autumnal morning the three went out in a boat together. "The wind and weather were so fair," says Lady Ralegh, "that little Wat and myself brought Sir Walter aboard the ship." Almost as soon as 'little Wat' had reached his fourteenth year, he was (in accordance with the usage of that day) sent to Oxford. He was matriculated, at Corpus, on the 30th of October, 1607. With his wonted fidelity to beautiful Devon, Sir Walter made choice of one of the Exeter Hookers for his son's tutor in ordinary. But, as a special tutor for classics, and for readings in ethics and in divinity—and by way of general overseer of the training—he engaged the services of a man who became famous in after days as a theologian, Dr. Daniel Fairclough, or Featley (so the southern tongues were wont to clip the broad northern patronymic,[1] until spelling had, perforce, to follow sound), who, when so engaged by Ralegh, had been for five years a Fellow of Corpus, and was already a notable ornament of the University.

Letter VII. Vol. II. p. 404.

Register of Matriculations, p. 226. (Corp. Ch. College, Oxford.)

COLLEGE LIFE OF WALTER RALEGH.

Featley was not only a man of fine parts; he possessed the genuine Lancashire combativeness in full measure. In theological controversy, he did not fear to encounter the royal theologian himself, and once

[1] He was an Oxonian by birth-place, but of an old Lancashire stock, very newly transplanted to the South.

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FEATLEY'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH SIR WALTER RALEGH.

or twice the fencing, as it seems, was rather with rapier than with foil—at least on the Doctor's part.

Featley took a liking for young Ralegh; but the Devonshire tutor was by no means in love with the Fellow of Corpus. The two quarrelled; and their disputes led to a characteristic correspondence between Featley and Ralegh. Unfortunately only one side of it has survived. What Ralegh said on educational topics —his treatment of which it would be of such special interest to us all to know—is to be learnt only from a casual allusion or two in Featley's replies.

Featley to Ralegh; Rawlinson MSS. vol. xlvii. (Bodleian, Oxford.)

It becomes apparent, in the course of these interesting letters, that young Walter had good abilities, conjoined with a large share of waywardness; and that he possessed also the generous impulses which have so often sweetened a fiery and ungovernable temper. Featley tried hard to guide his pupil with gentleness, and to curb him without anger. The Devonshire tutor, on the other hand, fostered the youngster's disposition to rebel. He even tried to curry favour for himself with Lady Ralegh, by depicting Featley as a dreadful tyrant. On the mother's tender heart Hooker's representations had their natural effect. But Ralegh himself took the most anxious pains to master the facts, and when he had got them supported Featley with his usual firmness. In one of the letters (preserved amongst the Rawlinson MSS. at Oxford) the good Doctor thanks Sir Walter for his confidence. He had probably made some guesses at the prison labours which this tutorial controversy interrupted, and he expresses his special gratitude for the minute pains Sir Walter had taken to show how entirely he trusted both in the abilities and in the honour of the aspersed tutor of Corpus. "I exspected not," writes Featley, "that you should so farre open the

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reasons of your actions unto me. They show themselves to proceed from an excellent temper of wisdome, and of love to your sonne."

Featley to Ralegh; as above.

Ralegh had a particular wish that some musical talent discernible—or supposed to be discernible—in young Walter, should be diligently and scientifically cultivated. The youngster liked the easy practice of music much better than he liked the tough science of it. He insisted on playing upon the lute in his own fashion for amusement, when it was his duty to be studying concord or counterpoint. It is pleasant to find Featley himself turning from classics, and from theology, to music, in order to make sure that the father's wishes shall be carried out:—"I intend to have his teacher [of music] to sett me the grounds of all his trebles and his lessons; . . and will myself play in consert with him [*i.e.* Walter], that I may be sure that he shall do somewhat."

Ibid.

BEN JONSON'S TUTORSHIP.

A well-known story of boyish frolic has connected a more famous name than Featley's with the tuition of Walter Ralegh at a later date. There is a bare possibility that some small basis of truth underlies the alleged wheeling of Ben Jonson in a barrow—after 'rare Ben' had indulged freely one day in canary of an entirely too rare and too generous vintage—into Sir Walter's presence, with a request, from the graceless pupil, that his tutor might have a lesson on the virtue of sobriety; and that, soon afterwards, Jonson accompanied his troublesome charge to the Continent. The objection that "young Ralegh never went abroad, except with his father in 1617," is unfounded. If the wheelbarrow incident (the barrow must have been a capacious one) occurred at all, it probably occurred in 1613, after the youth's return from Oxford. He was at that time in London. And he had then (like Jonson) the misfor-

1613. April.

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tune to kill a man in a sudden affray—in which, by fair probability, he was not the aggressor. His antagonist was a retainer of the Lord Treasurer Suffolk. Howard dependants of that Jacobean day were persons much given to vituperate Sir Walter; but there is no proof that the boy's quarrel was in defence of his father's fame. It may well have had something to do with his own loss of a betrothed wife. Be that as it may, young Ralegh had, in the sequel, to betake himself hastily to the Continent. Sir Walter gave him a letter of introduction to that second hero of the Netherland struggle, Prince Maurice of Nassau. He may possibly have had some hope that his son might find an opening to serve, under the great Maurice, the same noble cause which he had himself served under the greater William. But, at Walter's age, other service was more attractive. Whether young Ralegh and Jonson went abroad together as tutor and pupil I know not. It is certain that in 1613 they were, both of them, on the Continent, and both, it is to be feared, bent on mere amusement.

The reader, I trust, will not complain of this digression from the narrative of the Guiana enterprise. It shall now close with a brief mention of that contemplated alliance between the Raleghs and the Bassets of Umberleigh and of Heanton Court (both in Devonshire) which may, possibly, have been the cause of the duel with Finett.

Sir Robert Basset was the great-grandson of Arthur Plantagenet, sixth Viscount Lisle, a natural son of King Edward the Fourth. He was, during great part of his lifetime, a recusant and exiled Romanist, and at all times a staunch adherent to his creed. He is the Basset of whom Prince tells a story which, both for its assertions and its style, is more in the vein of

doting John Aubrey, than of the good old antiquary of Devon. "Sir Robert Basset," writes Prince,—"by his grandmother, descended from the Plantagenets and of the blood-royal,—in the beginning of King James' reign made some pretensions to the Crown of England; but, not being able to make them good [!], was forced to fly into France to save his head. To compound for which, together with his generous mode of living, he greatly exhausted his estate; selling off no less than thirty manors of land; though there is now a fair estate belonging to the heir of the family." And Bassets, I may add, flourish to this day in the lovely vale of the Taw and the Torridge.

Worthies of Devon, p. 114.

Before these troubles, and while the estate, thus curtailed and lopped of so many fair limbs, was yet intact, Basset's heiress was made a ward to Ralegh, and betrothed to young Walter. Her estate, according to a contemporary, was 3,000*l.* a year (virtually equal, it will be remembered, to nearly 15,000*l.* a year now); and "when she was taken from him," he adds, "she was married to Mr. Henry Howard; who died suddenly at table." This Howard was a son of the Lord Treasurer Suffolk. One can well imagine that if a gentleman of the Lord Treasurer's suite chanced to speak saucily in young Walter's hearing, he might meet instantly with a rejoinder. Howard's widow, and young Ralegh's lost betrothed, married, in after days, William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, who professed (says the same 'Observator' on Sanderson's History) "he never would have wedded her, if young Walter Ralegh had been alive; conceiving her, before God, to be his wife. For they were married as much as children could be." The reader will perceive that—after all due grains of allowance for exaggeration—the mere skeleton of the story

Observations on some particular Persons and Passages, &c. (1656), p. 12.

Ibid.

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supplies one motive the more for the Howard enmity and for the Howard covetousness; both of which wrought so powerfully towards the fall of Walter's father.

THE LETTER TO LADY RALEGH.

The calamity at St. Thomas came to Sir Walter's ears on the 1st of February. It was not until the 22nd of March that he found himself equal to a struggle with the sad duty of telling the news to his partner in the lifelong grief. He wrote to Winwood—already at his rest during more than five months past—before he wrote to Lady Ralegh. "I was loth to write," he says, "because I knew not how to comfort you. I never knew what sorrow meant till now." It would have been an easier task to speak of the bereavement, than to write of it. There is no 'breaking' of the sad intelligence which has to come by letter. "I shall sorrow the less," he says, "for I have not long to sorrow, because not long to live." But he tries hard to send a crumb of true comfort by pointing to its only source: "Dearest Bess, I shall sorrow for us both. . . . . The Lord bless and comfort you, that you may bear patiently the death of your valiant son." In that last thought, too, there was a touch of comfort. 'Little Wat' had died as a soldier of England ought to die.

Letter CLV., Vol. II. p. 359.

Twelve days before the arrival of the fatal news from St. Thomas, the English mariners of the main fleet had been assailed, near Terra de Bri, by a party of Spaniards without any provocation. This boat-crew received a volley fired from some twenty muskets, at forty paces; but not a sailor was hit.

Journal (MS. Titus B viii., as before); under Jan. 1618.

Ten days afterwards, another ambush was laid for stragglers from the English ships. And at this time the mariners were less fortunate. One was killed. A cabin-

boy was carried off into the woods. Ralegh—ill as he still was—headed a party, in person, to drive off the Spaniards. Under the eye of the chief that feat was soon achieved. But the lost boy could not be recovered. Both these accidents befell boat-crews belonging to the ship of Sir John Ferne, the captain who figures so conspicuously in the first (or Baconian) stage of the 'piracy' story, and in all the stories about 'French commissions.'

CAREER AND CHARACTER OF SIR JOHN FERNE.

Up to this time Ferne himself seems (as far as there is evidence) to have served his Admiral with loyalty and zeal. Eventually, he proved himself to belong to the half-hearted and half-faithful section of the unfortunate fleet, if not to a worse section of it. His personal history is a curious one, and deserves a word or two in this narrative.

Sir John Ferne had been much in Spain. And, when there in Sir Charles Cornwallis' time, his doings were carefully watched by that Ambassador, and reported to Salisbury at home. From the zeal with which Sir Charles Cornwallis attempted Ferne's religious conversion, it may be inferred that he was, or had been, a recusant. When, at length, he was won to promise that he would come to the Ambassador's house at Madrid, "to prayers and sermons," Cornwallis reports the fact to the Minister at home. But whether the anxiety was, in any measure, that of an evangelist, or merely that of a diplomatist, the context of the despatch scarcely, of itself, ascertains. Presently, we see that the hopeful convert falls away; and then Cornwallis reports him to be entirely under the dangerous influence of Father Cresswell, the well-known Anglo-Spanish Jesuit and plotter. Sir Charles also reports to his Government that, by means of Ferne's "wealth and credit," certain Spaniards indulged hopes of getting together a little

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Despatches of Cornwallis to Salisbury, 1607, &c. (partly in Winwood; partly at Hatfield).

fleet of English corsairs, strong enough "to spoil all ships of the Turks and Hollanders" that sail upon the Mediterranean. At that time (1607) the Ambassador closed his account of this troublesome sailor's Spanish traffic by the suggestive remark: "I suppose that Sir John Ferne tradeth for much more than his own; and *I leave it to be considered by your Lordship.*" The reader will see presently that these antecedents are of some ancillary use in estimating the probable truth of certain statements about Ferne and Ralegh. Possibly, when Ferne is afterwards found to turn fiercely against his Admiral, he may fairly be supposed to act from a mixture of motives at best, and not under mere impulses of patriotism. Nor are they without value in relation to Ferne's previous eagerness to assist the French Huguenots. Sir John is known to have been under some engagement or other with that party in France, at the time of those conferences of Ralegh and Secretary Winwood with the Ambassador, Des Marêts, of which so much has been said by Ralegh's accusers.

See above, p. 592.

RALEGH'S BOTANICAL EXCURSIONS AND NOTES IN TRINIDAD.

The reader knows Sir Walter Ralegh sufficiently well to feel no sort of wonder at the occurrence in his Guiana Journal of indications that some of the anxious days of expectancy at Terra de Bri—expectancy not only of news from the Orinoco, but of the probable appearance of a Spanish fleet, forewarned by Gondomar and by King James of the fine opportunity which would presently offer for an attack on Englishmen—were occupied, when the duty of the day was done, by botanical excursions, and by careful observations of the fauna, as well as flora, of the neighbouring district. In the course of these inquiries, Sir Walter records his having met with a rare plant or two, which in the long lapse of time

have entirely changed their habitat. In Trinidad they would now be sought for in vain. Of the chemical properties of new plants, also, he was still keenly inquisitive. Some of the latest botanical notes which he hastily jotted down relate to the compounding of balsams. These notes were made just before he received the tidings of the saddest bereavement which could possibly have befallen him in Guiana. And with the news of the bereavement came those of the virtual failure of his last worldly hopes. How the death of young Ralegh drew after it the overturn of the expedition has now to be shown.

THE ENGLISH ATTACK ON THE CONVENT OF ST. FRANCIS.

Young Ralegh had fallen in the moment of apparent victory, when the Spaniards were rapidly retreating before the vigorous onset of the Englishmen. Erinetta,[1] by whose hand he died, fell almost instantly. Part of the defeated troops took refuge in a convent—called the monastery of St. Francis—at the opposite end of the village. But the soldiers under George Ralegh and Keymis quickly stormed it. Their surviving enemies took flight; first towards the nearest forest, and eventually to the place to which the women, the invalids, and children had been already taken: for all these had left St. Thomas before the attack made by the Spaniards on the English camp. That the Spanish Governor had fallen in the onset at the entrance of the village the Englishmen learnt from the Spanish priest at St. Thomas—too ill to join in the retreat—who identified his body. Two other Spanish officers had fallen. The priest was protected and cared for, but it was his ill fortune to be forgotten in the hurry of the English departure.

Simon, *Setima Noticia Historiale*, pp. 647–8 (edit. of 1626).

Ibid. p. 642.

1 Called by Captain Charles Parker 'Alisnetto.'—Parker to Alley, in MS. Harl. xxxix. fol. 342.

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THE SPANISH RETREAT TO SEIBA.

Thus quickly had the tables been turned upon the assaulting Spaniards. But the remnant, though in disorder, were not wholly disorganized. Garcia de Aguilar, who had succeeded Palomeque in the command, displayed very soldierly qualities. He seems to have done all that was feasible under the circumstances. One of his first acts after the retreat was to send Geronimo de Grados to remove the women and sick people from their original place of refuge to (as it seems) an island in the Orinoco, called La Ceyva or Seiba.[1] His next act was to form, from amongst the valid inhabitants of St. Thomas, two small troops charged with two special duties. They were to watch for opportunities of killing such Englishmen as should leave the village in foraging parties. They were to watch still more zealously for the prevention as much as might be of intercourse between the English and the natives. If any Indians could not be kept away from the foreigners by terror, they were, if possible, to be shot. Others on whom the Spaniards could rely were made part of the force for defending the camp at Seiba, and for making ambuscades, whenever opportunity offered.

BURIAL OF WALTER RALEGH.

Meanwhile, all the English soldiers were assembled, under arms, for Walter Ralegh's burial. With reversed muskets, trailed pikes, and muffled drums, but with banners outspread, the youth who had died so gallantly, and in whose grave so many hopes were to be buried, went to his rest. He was laid near the high altar in the church of St. Thomas. Captain Cosmer, who had fallen

[1] I infer this to have been so from the Spanish accounts, compared with the geographical notes of Sir Robert Schomburgk, printed in the *Discovery of Guiana*. But, as will be seen presently, the exact identification of the localities is beset with difficulty, even with the help to be derived from Schomburgk's excellent map.

nearly at the same time, was laid near him. For three other of their dead companions in arms graves were made within the nave of the church.

It was on this funereal day that the vessels of Captains Whitney and Wollaston came to the reinforcement of their comrades. The sad news was now sent to the Admiral at Trinidad. And two launches were sent up the Orinoco, under Keymis, to search for the Mine. As they approached the creek which led to the landing-place of Seiba,[1] an ambuscade composed of Spaniards armed

[1] "*Por donde se entrava al sitio de la Ceyva.*" (Simon, p. 648.) There is great confusion about this unlucky 'La Ceyva.' Sir Robert Schomburgk could not make up his mind, definitely, as to its real position. In a note at page 212 he writes thus: "The Guanapo flows into the Orinoco a short distance to the west of the present 'Guayana Vieja,' the site of the town destroyed by Keymis [meaning, of course, the *second* 'San Thome'], and a small laguna is called, to this day, 'Seiba.'" "It must, however, be observed," he adds, "that there is likewise an island of that name in the Orinoco, about six leagues above the mouth of the Caroni." Then, at page 213, he says: "Grados conducted them [the fugitives] to the *island* of Seiba, where it was thought they would be more secure." And, afterwards, he speaks of Keymis' expedition as ascending the river Orinoco "to the *Caño* Seiba, where the women and children would probably have been taken, if Grados had not removed them." From this hesitancy on the part of a writer so familiar with Guiana as was Schomburgk, the reader will see that it is impossible for a mere biographer of Ralegh to describe the incident otherwise than tentatively. The utmost study of the documents can, it is obvious, lead to no certain conclusions, in the absence of personal acquaintance with the country; for, whilst possessing that acquaintance, so able a man as Schomburgk remained in doubt. But it is no less obvious that the movements of Grados, under the instructions of Aguilar—whatever the precise scene and geography of them—must have had a two-fold object. He was to protect the fugitives: he was also to screen the Mines. Whatever may have been King James' confidence "in his own princely judgement, that in Nature there are no such mines of gold," as Ralegh asserted to exist in Guiana, the Spaniards, at all events, were not of that mind.

And, whilst upon this little ancillary topic, I may be permitted to remark, that there is an instructive contrast between the text of James' manifesto [or shall we rather call it Lord Bacon's manifesto?] of 1618, in the original, and that of a certain Spanish translation of it which may be seen among the 'Egerton MSS.' at the British Museum. I therefore print a few

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with muskets, and of Indians armed with arrows, fired at them with such deadly effect that in the first launch—manned, according to one account, with a crew but ten in number—nine of the crew were either killed or severely wounded. Thus crippled by the loss of their consort and by the discouragement of the men in the other launch, Keymis declared it to be necessary to turn back to St. Thomas for more soldiers.

The comrades whom he had left there had, in the meantime, employed themselves in a diligent search for precious metals around that village, with little success, though there is no doubt at all that the Spaniards possessed valuable mines in this immediate district. Although valuable, they were dormant. By lack of labour, the working of them had been long interrupted. This fact the English commander learnt from the Indians.

Letter CLIV., Vol. II. p. 355.

The most resolute men have their moments of discouragement. The most faithful men feel, at some conjuncture or other,—for a brief interval, and against their own better nature and firmest convictions,—as if it were as well, and much easier, to turn their faces to the wall at once, rather than to push on, enduring to the end. In

lines of the text and of the version, side by side. It is the softening down of the unqualified assertion to which I desire to call attention.

BACON'S TEXT:

"His Majesty, in his own princely judgement, gave no belief unto it [*i. e.* Ralegh's assertion] . . . for that his Majesty was well persuaded that in Nature there are no such mines of gold entire, as they described this to be," &c.—*Declaration*, &c., in *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. iii. p. 19.

SPANISH TRANSLATION:

"Su Magestad, quanto a su real juyzio, no dio credito a ello por estar Su Magestad persuadido que naturalmente *no era probable que vuiesse mina de oro de la calidad* que ellos sela pintavan," &c.—*Papeles de Hacienda*, &c. in MS. ADDIT. 14015, fol. 50, verso. (British Museum.)

This MS. has a few corrections in a different hand from that of the scribe. But, usually, it is a mere translation.

one of the most solemn crises of his life, and when writing, as he thought, his last words on earth, Ralegh had said of poor Keymis: "He is a perfectly honest man. He hath endured much wrong for my sake. Be good to him." Yet when Keymis turned his back upon the Mine near Seiba, he knew that it was within a two or three hours' march. It was in his own voyage of 1596 (not during Ralegh's voyage of 1595) that he had thoroughly assured himself of its existence, and had brought away some ingots of its produce. And he knew that bold hearts had many times carried on a more desperate enterprise to a good issue, under losses greater than that just sustained by the fire of the Spaniards in ambush. But he knew, also, that he had left his old commander very near to death. And if the Admiral's life should have been saved, as by a hair's breadth, it had now, he knew, to sustain the shock (whilst yet under all the physical depression of that fierce calenture) of the loss of young Walter. That loss had already cowed the hearts of Keymis' comrades left behind at St. Thomas. *They* had begun, before Keymis' departure, to link together in their minds certain gossip they had heard about Spanish influence at the Court of James and certain experiences already met with in Guiana. To thoughts of that complexion came other thoughts about Ralegh's attainder, and its possible eventual consequences at home. What would ensue upon further hostilities with the Spaniards in searching for a mine the exact position of which (in Keymis' belief, at all events) was as yet unknown to Spaniards? Would more Englishmen fall at once, merely in order to open a rich mine for Spanish miners hereafter? Or would present success in Guiana be attained at the expense of future punishment in England, for killing Spaniards in alleged

Letter CLXIII., Vol. II. p. 386.

Letter CLIV., Vol. II. p. 357.

Letter CLIV., Postscript, Vol. II. p. 357.

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obedience to the commands of a man already dead in law, and very unlikely to live, in fact, long enough to reach home? To Keymis the indulgence of thoughts like these was presently to bring remorse, worse to bear than death itself. Just now, it did but bring doubt and irresolution—more fatal to soldiers than battle or plague. He gave up his enterprise in despair. Only a few days before, this very man had broken to his Admiral the first news of the loss of young Walter, in terms worthy of a faithful servant, and had ended his letter with a prayer to the Omnipotent that He would graciously arm the Admiral's mind "against all extremities" of fortune.

THE ASCENT OF THE ORINOCO UNDER GEORGE RALEGH.

On coming back to St. Thomas, Keymis found that the English forces, although sadly weakened both by sickness and by constant incursions of the Spaniards and Spanish-Indians, were not disposed to quit their undertaking, in all points, without at least another effort. But George Ralegh was bent upon exploring the country with a view to future colonization, rather than gold-mining. And it is probable that he had taken that ply from much converse with the Admiral himself. The mining business had been the special charge of Keymis. With a larger force than that sent under Keymis, and in three boats, George Ralegh now ascended the Orinoco, as far—if the Spanish account is to be trusted, for on that the assertion entirely rests—as its confluence with the Guarico, more than a hundred leagues above St. Thomas. The colonial attractions and advantages of the country impressed George Ralegh as they had impressed, many years before, not only its English discoverer, his uncle, but Sir Robert Dudley, Charles Leigh, and Robert Harcourt, in their successive journeys in Sir Walter's track. But of what avail is "the wisdom, endeavour, and valour of private men, when God takes

Simon, *Setima Noticia*; as before.

Ralegh, in MS. Cott. Titus B viii. fol. 217. (See above, p. 507.)

wisdom from the Magistrate"? The reader remembers under what magistrate those prophetic words were spoken.

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When this final expedition came back again to St. Thomas—with no result save better knowledge of the country—more disease, more privations, more nightly assaults by the Spaniards and Indians, had done their work. Stragglers and prisoners had been in many ways ill-treated, tortured, or killed outright. And on one occasion a desperate effort had been made by the enemy to burn the Englishmen in the lump, and in their beds. They fired St. Thomas in several places. The survivors now resolved to evacuate St. Thomas and return to the Admiral at Trinidad. They had lost nearly half their number. Probably they had lost, by this time, more than half of their English discipline. They took a terrible revenge for that utter contempt of all laws of war in which the Spaniards had gloried, and in the arts of which civilized men professing the Christian faith had shown themselves well qualified to put wild Indians to school. The retreating Englishmen set fire to St. Thomas more effectually than the Spaniards had done. They carried off as booty only 600 reals in money, with a silver basin and some ingots of gold. But with these they obtained a large quantity of tobacco—then a merchandise of great price—little thinking that the chief profit of it was to fall by and by to a certain 'Sir Judas Stukely.' By way of trophies, they took some church bells, church ornaments, and a few trinkets. Father Simon estimates the whole worth to the Spaniards of what was carried away at 40,000 reals. The Englishmen took with them also three negroes and two Indians. One of those Indians reached England, and lived to return to Guiana, to tell his countrymen what he had seen there. But the most precious part of the spoils

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Simon; as before.

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carried by Keymis and George Ralegh to Trinidad was the correspondence between the Court of Madrid and the dead Governor of Guiana, Diego Palomeque de Acuña. When Keymis put those documents into Ralegh's hand, on reaching *The Destiny*, both must have felt themselves to have been men foredoomed when they sailed from Plymouth.

Narrative of Chaplain of Flying Chudleigh, in MS. C. C. C. (Oxford.)

Neither Ralegh nor any of his officers has stated distinctly the number of days during which the occupation of St. Thomas lasted. According to Father Simon's account, it extended over twenty-five days. Ralegh and Keymis rejoined the Admiral at Trinidad on the 2nd of March. It was a sad meeting. There would be small complaint that it had not come sooner.

THE INTERVIEW, OFF TRINIDAD, BETWEEN RALEGH AND KEYMIS.

To whatever additions Keymis was now able to make to his written narrative of young Walter's death the father must have listened with the grief which cannot find words. It was quite otherwise, when Keymis came to tell the story of his refusal to prosecute the search for the Mine. His excuses fell on a deaf ear. His instructions had been precise and imperative. He had disobeyed them. He had not even made that decent amount of effort to fulfil them, which was his plain and bounden duty, under whatever stress of adverse circumstance or hindrance. The Admiral reproached him sternly, and, it may well be, uncharitably. At that moment the interlocutor should have been, not a man, but an angel, to have answered Keymis otherwise than uncharitably. Ralegh told him that the failure had undone them both. "*You* must answer it," he said, "to the King and the State." But remorse had not waited till then to do part of its work on poor Keymis. Against his own remorse he could make little head. Against

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Ralegh's reproaches he tried hard to make a show of fighting. He argued the case and re-argued it, much as a drowning man clutches at the floating straws. At one moment he was full of disputation; at another, overcome by remorse and despondency. One day he shut himself into his cabin, and addressed a long letter of excuse and apology for the failure of the enterprise to one of its ardent promoters in England, the Earl of Arundel. He brought his letter to Ralegh. When the Admiral had read it, the writer asked him to give him a promise that he would countenance the apology. Sir Walter told him that the arguments were fallacies which, already, he had answered over and over again, and to which it was impossible that he should give either countenance or colourable support of any kind. Keymis knew, before he entered the Admiral's cabin, that he was arguing against knowledge and against hope; and when, to the question 'Is that your resolution?' Ralegh had replied, 'It is,' he withdrew with the words, 'I know then, Sir, what course to take.' The Admiral did not, at the moment, suspect his real meaning. But, before they parted, Keymis had passed sentence on himself. And he left no opening for reprieve or respite.

DEATH OF KEYMIS.

Very soon after the interview was over, the Admiral heard a pistol shot. He sent a page to learn its cause. The messenger returned to say that Captain Keymis had called out to him, through his cabin-door, "I have fired it, because it has been long charged." And for the instant, the incident caused no further alarm. But, soon afterwards, a boy, in the course of his duty, went to his master's cabin. He found Keymis lying dead. The pistol-shot had been ineffectual; but he had stabbed himself to the heart.

Apology for the Voyage to Guiana; Works, vol. viii. pp. 494, 495.

Before this act of despair was committed there had

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been tokens of an incipient mutiny in Ralegh's fleet. In England there had also been important proceedings in another phase of the foredoomed cause of Guiana. To them we must now turn, before concluding the story of the incidents of the voyage itself.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS IN CAPTAIN BAILEY'S CASE.

The stout-hearted old Lord Admiral had made the protection of the deserter Bailey somewhat up-hill work at the Council Board, whatever it might be in the King's closet. And long before the January of 1618, James had discovered that even kings must, occasionally, listen to reason, or seem to listen, and that the '*sic volo, sic jubeo*,' is a maxim that will not always suffice, even when Parliaments are abrogated. On the 11th of January, 1618, there was an unusually large gathering in the Council Chamber at Westminster. Many friends and old familiars of Ralegh were present. Arundel and Carew were there. Both of them had, as we have seen, given liberal furtherance to the Guiana enterprise. There, too, was Compton (not yet Earl of Northampton), with whom the last of the happy Christmases at Sherborne—whilst Sherborne was Ralegh's—had been spent. Sir Walter's relative, Lord Zouch, was there. So was Lord Hay, the profuse, open-handed, and open-mouthed Scottish courtier, who, courtier as he was, had given a truthful account to James of the doings at Winchester in 1603, and who, from that day, had shown occasional friendliness towards Ralegh. Coke, too, was there, with a tongue now under somewhat better command, than it had been in those Winchester days. And Sir Julius Cæsar was also present, with some special knowledge of the facts, and with too much honesty of nature to be consciously warped into servility; notwithstanding his personal dislike of Ralegh, and in spite, too, of his

undeniable pedantry, and his prosperous courtiership. For Cæsar was now both Judge of the Admiralty and Master of the Rolls, and had not very long ceased to be Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Bailey's previous examinations, and a certain *Journal*, as he called it, of the Voyage to the Canaries, having been read, and the man himself called in for further examination, the Lords directed this Minute of Council to be recorded: "Their Lordships, having first gravely debated and weighed the matter, and all considerable circumstances thereto appertaining, do, with full consent, agree and conclude that the said Bailey hath behaved himself undutifully and contemptuously, not only in flying from his General upon some false and other frivolous suggestions, without any just cause at all, but also in defaming his said General in the before-mentioned *Journal*, wherein he chargeth him with cousenage, and layeth upon him other foul and base imputations; for which causes their Lordships have thought him worthy of imprisonment for the present, and to be proceeded withal afterwards for his said offences as to justice doth belong."

1618. January 11.

Register Book of the Privy Council, JAMES I., vol. iii. p. 233. (C. O.)

The deserter, it seems, had added to his former offence a declaration that "he could charge Sir Walter Ralegh, and other great ones, with matter of Treason against his Majesty." In 1603 he might have been a useful man. It seemed, for a while, that in 1618 he had overstayed his market. When challenged to allege Ralegh's 'treason,' he said he had nothing to allege, save that, about a year before, he had heard somebody else say that *he*, the then speaker, could charge Sir Walter with treason. And when forced to name the real accuser, he prudently named a man who was already dead. But, eventually, it turned out that Bailey had been rather premature, than tardy.

Ibid.

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GONDOMAR'S INTERFERENCE ON BAILEY'S BEHALF.

The Spanish Ambassador watched the proceedings carefully, and after his wont closeted himself with James. Influence was brought to bear upon the Council. At the moment, it was a delicate business to handle. Directly Bailey found that his powerful protector was at hand, he again waxed insolent. When told that appearances must be kept up, he sent in a "humble petition and acknowledgment of his offence." But to do so went much against the grain. The first petition had to be withdrawn. And even in the second he ventured to write: "*Your Lordships thinking it to be an offence*, your Petitioner doth humbly confess his punishment to be most just," &c. He was liberated on the 27th of February.

Brent to Sir Dudley Carleton; *Dom. Cor.* JAMES I., vol. xcv. § 20. (R. H.) — *Register of Privy Council*, as above, pp. 234, 257, 281, 288. (C. O.)

ABANDONMENT OF THE ENTERPRISE.

Among the items of intelligence which George Ralegh brought to the Admiral from St. Thomas, was included a certainty that the Spaniards on the Orinoco were daily expecting reinforcements. And when the remnants of Ralegh's fleet were thus reunited at Trinidad, under circumstances so full of discouragement, the discontent which had but smouldered during the weeks of expectancy was ready to burst into flame. Some of the captains were already bent on imitating Bailey's example, but with different objects.

Those of the Indians who had had too much experience of Spanish rule, and its contingencies, not to wish success to the Englishmen who had ascended the Orinoco, were proportionately downcast at their failure. Up to the last moment, some of them made attempts to induce an English settlement. But the time for that had gone by.

The two captains who had reinforced the Orinoco expedition on the day of Walter Ralegh's funeral, Whitney

and Wollaston, were the first to desert the main body of the fleet. The precise circumstances are obscure. But both men were bent alike on wreaking some vengeance upon the Spaniards for what they had suffered in their fruitless expedition, and on carrying home some booty to compensate their losses. Whitney was the man for whom the Admiral had sold his personal plate, when about to start from Plymouth. They now told Ralegh, in the course of a somewhat angry discussion, that if he ventured to return to England he was a ruined man. But there is no evidence that at any moment of the voyage homeward he ever blenched or hesitated in his purpose. On that head his mind was fully made up. Return he would, and without avoidable delay. If it were not enough for him that he had left wife and child behind, he had the recollection that he had also left behind him his pledged word. And that pledge had been given, not to James, but to Arundel, to Pembroke, and to Carew.

When the mutiny became formidable, the Admiral pressed strongly the necessity—come what might—that the fleet should keep together. He told the mutineers that *if* they remained united, they might, perhaps, be able to gratify both their desire for vengeance and their desire for spoil. But Whitney and Wollaston, it is plain, believed that Ralegh's harangue about tempting hopes of an encounter with the Mexican Plate Fleet was but an expedient and an illusion. They, at all events, thought that he talked of this encounter merely as a shift to quell mutiny and to stave off desertion. And they ran away.[1]

[1] It deserves remark that in one of the Guiana narratives (that written by the Chaplain of *The Flying Chudleigh*, contained in that Corpus MS. at Oxford from which I have so repeatedly quoted) it is expressly asserted

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NO PEACE WITH SPAIN IN THE INDIES.

In Ralegh's letter to Secretary Winwood (written from St. Christopher) only the fact of the desertion is mentioned. Nothing, of course, is said of discussions about the Plate Fleet. But there is no disguise on the one vital question. War with Spain *in the Indies,* argues Ralegh—whether he is writing to an old friend like Carew, Master of the Ordnance to James; or to Sir Ralph Winwood, Secretary of State to James; or to James himself—is not a question to be discussed; it is a necessity to be buckled to. Englishmen have no choice about it. So had he always argued. "All that have traded to the Indies, *since his Majesty's time,* know that the Spaniards have flayed alive all those poor Englishmen whom they have taken." This is said to Secretary Winwood. "To break peace where there is no peace, it cannot be. *The Spaniards* give us no peace there. The King of Spain, by letter to his Governor [in Guiana], commanded that even *all Spaniards and Indians that trade* 'con los Engleses enemigos' *shall be put to death.* Yea, those very Spaniards which we encountered at Saint Thomas did of late years murder thirty-six of Mr. Hall's men (of London), and mine, who landed without weapons, upon Spanish faith, to trade with them." This was written to Lord Carew. "If it be lawful for Spaniards to murder thirty-six Englishmen—tying them back to back, and then cutting their throats—when they had traded with them a whole month, and came to them on

Letter CLIV., March 21, 1618. (Vol. II. p. 354.)

Letter CLX., 1618. (Vol. II. p. 377.)

that Ralegh gave leave to any captains that pleased to depart from the fleet, when its object could no longer be prosecuted. His own assertion is as expressly to the contrary. The reader must choose between the testimony of the Admiral and that of the good Chaplain,—who certainly was not present at the conference in the flagship. Jones' narrative is of good service in relation to incidents that he saw, and also in relation to the temper and discipline of one of the crews. And for this reason I have quoted it freely. But it cannot be treated as an authority for incidents which passed in the Admiral's ship.

land without so much as one sword amongst them all; and it may not be lawful for your Majesty's subjects, being forced by them, to repel force by force; we may justly say, 'O miserable English.'" This was written to King James.

CHAP. XXV. 1617-1618. Letter CLVI., Sept. 24 1618. (Vol. II. p. 368.)

A great living historian once said of a certain famous event which for half a century had given birth to much shrill indignation: 'Is it not time to cease shrieking, and to begin considering?' Does not some similar inquiry suggest itself, after reading such passages as these in Ralegh's letters of the year 1618, and then reading—whether in books of 1760 or of 1860—disquisitions on Ralegh's breach of trust and contempt of treaties?

In questions about 'Piracy,' and the like, arising out of this Guiana business, might it not be well, in future, before disposing of Ralegh's good fame, to dispose of his facts?

Even under James the First there had been one English statesman by whom facts of that sort were never listened to with unruffled equanimity. Whilst Robert Cecil lived, the mantling blood was apt to rush to the face of one Councillor, at least, as he read of the massacre of Englishmen. 'Blessed are the peacemakers' was a text as dear to Cecil as to James. But he could also call to mind the woe not less righteously denounced against those who cry 'Peace,' when there is no peace. In 1606, for example, he directed Cornwallis to make vigorous remonstrances at Madrid against the sending to the galleys of some Englishmen, whose only crime was that they had openly testified their disbelief of the validity of Pope Borgia's gift of all the Indies, and both the Americas, to the Kings of Spain and Portugal. But the Duke of Lerma knew the limits of Cecil's influence

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over James. He told Cornwallis that the only misconduct in the transaction was that of the Spanish captain by whom the English mariners had been taken. That captain, he said, deserved punishment for not having instantly executed the whole batch. When Cecil read Lerma's answer to his angry expostulation, he must have been much in the frame of mind which, on another occasion, had led him to cry out passionately: 'Would to God I had still to fall on my knees, when attending my Sovereign.'

Lord Cranborne's *Letter Book* (1606), p. 190. (R. H.)

The fatal news from St. Thomas reached London in the second week of May. It had reached Madrid some four or five days sooner. Ambassador Cottington wrote to London on the 3rd of that month that "the Spanish Ministers have advice of Sir Walter Ralegh's landing and proceedings;" but the only remark he then adds is this: "I perceive they are confident he shall find no gold or silver in those parts."

Cottington to Lake; *Foreign Corresp.* SPAIN, 1618, vol. lvi. (R. H.)

GONDOMAR'S INTERVIEW WITH JAMES.

Gondomar's method of proceeding, when he learned the news in London, is among the best known of our Court anecdotes, even in the gossiping days of the Stuarts. Hastening to the Palace, he was told that the King was engaged. He sent a message that, if his Majesty would be pleased to grant him an immediate audience, his business should, literally, be dispatched with a single word. Permission being granted, he presented himself in the Audience Chamber, and, as soon as he came within earshot of the King, cried out,—in the histrionic manner of which he was so consummate a master,—'*Piratas! Piratas! Piratas!*' And so, in quickest fashion, virtually finished off the 'piracy' story. The reader has already had three successive scenes in that brief but tragic little drama. There will be but one scene more.

The King's part was played almost as promptly as the Ambassador's had been, though less neatly. His royal proclamation was *published* on the 9th of June. But its purpose had been in effect achieved, even prior to its publication. Not a moment had been wasted in tarrying for evidence.

THE KING'S PROCLAMATION. 1618. June 9.

In this memorable document the English defence against the Spanish attack on their encampment is described, by the King of England, as "an horrible invasion of the town of S. Thome," and a "*malicious breaking of the Peace which hath been so happily established, and so long inviolately continued.*" Is it possible that Ralegh could have desired a better vindication of his fame than these words supply,—so far as that fame has ever been in question, as between Walter Ralegh and James Stuart, before the bar of English opinion?

Proclamation Book, JAMES I., 1618. (R. H.)

But in this case, at all events, Englishmen have to deal with a surfeit, not a mere sufficiency, of evidence:—

"Your Lordships, as I remember, did offer to be at the charge to transport Kemish into Guiana, with such a proportion of men, in two ships, *as should be able to defend him against the Spaniards inhabiting upon Orenocke, if they offered to assail him;* not that it is meant to offend the Spaniards there, or to begin any quarrel with them, *except themselves shall begin the war.* To know what number of men shall be sufficient, may it please your Lordships to inform yourselves by Captain Moate, who came from Orenocke this last spring, *and was oftentimes ashore at S. Thome, where the Spaniards inhabit.*" This was written to certain Lords of James' Privy Council in 1612.

Letter CXLVIII. Vol. II. pp. 337, 338.

"It was well known to your Majesty that I had a dealing with Captain Faige, ... at Plymouth, *for bringing French ships and men to displant the Spaniards*

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Dom. Cor. JAMES I., vol. ciii. § 16. (R. H.)

at S. Thome, that the English might after pass up to the Mine without offence."[1] This was spoken to James,—through his Majesty's official emissary, Wilson,—in October 1618.[2] The French, it will be remembered, claimed to have national rights in Guiana, as well as Englishmen and Spaniards.

MORE STORMS AT SEA.

The journey homeward had some incidents scarcely less disastrous than those which had made the voyage of 1617 salient, for misfortune, in the annals of seafaring enterprise. The remaining ships of the diminished squadron were once again scattered by storms. As they neared the British shores, they were still far asunder, and made for different ports. Two or three went, in consort, to Ireland.

[1] Meaning by '*offence*,' as the context shows, 'offensive war' on the part of the Englishmen.

[2] I am under no concern to reconcile these passages with the ordinary sense of the words, 'I never made it known to his Majesty that the Spaniards *had any footing in Guiana*' (Letter CLX., addressed to Lord Carew, Vol. II. p. 375), for that strangely misconceived passage has no bearing whatever on the question. As far as regards any elucidation of the matter really in controversy, Sir Walter might as well have said: 'I never made it known to his Majesty that the sun, occasionally, shines at noonday.' The whole intent of that letter to Carew is argumentative and hypothetical. Presently afterwards (and in the same letter) Ralegh writes: "Were this possession of theirs [meaning the 'possession' of Guiana, such as it was] a sufficient bar to his Majesty's right [to Guiana], the Kings of Spain may as well call themselves Dukes of Britanny, because they held Blewet" [Port Louis], "and fortified there." What Ralegh may have understood by 'footing' is a question quite wide of the present mark. Certainly he did not mean 'possession,' for he says, in the next sentence, "The Spaniards have a possession in Guiana." The question is a question of State policy; not a question of verbal criticism. Vigorous as is the reasoning of the letter, its writer was so ill when he wrote it, that he thinks it doubtful 'whether I shall live to come before the Lords.' The lack of argument must be great, when arguers are driven to base their conclusion that Ralegh wilfully deceived King James on the sense to be assigned to the word 'footing,' when employed, in 1618, by a man writing, against time, and under severe bodily sickness, upon a question of life or death.

ARRIVAL OF PENNINGTON AT KINSALE, AND SEIZURE OF HIS SHIP.

Captain Pennington's ship was one of those which put into the harbour of Kinsale. The reader may, perhaps, remember how poor Lady Ralegh had had to exert herself to free Pennington from the difficulties which beset himself and his ship, at the very outset of the voyage in 1617. His specialties of misfortune seem to have pursued him to the end. When the Lord Deputy of Ireland heard of his arrival, he caused the ship to be seized. The Deputy had already received instructions from London, and knew whose pleasure it was that all persons concerned in the Guiana voyage should be punished first, and tried (if trial should prove inevitable) afterwards. Pennington had to run about from Kinsale to Dublin; and from Dublin found himself obliged to pursue the Lord Deputy, on a vice-regal 'progress,' "to his great charges and additional loss," as he uselessly complains. He could get no redress. His ship was dismantled. Part of her equipment was purloined at once, to save time; and he himself had to go to London, to see what could be done there. Meanwhile, his ship was left riding in the roads of Kinsale, "subject upon any little gale to be cast ashore, and broken to pieces." That was the method in which Admiralty business was transacted under James; that, the reception bestowed on English mariners, returning home after hairbreadth escapes from the perils of sword, famine, storm, and pestilence.

Petitions to Privy Council; *Domestic Corresp.* vol. xcviii. § 62. (R. H.)

Ibid.

ARRIVAL OF RALEGH AT PLYMOUTH.

On the 21st of June *The Destiny* arrived at Plymouth. Ralegh's ship was then alone. He caused her to be moored in the harbour, and instantly sent her sails on shore. What was done at Court when the news of Sir Walter's arrival at Plymouth came to London will be seen in the next chapter. When Captain Pennington reached the capital, he was straightway put in prison—

Despatch of P. Contarini to Senate of Venice; June 1618.

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that he might not be too troublesome about wrongs sustained in Ireland.

GONDOMAR'S DEPARTURE FROM LONDON.

Gondomar's work in London was substantially done. It was thought that his presence, for a brief interval, in Madrid would be more useful. On his departure he had mingled the usual cajoleries with more than the usual slightly-veiled threats. James was told, with extra frankness, that if the Ralegh affair should be managed to the satisfaction of the Spanish Minister, and of the Spanish Court, his own dearest projects and wishes would be powerfully seconded at Madrid. And some other little matters which had been talked of between the two Courts, and which—in certain eventualities—might themselves have occasioned difficulty thereafter, would be smoothed down. 'Give us satisfaction in this present business'—such was the virtual sum of the parting words—'and we will give you satisfaction in things near your heart.' The much-desired end could not, as it then seemed, be very far off.

THE NEGOTIATIONS AT MADRID.

Four days after Sir Walter's arrival at Plymouth, Cottington wrote a despatch to Secretary Sir Thomas Lake from Madrid. "Since the writing of my last letter," he said, "the Secretary Ciriça hath dealt very roundly with me, . . . in the name of his Majesty here, aggravating what Sir Walter Ralegh had done. . . . He said that this King had been advised to make some demonstration of the sense he had of the injury, but was now resolved first to hear what answer should be given to his ambassador in England." This was now Don Juan Sanchez de Ulloa, temporary representative of Gondomar in his absence. Cottington adds that some significant steps had been taken in Madrid, by way of diplomatic pressure, if not of 'demonstration.' English subjects could get no sort of redress for any sort of

Foreign Corresp. SPAIN, June 25, 1618. (R. H.)

injury before Spanish tribunals. English creditors could receive no moneys whatever from Spanish debtors. Evidently the Prime Minister at Madrid knew with whom he had to deal.

Gondomar carried with him a letter from the Marquess of Buckingham. James had ordered this letter to be written to Gondomar, at Greenwich, almost at the moment when Cottington was employed at Madrid in drawing up his despatch to Secretary Lake. "His Majestie," wrote Buckingham, "would have your Excellencie to assure the King of Spaine that he wilbe soe severe in punishing them, as if they had done the like spoyle in any of the cytties of England. . . . . Howbeit Sir Walter Raughleigh had returned with his shipp's laden[1] of gould, being taken from the King of Spaine or his subjects, he would have sent unto the King of Spaine back againe as well his treasures as himselfe, according to his first and precedent promise which he made unto your Excellencie, the which he is resolute to accomplish preciselie against the persons and upon the goods of them the offenders herein, it not being soe[2] that he doth understand that the same alsoe shall seem well to the King of Spaine to be most convenient and exemplare that they should suffer *here* so severe punishments . . as such like crimes doth require."[3]

Buckingham to Gondomar, 26 June, 1618; SPAIN, vol. lvi. fol. 57. (R. H.)

[1] So in MS. for "lading."

[2] So in MS. for "if it be not so."

[3] This remarkable State Paper is expressly headed '*Coppy of the Letter of the Marquess of Buckingham;*' but the plain probability, on the face of the document, is that Buckingham wrote it in French, and that this is an official translation (sent to Cottington), not a copy.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FROM PLYMOUTH TO LONDON.

JULY AND AUGUST, 1618.

Ralegh's first Journey towards London.—The Rencontre near Ashburton.—Sir Lewis Stukeley, Vice-Admiral of Devon, and his Commission from the Privy Council.—Return to Plymouth.—Stukeley's Behaviour there, and the reiterated Orders of the Council.—The attempted Escape to France.—The second Departure from Plymouth.—The French Quack, Manourie, and his Account of the Incident at Mr. Drake's House.—Conversations between Manourie and Captain Samuel King.—The last Sight of Sherborne.—Ralegh's Visit to Sir Edward Parham.—His alleged Conversation with Manourie on entering Salisbury.—The Court at Salisbury.—King's Mission to Gravesend.—The Artifice of a feigned Madness, and Ralegh's subsequent Excuse for it.—Manourie's Stories about the fictitious Leprosy, and about a new Project of Escape.—His Assertions about Ralegh's Speeches against the King.—The Conversation at Staines.—Manourie's Confession that he was bribed to bear false Witness.—The Meeting with La Chesnaye, the French Agent, at Brentford.—Ralegh's Confinement in his House at Broad Street.—The Interview with Le Clerc and La Chesnaye.—Stukeley and the futile Attempt to cross the Channel.—Committal to the Tower.—Council Proceedings.—The Excitement in Paris about the Treatment of the French Resident.—Becher's Despatches.—The French Reprisals.

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STUKELEY, VICE-ADMIRAL OF DEVON, AND HIS MISSION TO PLYMOUTH.

LADY RALEGH hastened to Plymouth, on hearing the news of her husband's return. That mournful meeting, and many local matters of business connected with his fleet, kept him employed in Devonshire during two or three weeks. But in the second week of July the Admiral took his departure for London, accompanied by his wife, and by one of his officers, Captain Samuel King. They had scarcely proceeded twenty miles on

their journey, and were but drawing near to the familiar old stannary town of Ashburton, on the skirts of Dartmoor, when they were met by Sir Lewis Stukeley, Vice-Admiral of Devon. Stukeley said to Sir Walter: "I have orders to arrest both you and your ships." After this greeting, the steps of the travellers were speedily retraced. Both captor and quarry returned to Plymouth. Stukeley's mind was much more busied about the fate of the ship *Destiny*, and her valuable equipment and cargo, than about that of her owner. He affected friendliness, and strove to worm himself into Ralegh's confidence.

Stukeley had the King's orders; but, as yet, he was without any Council warrant. His eagerness to turn as much as possible to his own profit,—in his capacity of Vice-Admiral of Devonshire,—the contents and equipment of *The Destiny*, had made him set out from London hastily, and but half prepared. It now gave birth to a series of excuses for delay. For a week or two his correspondence with London contained nothing but pretexts for tarrying at Plymouth. Meanwhile, his prisoner had no knowledge of his commission, save from his own representations about it.

Stukeley was of an ancient and honourable Devonshire family, and of kin with Ralegh.[1] Personally, he was a man of no mark. Neither for good nor for evil was much, at this time, known about him.[2] Had there been any widespread knowledge of the man's real nature,

[1] He was nephew to Sir Walter's dear friend, kinsman, and officer, Sir Richard Grenville, the hero of *The Revenge*.

[2] He had, however,—nearly three years before the date of this employment against Ralegh,—been summoned before the Privy Council on a criminal charge. (*Council Books*, JAMES I., vol. ii. p. 115. C. O.) The disgraceful close of his career, as a convicted felon, very soon after his Judas' work was done, is matter of notoriety.

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part of his mission would probably have proved a failure.

For nine or ten days Sir Walter remained at the house of Sir Christopher Harris, at Plymouth. Two or three of them passed without his ever setting eyes upon his custodian. Those days were filled with many anxious thoughts about the future; and to his own anxieties and forebodings were added those of a fond wife and a faithful servant, whose one common care was to see him in safety from the pursuit of his enemies. Under the pressure of their alarms and entreaties Ralegh empowered Captain King to hire a barque that would carry them to France. King did this, and made the vessel ride at anchor in Plymouth harbour, out of gunshot of the fort. At midnight the two men went out in a boat, for the purpose of embarking. But Sir Walter was now in a great strait. The anxious pleadings of his wife were opposed to the dictates of his own judgment. On reaching Plymouth, his pledge to return was but half redeemed. She thought only of the life that was so precious to her. He had to think of duty, and of fame. When the boat was within a quarter of a mile of the French ship, he determined to return. Next day he sent orders that she should continue to lie in readiness for another night or two; but no further effort was made to go on board of her.

THE FIRST THOUGHTS OF ESCAPE FROM PLYMOUTH.

Samuel King's *Narrative.* (B. M.)

The reader must note the date of this first attempt, or half attempt, to leave England. It occurred after the return with Stukeley, and during the abode with Harris. It is painful to find a man like Bacon foisting into the King's subsequent *Declaration of the Demeanour and Carriage of Sir Walter Ralegh* a deliberate assertion that this first attempt to escape to France was made *before* Stukeley's arrival at Plymouth. The assertion is plainly

BACON'S ASSERTION ABOUT THE ATTEMPTED ESCAPE FROM PLYMOUTH.

false. And it was confessed by Stukeley himself to be so.[1] Unhappily, there is here no room for a supposition of involuntary error. Nor can the guilt of that particular falsehood be laid to the charge of James. The *Declaration* in which it appears was not even of the King's contrivance. The statecraft which gave birth to it came from a more vigorous brain than his. Bacon suggested that document. He penned it, and published it. The purpose of the falsification of date in relation to the project of escape was, obviously, a double purpose. It was to show that Ralegh had forfeited his pledge to Lords Arundel and Pembroke, *before* he had even the excuse of thinking that his life was aimed at by his enemies. It was also to show that his own conscience accused him of having disobeyed the King's commission, and so of having, by his own act, consciously put that life in peril. Bacon, in short, attempted to do to the fame of Ralegh, in 1618, what he had very effectually done to the fame of his own loving benefactor, Essex, in 1601. But in 1601 there had been no need to bring up fiction to the support of truth. It was found to be sufficient to deck the facts in the robes of rhetoric.

See, in Chap. XXVII. hereafter, the talk with Arundel on the scaffold.

STUKELEY'S INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Register of Privy Council, JAMES I., vol. iii. pp. 474, 475.

On the 23rd of July the Privy Council wrote to Stukeley that their Lordships would listen to no word more of delay or excuse. "We command you," they said, "upon your allegiance, that, all delays set apart, you do safely and speedily bring hither the person of Sir Walter Ralegh, to answer before us such matters as shall be objected against him in his Majesty's behalf."

Stukeley quickly sold the then precious tobacco, and

1 "At Plymouth, after he was, by your Majesty's special command, committed to my keeping, he plotted with two French captains . . . to escape in one of their ships."—Stukeley's *Petition and Information*, 1618 (in *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. iii. p. 64, quarto edition).

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MANOURIE, THE FRENCH QUACK.

the other cargo and stores of *The Destiny*. The peremptory instructions of the Council reached Devonshire on the 25th of July, and on the same day the Vice-Admiral set out with his prisoner towards London. He had found at Plymouth a man who promised to be useful to him on the journey. This was a French physician (or more accurately, as it seems, a French quack), named Manourie, who had some acquaintance with chemistry, and who, with the help of that accomplishment, had won Ralegh's favour. Manourie was, in fact, employed by Stukeley, on behalf of the Government; but he pretended to be the attendant of Ralegh. The excitement and anxiety, in lieu of solace, which had awaited the Admiral at Plymouth had produced the natural effects upon his weakened health. He thought that in this Frenchman he had found both a physician who could skilfully prescribe for him and a companion who could beguile the tedium of the journey by conversation about a common and favourite study. By Stukeley, Manourie was easily engaged to double the part of doctor with that of spy. He took to the trade like one that loved it. Almost the first thing he reported to his employer was that he had overheard Sir Walter mutter to himself, when in an angry reverie, and just before their departure from Mr. Drake's house (whither he had been removed from that of Sir Christopher Harris), 'Is it possible that my fortune should thus return upon me again?' These words, said Manourie, were uttered directly after seeing, for the first time, Stukeley's commission, and also the reiterated instructions of the Privy Council.

Declaration, as above; compared with Ralegh's Speech of Oct. 29.

MANOURIE'S CONVERSATIONS WITH CAPTAIN KING.

Ralegh's faithful servant, Samuel King, was fully convinced from the first that his master's life was in danger, and he clung to the idea of an escape to France. Having a Frenchman to talk to on the journey towards London,

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that project was naturally discussed between them. "I wish we were all safe at Paris," said Captain King. So promising an overture was followed up by Manourie in a way which made King think that he would be helpful in the scheme, if opportunity should offer itself.

King's *Narrative*, as above.

THE LAST SIGHT OF SHERBORNE;

Presently Ralegh and his wife set their eyes, for the last time, on the much-loved Sherborne; then in its full summer beauty. He passed near enough to the park to note the growth of his plantations, and to think of the hopes, now blighted, with which every improvement there had been bound up. Probably, even at that moment of anxiety and gloom, had but young Walter lived, Ralegh would not have thought the recovery of Sherborne absolutely hopeless. He had, indeed, yet a son. But he knew the difference between Carew and Walter. The boy who had fallen at St. Thomas had possessed a large measure of his own bold and daring spirit, and something of his energy. That endowment had been given only to one of his children. Having looked, keenly and lovingly, over the beautiful and far-spread domain, Sir Walter said, to Manourie: "All this was mine, and it was taken from me unjustly." There is little reason to think that when the Frenchman reported that 'disloyal' remark to his employer, he was drawing upon his imagination, however much he may have done so upon a closely subsequent occasion.

AND THE VISIT TO SIR EDWARD PARHAM.

In those days of bad roads and unlowered hills the journey from Plymouth to London was a long business. The night before reaching Sherborne had been passed at the house of one familiar Dorsetshire acquaintance, Mr. Horsey (a descendant of Henry the Eighth's Sherborne grantee at the Dissolution); and the next night was passed, close to Sherborne, at Sir Edward Parham's.[1]

[1] Or Mr. Parham's. It is not clear whether the house was that of the

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The servants,—both Ralegh's and Stukeley's,—were lodged in the town. The reader can fancy the local excitement. He can picture to himself the gossip (more or less amicable) between Digby retainers, big with the importance of possession, and old Ralegh retainers and former pensioners, not likely to feel very small so long as their own especial fireside traditions were mingled with the memories of deeds which had stirred the heart of England. Even John Meere was unable to suggest that Ralegh lived as an unpopular man amongst his people at Sherborne. Next day the journey was continued as far as to Salisbury.

RALEGH'S DETERMINATION TO WRITE THE 'APOLOGY FOR THE VOYAGE TO GUIANA.'

When the cavalcade was about to descend the hill after passing Wilton—another haunt of former days—Ralegh dismounted, and desired Manourie to walk with him. His thoughts, it seems, had by this time fallen into another channel. As to the probable issue of events, he had come to be much of the mind of his servant, King. But the thing he was now mainly intent upon was to justify the Guiana expedition, fully and elaborately, to the world. He determined to do it by more than one document, and to more than one address. He knew something of the way in which State Papers were occasionally disposed of, when their contents were deemed offensive or inopportune. He had made up his mind that he would defend his conduct in Guiana in such a manner as that his defence should be quite sure to reach posterity. He would address the King. He would address the Council. He would also address his old friend, Lord Carew of Clopton. Carew, at all events, would be a sure preserver, and a safe transmitter, of the substance of the *Apology for the Voyage to Guiana.*

father or the son. But the son, Sir Edward, was there at the time of Ralegh's visit. Ralegh speaks of the house as his.

Ralegh had now good reason to believe that one cause of the extreme anxiety to have him in London was precisely the desire to prevent him from doing what his mind was made up to do. The only safe means of getting the thing done was to make a pause in the journey. He determined to make that pause at Salisbury. Anyhow, he thought, he would, whilst at Salisbury, be master both of his pen and of its product. But to get time at Salisbury would need a stratagem.

THE CONVERSATION ON APPROACHING SALISBURY.

July 27.

The precise words which he really used to Manourie cannot be known. As the Frenchman reports them, they have plainly a tincture of fable. Yet something that is true may, doubtless, be read (so to speak) between the lines. "Give me a vomit," said Ralegh, according to the Frenchman's version of the conversation. "It will be good to evacuate bad humours. And by its means I shall gain time to work my friends, and order my affairs; perhaps, even, to pacify his Majesty. Otherwise, as soon as ever I come to London, they will have me to the Tower, and cut off my head. I cannot escape it, without counterfeiting sickness, which your vomits will effect without suspicion." Such is Manourie's version of Sir Walter's words as they walked down the hill together, between Wilton and Salisbury. He adds that Sir Walter enjoined him not to communicate what had passed between them to anybody. The conversation occurred on the 27th of July.

There is reason to think that an additional motive underlay the Council's injunction to Stukeley to proceed with all haste to London. The King and Court were on a progress, and were now approaching towards Salisbury. Probably, it was not desired by the courtiers that Ralegh should be there at the same time with the King. On the other hand, there is neither proof nor disproof

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Chamberlain to Carleton; *Dom. Cor.* July 1618. (R. H.)

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whether or not it entered into Ralegh's motives for delay to gain a possible opening for an appeal to James in person. But it does not seem probable that any personal appeal entered, or could have entered, into his plan. A vicarious one did.

When conducted towards his chamber at Salisbury, Sir Walter staggered, whilst walking through the corridor, and struck his head against a pillar. Both by the servants and (for a time) by Stukeley it was thought that this dizziness indicated an approaching illness. Manourie and Lady Ralegh alone were then in the secret. Next morning, Lady Ralegh went on towards her house in London, taking with her most of the servants. For she had come into Devon with a considerable retinue, besides those who were in immediate attendance upon Sir Walter. He also despatched Captain King to London, with instructions to hire a ship there or at Gravesend, that should lie in readiness in the Thames, off Tilbury, for the chance of another opportunity of escape to France.

CAPTAIN KING'S MISSION TO LONDON AND GRAVESEND.

Poor King had many times during the journey bewailed the doubts and misgivings which had induced his chief to row back to Plymouth on the night when escape was so easy. Every stage in the journey had brought fresh news of the power of the Spaniards at Court, and of the certainty that Ralegh's fate was predetermined. Once Sir Walter had replied to King's lamentations over the lost opportunity: "I can blame nobody but myself." "For my own part," continues King, "I was ready to do anything that might procure his safety; being well assured, in my conscience, that though he ought to absent himself till the Spanish fury was over, yet . . . that no misery would make him disloyal to his King or country." "And although," proceeds the faithful servant,

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"Manourie, in his *Declaration*, sets down that Sir Walter should, to him in private, speak ill of his Majesty, yet I must protest, till my last hour, that in all the years I followed him I never heard him name his Majesty but with reverence. I am sorry the assertion of that man should prevail so much against the dead."

Samuel King's *Narrative*, as above.

When both Lady Ralegh and Captain King had departed, a servant came suddenly into Stukeley's chamber, open-mouthed with excitement. "My master," said he, "is out of his wits. I have just found him, in his shirt, upon all fours, gnawing at the rushes on the boards." Stukeley sent Manourie to him, and the Frenchman took that opportunity of administering the emetic asked for. The request, he says, was repeated.

Ralegh himself never had—as far as is known—any sense of humiliation at his strange artifice. His mind was fully possessed with the one idea: 'In spite of King and Council, in spite of courtiers and of scaffolds, Englishmen shall know all about Guiana.' Afterwards, and when he had been bitterly reproached with doing the tricks of a mountebank, he quietly said: "I hope it was no sin. The prophet David did make himself a fool, and suffered spittle to fall upon his beard, that he might escape the hands of his enemies;[1] and to him it was not imputed as a sin." At that moment Ralegh would have defeated his own righteous purpose had he recited the whole of his motive for the artifice. He alleged only this: "What I did was to prolong time till his Majesty came, in hopes of some commiseration from him."

Presently Stukeley came to Ralegh's chamber himself, and felt persuaded that his prisoner was extremely ill.

[1] "And David changed his behaviour before them, and feigned himself mad in their hands, and scrabbled on the doors of the gate, and let his spittle fall down upon his beard." (1 Sam. xxi. 13.)

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THE SIMULATED LEPROSY.

To make the stratagem more completely effective, Manourie gave the patient an ointment which had, almost instantly, the effect of simulating a leprosy. It produced purple pustules, over the brows, arms, and breast, of a most alarming appearance. When Stukeley saw the new symptoms, he went straightway to the Bishop's palace, where at the time the Bishop of Ely (Andrewes) was staying, and told Andrewes into what a frightful state his captive had fallen. The good Bishop sent to Ralegh the best physicians that could be found in Salisbury. They joined with Manourie in signing a certificate that it would not be safe to remove Sir Walter for several days. How long Manourie's real employer was kept in the dark does not appear. Very possibly, Stukeley may have had reasons of his own for being in no extreme haste to get to London, notwithstanding his orders.

It has been said—in the *Curiosities of Literature*—that a portrait of Ralegh, thus strangely spotted like a leper, was painted at the time, and was preserved, at least until within some years of the present century. It is hard to conceive any motive that could have induced an enemy to procure such a painting. If a friend did it, he must have had (one is apt to think) a prophetic appreciation of the value of that indictment of the policy of James, and of James' Ministers, at the bar of English opinion, to which there has been no even colourable plea,—save that of 'Guilty,'—and which might never have been adequately drawn, but for the pantomimic artifice which enabled Ralegh to write, at Salisbury, the *Apology for the Voyage to Guiana*, and its appendant documents.

Be that as it may, time had now been gained for an inestimable service both to our history and to our future polity. And the service was performed with all

the old vigour of an intellect which neither the anguish of past bereavements, nor the fear of sufferings to come, was able to cloud.

ARRIVAL OF THE COURT AT SALISBURY.

Four days after the commencement of the detention at Salisbury, the King reached that city. It was then the 1st of August. Meanwhile, on the intermediate 30th of July the Council Warrant had been drawn for Sir Walter's committal to the Tower. If, in any sanguine moment, he had ever entertained a spark of hope that the King might be moved to justice, or to some appearance of it, the hope must needs have been of that sort which is said to be close akin to despair.

Registers of Privy Council, JAMES I., vol. iii. p. 494. (C. O.)

THE ALLEGED CONVERSATIONS WITH MANOURIE AT SALISBURY.

Manourie represents Sir Walter as saying to him—on that same 1st of August on which the Court came to Salisbury—after having made him a present for his doings: "I will give you 50*l.* a year, if you will do what I tell you. If Stukeley should ask what conference you have had with me, tell him that you comfort me in my adversity; and that I make you no other answer than this which here is written [given him a paper, in French, to this purport]: '*Voilà, M. Manoury, l'acceptance de tous mes travaux—perte de mon estat, et de mon fils; maladies et douleurs. Voilà l'effet de mon confidence au roy.*'"

Then followed, according to Manourie, a long discussion about methods of escape, and a minute disclosure by Sir Walter of Captain King's mission to Gravesend. He also represents Sir Walter, now and afterwards, as full both of lavish denunciations of the King, and of threats of what he himself would do against the King should he recover his liberty. All this remarkable loquacity, suddenly developed in a reticent man, rests upon the testimony of Manourie and of Sir Lewis Stukeley.

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Immediately before his death Sir Walter Ralegh said: "I did never speak to the Frenchman any one disloyal or dishonourable word of the King. *If I had not loved and honoured the King truly, and trusted in his goodness somewhat too much, I had not suffered death.*"

Testamentary Note, MS. Cott. Titus C vi. § 93. (B. M.)

Scarcely had the Court reached Salisbury, before Stukeley received strict orders to prosecute the journey. Onward went the cavalcade towards London. As they passed successively through Andover, Whitchurch, Hartford Bridge, and Staines, there were many gazers, who came to look at a man whose name had long been famous through the length and breadth of England. As they got near to the Metropolis Stukeley's precautions were ostentatiously redoubled. At Staines, asserts Manourie, Ralegh "told me that he saw it would be impossible to escape without gaining Stukeley's connivance." And then, taking from his pocket a splendid jewel powdered with diamonds, "This," said Sir Walter, "is worth 150*l.*; and he shall have 50*l.* in money besides." Manourie says that he carried the temptation to Stukeley, and that his excellent comrade "made show to be content," but "prayed him a little respite, to dispose of his office." Ralegh acknowledges that he "told Stukeley he hoped to procure for him payment of his debts."

Manourie, in Bacon's *Declaration*, &c. p. 31.

Test. note, as above.

MANOURIE'S SUBSEQUENT CONFESSION.

It may well, at once, be added that when Ralegh was dead, the pair quarrelled over their spoils. The serviceable Frenchman then called God to witness that Stukeley had bribed him both to make traps for his captive, and to invent such speeches and proposals as might usefully be given in the way of depositions against Ralegh. And very carefully were they worked up by Lord Bacon in his too famous Declaration.

Universally, or nearly so, the Stukeleys and the

Manouries of the world have been found to injure their employers, and spoil their work, by too much zeal. For humanity, that common fault is a felicity. But it is among the saddest things in our English history that Francis Bacon now placed himself in co-operation with the quack Manourie, and with 'Sir Judas Stukeley.'

THE MEETING OF RALEGH AND DE NOVION AT BRENTFORD.

Before the victim could be got safe to London, another element of toil and trouble had mixed itself up in this already perplexed business of punishing Ralegh, gratifying Gondomar, and paving the way for the Spanish match. The new entanglement grew out of nothing done by Ralegh, or by his agent King. To both of them it came as a surprise. Of this fact we have Lord Keeper Bacon's express acknowledgment, when writing to James—"In what concerns the French, Sir Walter Ralegh was rather passive than active;" and here no testimony can be more to the point than his. At the moment, and for these matters, he was James' most busy Minister.

Bacon to King James; Oct. 18, 1618. (L. P.)

Some powerful persons in France had their own reasons for checkmating the Spaniards in relation to Ralegh, if they could. The details of their proceedings are unknown. But the then French resident in London, Le Clerc, was employed in the effort; and he had, to aid him, a certain David de Novion, Sieur de la Chesnaye. Hence it came to pass that Frenchmen clothed with official powers were, of their own accord, bent on providing Ralegh with means of escape to France, at the very moment when a trusty servant of his own was seeking to procure them in the face of many difficulties.

Registers of Privy Council, JAMES I., vol. iii. pp. 520, seqq. (C. O.)

De Novion came to Brentford, to wait for Ralegh on his approach to London. At the inn he found opportunity to tell him that the French Minister in

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London was anxious to see him, and had intelligence of great moment to communicate. Means of further intercourse were then indicated, and the messenger went his way.

The communication became speedily known to the Government. It excited doubt and alarm, as well as anger. At first all the anxiety had been to get rid of Ralegh with the utmost possible speed. There had been already popular commotion in London about Gondomar and his influence at Court. One of the reasons of his hasty departure from London may have been the desire that he should not be there at the last crisis, in case it should finally be preferred to execute Ralegh at home, rather than give him up to Spain, for execution at Madrid—a method of settling the matter which was also on the cards, as we have seen already in the letter written by the Marquess of Buckingham to Gondomar. Yet something had already transpired at Salisbury which made delay in executing Ralegh necessary to the Court purposes. As soon as the French plot was heard of, a desire for more delay—and more caution—took the place of an immediate thirst for blood. There was now something mysterious to fathom. A longer tether must needs be given to the doomed prisoner. By his means, perhaps,—under due supervision,—matters of political importance, as yet unsuspected, might be discovered. Before he left Salisbury it had been determined that he should go to his house in Broad Street, instead of going, at once, to the Tower. At Broad Street he arrived in the night of Friday, August 7th.[1] On Sunday the 9th

[1] Camden (in his *Annales*) dates Ralegh's arrival on the 9th of August; but undoubtedly he is in error. The Privy Council Register is in agreement with the dates, and with the inferences from dates, given in Bacon's Declaration.

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both of the Frenchmen—Le Clerc and De Novion—paid him a visit there. They told him a barque was provided to carry him over to France, and that a French gentleman should meet him at Calais. Stukeley had received new instructions. And he took the precaution of getting, at Whitehall, a written promise that he should be kept from harm, whatever he might do in the execution of those instructions. It was an official licence from the Secretary of State to go any lengths without fear, so that the part of Judas was played out effectively. The man who had succeeded Winwood at Whitehall was Sir Robert Naunton.

RALEGH IN STUKELEY'S CUSTODY AT BROAD STREET.

Sir Walter Ralegh remained at his house, under the custody of Stukeley, but with great appearances of liberty. He had his own servants and dependants about him, and amongst them Captain King.

Both Manourie—who had now taken his departure, his share in the work being done, though not yet paid for—and Sir Lewis Stukeley represent Ralegh as lavish in his promise of reward, if they would assist in the projects of escape. He was, in fact, an impoverished man, save that he still possessed a few rich jewels, as well as many debts. And it was probably because the spies came to know the fact, and how little it tallied with their statement, that they, or one of them, took the trouble to invent a new story, of another complexion. Stukeley presently said that Sir Walter assured him that both Lord Carew and Lord Hay (James Hay, afterwards Earl of Doncaster) would give liberal sums for his freedom. He rounded off his tale, by asserting that, on one occasion, Sir Walter showed him a letter in which a reward of 10,000*l.* was named.

THE OFFERED REWARDS.

When Ralegh, on his arrival in Broad Street, received

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the report of his trusty servant, Captain King, he found that a ketch was lying for him at Tilbury, under the command of a man who had once served King as boatswain. King's report of the vessel and its master pleased him, and he preferred to go in the English ketch, rather than in the French barque offered by Le Clerc. King's old boatswain, one Hart by name, had already betrayed his employer; but the trusty captain had no suspicion of it. The plan was opened to Stukeley, after the departure of Le Clerc and De Novion. Stukeley promised to join in it with all his heart, and said that he had now made his arrangements to go with Ralegh into France. He gave plausible reasons, too, for his willingness to quit his country.

On the same Sunday evening (9th August) all who were to be of the party left the house at various times, and betook themselves to an appointed place at the river-side, where Hart was to meet them. There Ralegh, attended by one of his pages, and by Captain King; Stukeley, and his son; and Hart, embarked, in two wherries, to be rowed to the ketch. Their departure had been duly watched by Herbert, who was a courtier, a relative of Stukeley, and the man who had previously bought the services of Hart, the ketch's master. Herbert followed them, with a large crew, in another boat. This presently excited Sir Walter's suspicions. When he spoke of his misgivings, Stukeley began to curse and to swear at his evil fortune in venturing his life, and all that he had, with a man 'full of doubts.' King was unwilling to suspect either Stukeley or Hart. He tried to dispel Sir Walter's suspicions. Meanwhile, the watermen became alarmed, in their turn, at the warmth of the discussion amongst their passengers. Their oars idled. The tide was now far spent. It soon became evident

that Gravesend could not be reached till next morning. It had become no less evident that they were, in all sober reality, pursued. The more apparent that fact became, the louder grew Stukeley's protestations of affection and fidelity to Ralegh. He went the length of embracing him in the boat. When, at last, Sir Walter's wherry and its consort turned back, the pursuers turned also. It is a sickening tale, and I spare the reader some of its petty details. They have been many times narrated at length, on the authority of the faithful follower whose single anxiety was bent towards the saving of his master's life. Of his master's honour he had no fears.

THE RETURN TO GREENWICH.

When the two wherries had returned to Greenwich, attended by their still silent pursuers, the mask was thrown off. Stukeley arrested Captain King in his Majesty's name. Sir Walter contented himself with these brief words of reproach: "Sir Lewis, these actions will not turn out to your credit." It gives an aspect of completeness to the story,—regarded as an incident of the administrative economy of England under James the First,—to find that the men to whom King was given in custody, and by whom Ralegh was escorted to the Tower, were in the service and wore the liveries of Buckingham's kinsman, Sir William St. John,—the courtier who had received £750 as a moiety of the price of Ralegh's liberation from the Tower, twenty-eight months before, and who is said to have offered, for a further consideration, to obtain for him a pardon in form.

King took his leave of Sir Walter at the Tower gates. The Admiral knew that his old follower was in no peril of having to suffer more than a very brief detention. After some words of kindly parting, Ralegh said to him: "You need be in fear of no danger. It is I only

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that am the mark shot at." King was made of the stuff which fits a man to follow a worthy leader into prison, or into exile, with affection and respect not a whit abated, but increased. Here he had no such option. But his place in the story was well earned without it. "I was forced," he says, when closing the plain and honest narrative which he gave to the world after Ralegh's death, "to take my leave of him. I left him to His tuition with whom, I doubt not, his soul resteth." There is true refreshment in reading the sailor's homely account of those incidents in the journey from Plymouth and in the futile cruise on the Thames after it has been a duty to read the misrepresentations, and the calumnies, to which the intellect of Bacon debased itself, in order to keep hold, for a few months more, of the power and pelf which were already slipping from his grasp.

COMMITTAL TO THE TOWER.

Ralegh made his final entrance into the Tower of London on the 10th of August. But before entering upon the last scenes—now very close at hand—there is need to glance, for a moment, at the results of the effort on his behalf which had been made by the French Resident.

PRIVY COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST DE NOVION AND LE CLERC.

For nearly a month nothing was allowed to transpire. Another spy had to be employed in the Tower. The last had done his work effectually, but not neatly. 'Sir Judas Wilson' proved, on the whole, a handier tool to work with than 'Sir Judas Stukeley'—as his contemporaries quickly learnt to call him—had shown himself to be. But in September De Novion was taken into custody, and subjected to close and repeated examination. And the Resident, Le Clerc, was requested to attend at a meeting of the Privy Council at Hampton Court. De Novion was kept ready in an adjoining room.

Privy Council Registers, JAMES I., vol. iii. p. 520. (C. O.)

When questioned about his intercourse with Sir Walter Ralegh, Le Clerc confined himself to bare denials. He would admit nothing. When Novion was confronted with him, he persisted in the same course. He simply denied the allegations. James was in another apartment. The Lords withdrew (leaving the French Minister with the Clerk of Council) to make their report to the King. On their return they recorded this Minute of Council: "Their Lordships, having taken his Majesty's further directions, returned again to the Agent, and told him that forasmuch as it now most manifestly appeared—howsoever he denied the same—that he had held secret intelligence and conference, to the notable disservice of his Majesty and the Estate, with one of his Majesty's subjects *attainted of High Treason*, and since detected of other heinous crimes, for which he was committed to safe custody and guard, and that he the said Agent had practised and offered means of escape unto a person standing in such terms with his Sovereign as it was well known unto him Sir Walter Ralegh then did, that therein he had apparently violated the Law of Nations. In regard whereof he had deprived himself of that benefit and privilege which as to a Public Minister was, by the Law of Nations, otherwise due unto him. And therefore that his Majesty's pleasure was [that], until he [King James] had advertised the King, his master, of this his foul offence and misdemeanour, which he purposed forthwith to do, the said Agent should, in the meantime, retire to his house, and forbear henceforwards to negotiate anything or to do any act as a Public Minister or Agent."

Registers, &c., as above, p. 521. (C. O.)

Great was the indignation with King James when the news of his treatment of Monsieur Le Clerc came to Paris. Both Ministers of State and on-looking poli-

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EXCITEMENT IN PARIS AT THE TREATMENT OF M. LE CLERC.

ticians treated with scorn the allegation that, whatever might have been the intercourse between their representative at London and Sir Walter Ralegh, that intercourse had been held with a notorious "misdemeanant and traitor." They already knew quite enough of the course of events in England to be aware that but, as it were, the other day, this 'traitor' had been put at the head of a fleet of fourteen ships, and clothed with powers of life and death over a hundred gentlemen, some of whom were of the noblest blood in England, or in Europe. And they knew that he had but just returned to his country. King James' fulmination provoked no alarm; it only gave birth to ridicule. But his insult to their ambassador was returned, in kind.

THE REPRISALS IN FRANCE.

Sir William Becher's despatches contain a pitiful account of his sorrows and perplexities. He tried very hard to thrust the Hampton Court version of the affair with Ralegh on the acceptance of the French statesmen. He had to make many attempts to get a hearing. He was made to give attendance at their convenience, not at his own; and to run about, greatly to his discomfort, from one place of audience to another. "When I was at Soissons," he says, "I did not know whether they held me as a freeman or as a prisoner." At a morning sitting they offered him reasons to show that Sir Walter Ralegh must have sought the intercourse with their Resident, and that the blame of it—whatever that might be—ought to be borne by him. At an afternoon sitting they acknowledged that the documents produced to them showed conclusively that Sir Walter had not, indeed, sought it, but had only listened to Le Clerc's proffers. But "it is manifest," they then said, "by the whole process of these proofs, that *our Agent is not even so much as accused to have had any intention to do his*

Majesty any disservice; but only to draw service for him, against the Spaniard. This is no such great matter [of complaint] . . . . but might well have been dissembled[1] in a Public Minister. It is apparent," they continued, "that Sir Walter Ralegh had both a ship ready, and a design to escape in it, without [the interference of] our Agent. And Sir Walter was so much at liberty that he could be visited in his own house . . . *whereby our Agent might well judge that he was a prisoner, . . rather to content the Spaniards, than for any interest of his Majesty.*"

Sir W. Becher to Sir R. Naunton; *French Corresp.* vol. clviii. ff. 134, 135. (R. H.)

Manourie received his reward, from the Exchequer, in November.[2] Stukeley had to wait until Christmas.[3] Manourie received £20. Stukeley received £965. On the day of Ralegh's committal to the Tower, the jewels and trinkets about his person were seized. They were all—with one exception—delivered to Stukeley; whether as a payment in advance, or as a trust to be accounted for at the Exchequer, I know not. Amongst them was a diamond ring, which had been given to Sir Walter by Queen Elizabeth. The excepted jewel was a miniature portrait, richly set with diamonds, of which Sir Allen Apsley took charge, at Sir Walter's express request. The Queen's ring had been worn down to the time of this last arrival at the Tower. The record does not state whose miniature it was which Ralegh was anxious to

Inventory of Jewels. (R. H.) See Vol. II. p. 496.

[1] I am uncertain of this word, but it seems to be the reading of the MS. Sir W. Becher, of course, is writing, in English, of conversations which were held in French. The sense, obviously, is "might well have been excused."

[2] "1618. Nov. 9. To Willm. Mannourry, a French physician, being lately sent for from Plymouth, £20."—*Pells Order Book*, 1618. (R. H.)

[3] "Dec. 29. To Sir Lewis Stukeley, for performance of his service and expenses in bringing up hither, out of Devonshire, the person of Sir Walter Ralegh, £965 6*s.* 3*d.*"—*Ibid.*

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keep sacred from the touch of Stukeley. But the reader of the letter which had been written, on the 22nd of the preceding March, from St. Christopher's, and of that which was yet to be written, on the 29th of the coming October, from Westminster, will be at no loss to form a satisfactory conjecture.

CHAPTER XXVII.

OLD PALACE YARD.

AUGUST—OCTOBER, 1618.

The Report to Madrid of Ralegh's attempted Escape and Re-apprehension. —Proceedings on the Guiana Charges before the Privy Council.—An Incident at Windsor.—Character and Mission of Sir Thomas Wilson. —The Dispute about the Tower Keys.—Wilson's Reports of Ralegh's Conversation.—Sir John Ferne's Accusation.—Ralegh's Letters to the King and to Buckingham. — Imprisonment of Lady Ralegh. — The Queen's Intercession for Sir Walter, and his Poetical Address to her. —Spanish Orders as to the Mode of Ralegh's Death.—Bacon's Advice to James on the same Subject.—The hurried Departure from the Tower. —The Appearance in the Court of King's Bench.—Grant of Execution under the Winchester Verdict of 1603.—Ralegh's Plea for Delay.—Its Motive, and its Refusal.—The Day in the Westminster Gatehouse.— Conversations with Dr. Tounson, Dean of Westminster.—Last Interview with Lady Ralegh.—Testamentary Notes.—Preliminaries of the last Scene.—The Speech on the Scaffold.—Dialogue between Ralegh and the Earl of Arundel on the Promise to return from Guiana.—The last Words.—The Burial in the Chancel of St. Margaret's.

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THE REPORT TO MADRID OF THE ATTEMPTED ESCAPE AND RE-APPREHENSION OF RALEGH.

AS soon as Ralegh was safely lodged in the Tower of London, with an apparatus of new opprobrium wherewith to assail his fame, the English Ambassador at Madrid was instructed to make a due report of the service that had been so skilfully rendered to the Spanish King. When apprising Naunton of the manner in which he had discharged the mission, and with the reception given to him at Court, Sir Francis Cottington wrote thus: "I acquainted the Secretary here with the escape which Sir Walter Ralegh intended to have made, and

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Foreign Corresp. SPAIN; Sept. 1618. (R. H.)

also with his apprehension and imprisonment again in the Tower; and withal that, not to detain his Majesty [the King of Spain] from his sports, I had not imparted it to him. He said he was sorry I had not told the King of it; but that he would instantly tell it him; for that he knew it would be welcome news."

There were still two main objects of pursuit in relation to Ralegh, either of which made it necessary that for many weeks to come he should continue to be a prisoner. There was the tortuous inquiry into his alleged negotiations and intrigues in France. There was also a desire to signalize yet further James' devotion to the Court of Madrid, and to show that he was willing to go almost all lengths as a promoter of Spanish policy, so long as he thought there was a fair prospect of obtaining for Prince Charles the Spanish Infanta, and with her that half-million sterling, "besides the jewels," by the help of which James hoped to defy his Parliament.[1] The manner in which Ralegh was to be turned to the best profit at Madrid involved a long diplomatic correspondence. Ultimately, it was determined that the Spanish Government should have its choice of two several modes, in either of which it might wreak its vengeance upon its old enemy. In the Queen's days Ralegh had a hundred times braved the power of Spain. Even in James' day he had several times held up to the open scorn of Englishmen the mysterious and subtle plots of Spaniards. If Spain should now prefer to dis-

[1] Sir John Digby's instructions about the marriage negotiations in 1617 were drawn up but a few weeks before the date of Ralegh's embarkation at Plymouth. On the money point they are a model of huckstering. "As marriage-portion," said the King to Digby, "you are to demand two millions of crowns, and you are not to descend lower than so many crowns as may make the sum of £500,000, besides the jewels." (*Foreign Correspondence*, SPAIN, vol. lv. fol. 139. R. H.)

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play its final triumph by the public execution of Ralegh at Madrid, James was willing to give him up. If, on the other hand, Spain chose rather that James himself should be the minister of its behest in London, then, too, he would be found no less promptly obedient. The choice would involve some delay. Delay was also necessary in order to the inquiries about the agency of the Frenchmen.

And there was yet another point in which Ralegh, it was thought, might be turned to account. The successors of Salisbury and of Suffolk had ventured to accuse those statesmen of tampering with the jewels of the Crown immediately after the death of Queen Elizabeth. It was desirable to see if Ralegh could say anything which might give colour to the accusation.

But ten days had not passed from the date of the committal to the Tower, before persons who had connections at Court were talking and writing of the certainty of the catastrophe; whatever might be its destined scene and circumstances. "It is generally thought that Sir Walter Ralegh shall pay this new reckoning *upon the old score*." So, for example, wrote Chamberlain to Ambassador Carleton at the Hague, as early as on the 20th of August.

Domestic Corresp. JAMES I. (R. H.)

Sir Walter was thrice examined, upon interrogatories, by a Committee of the Privy Council.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST RALEGH IN THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

At one of these sittings, held on the 17th of August, a formal charge was made by the Attorney-General Yelverton. By way of key-note, Mr. Attorney told their Lordships that "never was subject *so obliged to his Sovereign*, as Sir Walter had been." In entire consistency with the amount of truth in that naïve assertion, the Attorney-General proceeded to say—in

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the peculiar jargon which to Yelverton supplied the place of English—"Sir Walter, not weary of his fault, but of his restraint, gave comfort of a golden mine; said that no man knew it, but himself; no man could come at it, without him; no man could execute the business, but himself."

Notes, by Sir J. Cæsar, of the Charge by Mr. Atturney Generall, &c.; MS. Lansdowne, cxlii. ff. 412, seqq. (B. M.)

The reader has already seen the most conclusive proofs that each several clause of this opening paragraph contains a distinct falsehood. The King's Government had been told that the discovery of the Mine was Keymis' discovery, not Ralegh's. This was said to Lords of James' Council at least as early as in the year 1612. The reader has also seen that, at that period, Keymis, not Ralegh, was almost on the point of being sent to Guiana, at the head of an expedition, in the fitting out of which several Lords of the Council were to take shares; whilst Sir Walter himself was to remain a prisoner in the Tower.

Letter CLXVIII., Vol. II. pp. 337 339.

MS. Lansdowne, as above, fol. 413. (B. M.)

Of like truth were the charges that "he never intended a mine; carried no pioneers nor instruments towards that business; and gave none order to his men to seek the Mine." "St. Thomas," proceeded Yelverton, "belongeth to the Spaniards; they possess it; Sir Walter's company assail it; and by direction from Sir Walter had a commission from the French [King] to assail Spaniards. When he saw that the town was taken, and yet got little by it, he resolved to revictual himself, and then make his voyage upon the Mexico Fleet."

The Solicitor-General followed in a similar strain of invective against Sir Walter's effort to escape to France. "His actions beyond sea," said the Solicitor, "showed his want of love and duty; his actions since at home show his want of fear and duty;" and he then proceeded to charge the defendant, most especially, with "vile and

dishonourable speeches, full of contumely to the King." He supported the charge by reading the written statements of Stukeley and of Manourie.

Ralegh prefaced his reply by these expressive words: "I do verily believe that his Majesty doth, in his own conscience, clear me of all guiltiness in regard to my conviction in the year 1603." And he then proceeded to answer, word for word, to the accusations of Yelverton. He asserted that not only did he "intend a mine," but actually carried with him miners, mining-tools, refiners, and assaying apparatus, the cost of which stood to him, in all, about £2,000; that the force he sent was a defensive force, not an aggressive one; that the instructions sent with it were that his men should keep between the Spaniards and the Mine, if it were possible; and, further, that he never abandoned his forces, as Sir John Ferne had alleged and the Attorney repeated. He denied before the Council, as he had always denied before the world, that the Spaniards had any rightful 'possession' of St. Thomas.

To the accusation of contumelious speeches against the King Sir Walter answered that he had said: "My confidence in the King is deceived." He then added: "That I used other ill speeches of his Majesty I deny." Then he went on to answer the charge about the Spanish fleet: "That I once proposed the taking of the Mexico Fleet, if the Mine failed, I confess." The last admission was made after testimony had been heard from Sir Warham St. Leger and Captain Pennington.[1] This

1 "Being confronted with Captens St. Leger and Penington, he confessed that hee proposed the taking of the Mexico Fleete, *if the Mine failed.* See the Letter dated 12 Julii, 1618, in the Counsell Booke." (MS. Lansd. as before.) I have searched for the letter thus referred to in vain. The reader will not fail to notice the important clause in this report, *if the Mine failed.* If the report be authoritative, it materially affects the defence.

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accusation, indeed, Ralegh repeatedly admitted. And he always alleged that he made the proposition "in order to keep the fleet together." This production of St. Leger and Pennington, as the reader perceives, is the 'piracy' story in its latest phase.

AN INCIDENT AT WINDSOR.

Whilst these investigations were still in progress, a great commotion was excited one day at Court by the sudden appearance of an unknown Frenchman, who thrust himself very near to the King's table whilst James was sitting, publicly, at dinner in Windsor Castle. This man was a Provençal, and it was presently discovered, or fancied, that he had been in the service of the Duke of Guise. He had committed no offence, save that of exciting alarm by the fact that nothing was known about him; but he was sent to prison. And special pains were taken to learn whether or not he had called on the French Resident or on Lady Ralegh.

Naunton to Sir T. Wilson; *Domestic Corresp.* JAMES I., vol. xcix. (R. H.)

WILSON'S EMPLOYMENT IN THE TOWER.

Meanwhile it was determined to try if anything could be wormed out of Sir Walter by more subtle means than those of formal interrogatory, and by less dignified persons than Lords of the Council. The agent chosen for the attempt was an old hand at the trade of spy. He had shared in the business of the plots of 1603. But at that time his part was wholly played behind the curtain. For some fifteen years Sir Thomas Wilson had now been in the receipt of a considerable pension, for "service done in Spain." What that service was, only two or three Englishmen knew. When Wilson was made Keeper of the State Paper Office, he still preserved the memorials of his service, in two parcels of documents. One contained his reports to his employers "written out of Spain;" the other was endorsed 'Private Letters to Lord Cobham.' But he seems to have taken

Domestic Corresp. Various, Bund. 129, No. 136, seqq. (R. H.)

care that neither the one parcel nor the other should come down to posterity.

THE COMMISSION FROM THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Sir Thomas Wilson superseded Sir Allen Apsley in the special custody of Ralegh's person on the 9th of September. A Council warrant directed the Lieutenant to provide Wilson with "convenient lodging within or near unto the chambers of Sir Walter Ralegh." To Wilson himself, another warrant gave direction that Sir Walter should be kept "safe and close prisoner, in the condition as[1] he was committed; not suffering any person to have access . . . or speech with him, but in your hearing, nor any at all but such as of necessity must attend him for his diet, and such ordinary occasions as close prisoners usually have, and not otherwise. Whatsoever," proceeded the Council, "you shall observe worth our advertisement you are to acquaint us with, from time to time, as becometh you."

Registers of Privy Council, JAMES I., vol. iii. p. 509. (C. O.)

WILSON'S CHARACTER AND FORMER PURSUITS.

What might not become Wilson it would be hard to say. In Elizabeth's reign (far more than in James') there was a real necessity for Secretaries of State to work, occasionally, with very dirty tools. Wilson's first introduction to Sir Robert Cecil, in days long bygone, had been curiously in harmony with his present employment at the Tower. The Secretary had been shown, in the course of business, some letters addressed by Wilson to another Privy Councillor. "I, too, should like to hear from you, now and then," Cecil wrote to him, after reading those letters; "let me know where I may send to you a present." Wilson (not then 'Sir Thomas,' for men of his stamp were not wont to get knighthood at the hands of Elizabeth) took the hint, and made himself useful; especially, I believe, in regard to the plots of exiled recusants. Cecil paid him liberally; and, at a

Sir R. Cecil to Wilson; *Cecil Pap.* (Hatfield.)

[1] So in MS.

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later day, made him Keeper of State Papers. There is no evidence that Ralegh knew anything about the nature of Wilson's 'secret service' under the Queen. His letters to Lady Ralegh, and her replies, tend to show that he was quite in the dark about it.

WILSON AND SIR ALLEN APSLEY.

Wilson's first step at the Tower brought him into collision with the Lieutenant. Sir Allen Apsley had assigned to Sir Thomas a lodging above that of the prisoner of whom he was to take charge. The spy, with the arrogance which is so common an accompaniment of baseness, wished that Ralegh should be sent up higher, that he might himself be more at his ease in the apartment beneath. Sir Walter, says Wilson, replied, when the change was proposed to him, "I will not go thither, unless you carry me up by force." Sir Allen Apsley refused to proceed to such extremities. Wilson betook himself to petitioning the Council. And he tried to enforce the Lieutenant to give into his custody the Tower keys; alleging that without the control of the keys he could not answer for his prisoner. Apparently, the attempt failed. It is probable that he saw presently the impolicy of beginning his mission with a quarrel. That by some means or other he induced Ralegh to talk with him freely, or with seeming freedom, is certain.

THE DISPUTE ABOUT THE KEYS OF THE TOWER.

WILSON'S REPORTS OF RALEGH'S TALK.

As the conversations proceeded, they were reported to the King. Of some of them Wilson gave an account in personal audience. Of others he sent minutes to Secretary Naunton. He stuck at no artifice, and at no lies, in the effort to obtain Ralegh's secrets. "I told him," he says himself, "that if he would but discover what he knew, the King would forgive him, and do him all favour." Wilson's reports of the conversations are voluminous. Yet they contain little that is important, even were it possible to trust the reporter. There can

be small room for doubt that, after the fashion of craftsmen of his stamp, he both overrated his powers of deception, and overacted his part as deceiver.

Among his various artifices he had recourse to the interception of letters written by and to Lady Ralegh. And, with the help of Secretary Naunton, means were found to induce the wife to write one or more letters to the husband, on particular points of inquiry, for the express purpose of intercepting his answer. As might well be anticipated, there was also no lack of useful tools among the disaffected portion of the Guiana adventurers. In this capacity Sir John Ferne was conspicuous. He accused his chief (according to the old story) of an 'intention to be a pirate,' and also of an intention to enter the service of the French King. But after Ferne, Wilson, and Naunton had done their best, the net result was still accusation unsupported by proof. And such it continues to be.

Letter CLIII., Vol. II. pp. 371–373.

FERNE'S ACCUSATION.

From the resolute vindication of the Guiana enterprise itself Sir Walter never really swerved. In the Tower, as at Salisbury, he protested the lawfulness of repelling force by force, and asserted that, if there were any validity in the Spanish pretensions to the exclusive possession of Guiana, the secret search for a gold mine there was as much a criminal enterprise as open conflict with Spanish soldiers. This was said, repeatedly, to the King himself.

RALEGH'S LETTERS TO THE KING;

If the letter addressed to Buckingham—the original of which appears to be lost—be truthfully printed, it does less honour to Ralegh's memory than any of the other letters on the same subject. It partakes more of an appeal to mere compassion. It apologizes, much more than seems to be needful, for the abortive effort to escape to France. More strangely still, it asserts the

AND TO BUCKINGHAM.

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formation, whilst he was yet at Plymouth, of a resolve to renew the Guiana enterprise, even with a single ship, had it been possible. "To make his Majesty know," writes Sir Walter, "that my late enterprise was grounded upon a truth; which, with one ship speedily set out, I meant to have assured, or to have died." This, truly, seems a marvellous statement; and a very rash one.

Letter CLIX., Vol. II. p. 374.

The letter to Lord Carew, on the other hand, is the deliberate utterance of lifelong convictions. It defends the Guiana expedition upon principles of national policy, and by arguments which have never been answered. It is in accordance with representations which had been repeatedly urged upon Elizabeth's administration twenty years before. It is also in accordance with certain formal acts even of James' own Government (at moments when it was not wholly overridden either by cowardly fears, or by foreign intrigue), as well as with the ripest conclusions of public opinion in England.

Letter CLX., Vol. II. pp. 375–380.

The letter to Lord Buckingham represents nothing more than a transient state of personal feeling. And the men who should insist on judging Ralegh by it, or by any like document,—if any such exist,—ought to be men who have never known weakness, who are free from all liability to error, and who are quite sure that they would show themselves proof against every temptation of human anguish.

IMPRISONMENT OF LADY RALEGH.

Lady Ralegh had been made a prisoner, in her own house, within ten days of Sir Walter's recommittal to the Tower. In accordance with the practice of the age, she was committed to the custody of a wealthy London merchant. On men of that class, as well as on the magnates of the realm, public burdens were then laid in many fashions besides that of subsidies. A

certain Mr. Wollaston had been forced to take up his abode in Ralegh's house, and to be responsible for the lady's safe keeping, from the 20th of August until the 10th of September. After three weeks of it he fretfully represented to the Privy Council his "many great occasions and affairs," and their Lordships transferred his burden to another merchant, named Richard Champion, who, in his turn, was ordered to take charge of Lady Ralegh "as the King's prisoner, and not to suffer any person to have access unto her, save only such as you shall, in your discretion, think fit." Then the Council added: "We will and command you to take likewise into your custody those three or four other persons which you shall find named in a warrant to Sir Thomas Lowe, wherewith you are to acquaint yourself." One of these, I believe, was De Novion. All were connected, in some way or other, with Ralegh's affairs.

Registers of Privy Council, JAMES I., vol. iii. pp. 510–512. (C. O.)

The imprisonment, too, was accompanied by spoliation. With that cynical contempt of the rudiments, not of justice only, but of public decency, which makes the study of the documentary history of James' reign so nauseous a process that the student seems to himself to need some special purification after it, the furniture and equipments of Lady Ralegh's abode were seized, and portions of them were placed under lock and seal. Lady Ralegh, in her time of sore affliction, had to petition the Privy Council for the use of household chattels and household linen.

Ibid. p. 512

If the reader should chance to turn from perusals of this sort to some sentimental and tear-fraught narrative or other of the subsequent sufferings of fugitive Stuart princes, in their days of woe, he may perhaps be apt to think that those romantic stories might usefully receive a prosaic appendix or two, by way of pointing a better

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moral. What befel Lady Ralegh is but one instance out of a thousand like occurrences under the rule of King James. And the stain of such acts rests on James, personally, for many reasons. Often he expressly commanded them. He always took delight in learning their details. He gloated with base vindictiveness on what he foolishly thought to be the humiliation of his enemies. And he has had his reward.

THE INTERCESSIONS OF THE QUEEN.

Queen Anne, meanwhile, retained her old friendliness towards Ralegh. It was publicly known about town, within a very few days of his return to the Tower, that the Queen had made renewed intercessions on his behalf. But they were fruitless. She was herself drawing near to death, and she had already outlived her influence over the King. She knew that other intreaties were usually far more powerful with him than hers. And she strove earnestly to obtain them in aid of her own.

Ralegh, on his part, felt, as it seems, uncertain whether or not the calumnies which had been cast so lavishly on his late enterprise, as well as on his behaviour since his return, had produced any unfavourable effect on the Queen's mind. He addressed to her, from the Tower, a remarkable petition in verse. It ran thus :—

PETITION, IN VERSE, TO QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK.

" O had Truth power, the guiltless could not fall,
Malice win glory, or Revenge triumph.
But Truth, alone, cannot encounter all.

Mercy is fled to God, which Mercy made ;
Compassion, dead ; Faith, turn'd to Policy.
Friends know not those who sit in Sorrow's shade.

For what we sometimes were, we are no more ;
Fortune hath changed our shape, and Destiny
Defaced the very form we had before.

All love, and all desert of former times,
Malice hath cover'd from my Sovereign's eyes,
And largely laid abroad supposèd crimes.

But Kings call not to mind what vassals were;
But know them now as Envy hath described them:
So can I look on no side from Despair.

Cold walls, to you I speak; but you are senseless.
Celestial powers, you hear, but have determined,
And shall determine, to my greatest happiness.

Then unto whom shall I unfold my wrongs,
Cast down my tears, or hold up folded hands?—
To Her, to whom remorse doth most belong;

To Her, who is the first, and may alone
Be justly call'd, the Empress of the Britons.
Who should have mercy, if a Queen have none?

Save those that would have died for your defence.
Save him whose thoughts no treason ever tainted.
For, lo! destruction is not recompense.

If I have sold my duty, sold my faith,
To strangers,—which was only due to one;
Nothing I should esteem so dear as death.

But if both God and Time shall make you know
That I, your humblest vassal, am opprest,
Then cast your eyes on undeserved woe;

That I, and mine, may never mourn the miss
Of Her we had, but praise our living Queen,
Who brings us equal, if not greater, bliss."

Transcribed, by David Laing, from a MS. formerly at Hawthornden.

As is well known, these were not quite the last poetic lines which came from Ralegh's pen. To write verses was amongst the occupations of his latest hours of life. But these are nearly the last. And they were answered by almost the last effort to do an act of kindness for which Anne of Denmark was to have time and opportunity. She wrote to Buckingham the familiar note which survives to show at once her own generous impulsiveness of heart, and the foul state of things at White-

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hall, which made it necessary for a Queen Consort to appeal to her husband through the influence of a Court minion like Villiers.

Tanner MSS. (Bodleian, Oxford); printed in Ralegh's *Works*, vol. viii. p. 771.

Buckingham's influence, however, was pre-engaged. There is much reason to believe that it was to him that Gondomar had addressed, in the preceding November, the letter without superscription which is now known only by Archbishop Sancroft's transcript of it. Anyhow, it is certain that at this time his mind was fully bent on the Spanish match, and that his power had been exerted to make James increasingly subservient to Spanish policy.

THE SPANISH ORDERS AS TO THE MODE OF RALEGH'S DEATH.

About the 15th of October, the reply to the courteous offer made, through Gondomar, at Madrid, was received in London by Gondomar's temporary substitute in the embassy, Sanchez de Ulloa. It was dated at the Escurial, October 5th (corresponding with our own 24th of September). In this despatch, Ulloa was directed to apprise King James that Philip the Third would be better pleased to have Ralegh executed in England, than to have the trouble of executing him at Madrid. It was also intimated that the punishment ought to be immediate.

King of Spain to Sanchez de Ulloa; Translation in *Dom. Cor.* JAMES I., vol. xcix. § 74. (R. H.)

On the receipt of the Spanish instructions Sir Thomas Wilson was dismissed from his charge. His work was done. There is no Minute of Council which formally records any preceding change in the custody of Lady Ralegh, but it was to Wilson that the Secretary of State addressed the warrant for her release; from which fact it may be inferred that she too had been brought to the Tower. Her discharge from custody occurred, as I believe, on the very day upon which Don Sanchez signified to the Secretary the receipt of his—and King James'—orders from the Escurial. All that now remained was

Naunton to Wilson; Oct. 15, 1618. (R. H.)

BACON'S ADVICE TO KING JAMES ON THE FORMS OF EXECUTION.

to give a legal colour to the execution of those orders. On that point Bacon was instructed to confer with his fellows, the law officers of the Crown.

The Lord Chancellor betook himself to his share in the work with the utmost zeal. After the conference, he told King James that they were all of opinion that Sir Walter Ralegh, being already "attainted of High Treason, cannot be drawn in question judicially for any crime since committed." He then proceeds to say that the King might issue his royal warrant for the execution upon the conviction of 1603, and at the same time publish a "narrative of Sir Walter's late crimes and offences in print." And then, bethinking himself that print and prerogative might scarcely sound well together, in the royal ears, he humbly suggests his perfect consciousness that his Majesty is not bound to give any account of his actions; and he rests the recommendation of a published narrative simply on the ground that Ralegh's "late crimes and offences are not yet publicly known."

Bacon to King James, Oct. 18, 1618; *Bacon Papers*. (L. P. Autograph.)

There was yet another course, continued Bacon, which would have the advantage of being, in the look of it, "nearest to a legal proceeding." It is, he explains, that Sir Walter Ralegh "be called before the whole body of your Council of State and your Judges." He was then to be told that this form of procedure was taken with him "because he is already civilly dead. After this, your Majesty's Council learned is to charge his acts of hostility, depredation, and abuse;" and so on. "But for that which concerns the French, wherein he was rather passive than active, and without which the charge is complete, we humbly refer to your Majesty's consideration how far that shall be touched; . . . and the rather because no sentence is or can be given." It was after-

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wards suggested to the King that Bacon's exposition of the law was unsound. Ralegh might have a pardon to plead: and he must have an opportunity of pleading it. Bacon, in his eagerness to do the King a pleasure, and to flatter the King's notion of prerogative, had strained the law. His eagerness had even made him counsel the doing of two things which were mutually incompatible. The "acts of hostility" were wholly alien to the matter in hand.

Finally, it was determined that this semblance of "a legal proceeding" should be taken in the Court of King's Bench. There the Attorney-General was to produce the record of conviction, and to signify the King's pleasure that it should now be carried into effect. And the prisoner was to be asked what he had to allege in stay of execution.

THE DEPARTURE FROM THE TOWER.

On the morning of the 28th of October Ralegh took his last leave of the Tower, but, most probably, without knowing it to be so. The summons was hurried, and so was the departure. He was suffering severely from a fit of ague, when obliged to leave his bed. As Sir Walter passed along the corridor an old servant followed him, who had no part in the retinue for Westminster. Anxiously accosting his master, he begged to remind him that the combing of his head had been forgotten. "Let them kem[1] it that are to have it," replied Sir Walter, with a smile. And then, to bring a smile on the man's face too, he said to him: "Dost thou know, Peter, of any

Pory to Carleton; *Dom. Cor.* JAMES I., vol. ciii. (R. H.)

[1] The use of words already old-fashioned to most of his contemporaries, and obsolete to many of them, was Ralegh's habit. Pope, it will be remembered, was wont to regret the needless disuse in his day of "words which wise Bacon and brave Ralegh spake." It was also a peculiarity of Ralegh—all-accomplished scholar and life-long courtier as he was—that to his dying hour he spoke with very much of the distinctive accentuation which belongs, in its fulness, to unsophisticated natives of grand old Devon.

THE APPEARANCE IN THE COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

plaister that will set a man's head on again, when it is off?" And went his way.

When asked by Chief Justice Montagu, after the reading of the record, if he had anything to say to the Court, Ralegh replied:—"All I can say, my Lord, is this: The judgment I received to die, so long since, cannot now, I hope, be strained; for since it was his Majesty's pleasure to grant me a Commission to proceed on a voyage beyond the seas, wherein I had martial power on the life and death of others, so, under favour, I presume I stand discharged of that judgment. By that Commission I gained new life and vigour; for he that hath power over the lives of others must surely be master of his own. Under my Commission I undertook a voyage, to do honour to my Sovereign, and to enrich his kingdom with gold, of the ore whereof this hand [and here he raised his hand] hath found and taken in Guiana. But the enterprise, notwithstanding my endeavours, had no other issue than what was fatal to me,—the loss of my son, and the wasting of my whole estate."

GRANT OF EXECUTION, UNDER THE VERDICT OF 1603.

Here the Chief Justice interrupted him. Montagu had no inclination to follow Bacon's lead by saying, with one breath, 'You are a man civilly dead, and therefore incapable of new offences;' and then, with the next breath, 'You are a man civilly dead, and you have now committed anew such and such gross crimes.' The matter of Guiana, said the Chief Justice, is foreign to the purpose. The Commission does not infer a pardon, because "Treason is a crime which must be pardoned by express words, not by implication." Sir Walter replied: "If that be your Lordship's opinion, I can only put myself upon the mercy of the King. His Majesty, as well as others who are here present, have been of

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opinion that in my former trial I received but hard measure. Had the King not been exasperated anew against me, certain I am that I might have lived a thousand years, before he would have taken advantage of that conviction." The Court then granted execution. "My Lords," rejoined Ralegh, "I desire thus much favour, that I may not be cut off suddenly; but may have some time granted me before my execution, to settle my affairs and my mind, more than they yet are. I have something to do in discharge of my conscience; and I have somewhat to satisfy his Majesty in. I would beseech the favour of pen, ink, and paper. . . . . And I now beseech your Lordships that, when I come to die, I may have leave to speak freely at my farewell. And here I take God, before whom I shall shortly appear, to be my judge, that I was never disloyal to his Majesty, which I shall justify where I shall not fear the face of any king on earth. And I beseech you all to pray for me."

RALEGH'S PLEA FOR DELAY: ITS MOTIVE;

AND ITS REFUSAL.

Before the hearing at Westminster Bacon had drawn the warrant for execution, had obtained the King's signature, and had set to it the great seal. The injunction from the Escurial was to be obeyed, by permitting no return to the Tower; by the instant erection of the scaffold in Old Palace Yard; and by the King keeping himself away from the capital, so that no new petition, no renewed intercession, could come to him. There was fear, too, that a great concourse at an anticipated execution might be attended with possible perils. It had therefore been predetermined that the hearing at Westminster should be immediately followed by the beheading, despite all entreaty, at an early hour of the very next morning. That was the morning of the Lord Mayor's pageant, which would be sure to draw

the London crowd eastwards. Before anything could be generally known of the doom—to quote contemporary words—"of one of the worthiest Englishmen that England ever bred," that doom would have been fulfilled. The decision and the forecast were alike worthy of the King and the courtiers who made them.

THE HOURS IN THE GATE-HOUSE.

To this end, Ralegh was carried from Westminster Hall to the adjacent Gate-house of the ancient monastery. It was a small two-floored building of the age of Edward III., erected merely for the use indicated by its name. But one storey of it had long been used as the prison of the liberty of Westminster, and the other as a prison for convicted Romanist recusants. It had been a favourite exploit of Gondomar to clear it, from time to time, of its prisoners, by obtaining their grace from the King. He had done so just before his last departure. One of the Gate-house inmates, so liberated, had just been canonized in Spain.

Before it ceased to be a prison, this Westminster lodge was destined to receive several other famous Englishmen. Amongst them were to be numbered Eliot, Hampden, and Selden. It had, before 1618 (as I believe), received, for many days, a conspicuous contemporary and friend of Ralegh, Ben Jonson. But there is no record that rare Ben anticipated his friend by writing within those dismal walls any immortal verses. Sir Walter's very few hours of confinement in the Gate-house were made memorable to Englishmen by the lines—

> "Even such is Time, that takes on trust
> Our youth, our joys, our all we have," &c.

And the example was followed, in the next generation, by a gallant Cavalier poet. For it was in the same Westminster Gate-house that Richard Lovelace penned

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his '*Stone walls do not a prison make.*' Men were living but, as it were, the other day, who could call to mind the sight, in childhood, of the monastic building, around the grey walls of which a long series of associations such as these still clustered.

Many friends flocked to the old lodge to take their final leave, as the news of Ralegh's doom came to spread amongst the courtiers and their connections. Many others had no intelligence of what was passing, until all was over. One old acquaintance, Sir Hugh Beeston of Cheshire, was met by Ralegh in Palace Yard, during the short transit from the Hall to the Gate-house. Ralegh had a strong apprehension that the King had ordered means to be taken either to prevent him from speaking, or to hinder the near access of those who might desire to listen. "You will come to-morrow morning?" inquired Sir Walter, of his old comrade from Cheshire. "Certainly," was the reply. "But," rejoined Sir Walter, "I do not know what you may do for a place. For my own part, I am sure of one. You must make what shift you can." Amongst those who came presently into his narrow prison was his kinsman, Francis Thynne. "Do not carry it with too much bravery," said Thynne, on observing the buoyant and even mirthful spirit of the doomed man. "Your enemies will take exception, if you do." "It is my last mirth in this world," replied Sir Walter. "Do not grudge it to me. When I come to the sad parting, you will see me grave enough."

Pory to Carleton; *Dom. Cor.* JAMES I., vol. ciii. (R. H.)

CONVERSATIONS WITH DR. TOUNSON.

Somewhat similar to this feeling expressed by Thynne was, for a moment, the thought of the good Dean of Westminster, who attended Ralegh in the Gate-house, by desire of the Privy Council. It does not appear that between Sir Walter and Dr. Tounson there had been

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any previous acquaintance. "When I began," says Tounson, "to encourage him against the fear of death, he seemed to make so light of it that I wondered at him. When I told him that the dear servants of God, in better causes than his, had shrunk back and trembled a little, he denied it not. But yet he gave God thanks that he had never feared death. . . . . I wished him not to flatter himself; for this extraordinary boldness I feared might come from some false ground. If it sprung from the love and favour of God, and the hope of his salvation by Christ, and his own innocency [referring to what had previously been said about the conviction of 1603, and meaning innocency of the crime for which he was to suffer death], then he was a happy man. But if it were out of any humour of vainglory, or carelessness of death, or senselessness of his own state, then were he much to be lamented." The Dean proceeds to say: "He satisfied me then; as I think he did all his spectators at his death." Elsewhere Dr. Tounson writes: "He was the most fearless of death that ever was known, and the most resolute and confident; yet with reverence and conscience."

Tounson to Esham; Appendix vii. of Vol. II., pp. 489–492.

Among the subjects of his conversation with the Dean of Westminster in those busy last hours was the Guiana business, and especially the charge of breaking the 'Peace with Spain.' "How," he asked, "could I break peace with a king who within these four years took divers of my own men, bound them back to back, and drowned them? As for burning the town, it stands upon the King of England's own ground. I did him no wrong in that." Some of our historians have striven hard to make merry at Ralegh's persistent clinging to an English domain in Guiana, as accruing out of the bargain with old King Topiawari in 1595. But it needs

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something more potent than a sneer to meet the argument. And those jocose writers are oblivious of the fact that some of the noblest colonial possessions which have made Britain what she is have had a less valid origin.

THE LAST INTERVIEW WITH LADY RALEGH.

Of the parting with Lady Ralegh it is hard to speak. She had buoyed herself with hopes till almost the moment of the final meeting in the Gate-house. But, before she went, some friend broke to her the news, and told her that the Lords of Council, though they had refused intercession with the King for her husband's life, would empower her to bury him. It was then late on Thursday. It had yet to be told to her that early on Friday morning she would be a widow. But the clownish brutality native to James became an unmeant mercy. During that brief space of time, Ralegh's thoughts were much bent upon the final vindication of his fame before the world. Into that channel he forced himself to turn his wife's thoughts also. And her love was stronger than her grief. He told her that he could not trust himself to talk about their dear little Carew. Thoughts concerning him must be left unspoken. Speech would but make the parting too hard for both of them. As they were conversing together about Lady Ralegh's task, in the event of her husband's misgivings being realized by the forcible prevention of his intended address from the scaffold, the Abbey clock told them that it was already midnight. She knew that it would be another act of wifely love now to leave him alone; and she compelled herself to go. Her last words were to tell him of the message about the disposal of his body. Then the passionate anguish would no longer let itself be restrained. But the loving purpose of departure was firmly kept. "It is well, dear Bess," said

Chamberlain to Carleton; Nov. 7, 1618. (R.H.)

Sir Walter, with a parting smile, "that thou mayst dispose of that dead, which thou hadst not, always, the disposing of when alive."

Presently that true-hearted wife wrote to her brother, Sir Nicholas Carew, in these words: "Let me bury the worthy body of my noble husband in your church at Beddington, where I desire to be buried. The Lords have given me his dead body, though they denied me his life. This night he shall be brought to you with two or three of my men. Let me hear presently. God hold me in my wits!"

Lady Ralegh to her brother; Vol. II. p. 413.

Meanwhile Ralegh employed himself in writing his last Testamentary Note. One such paper had been already written while he was yet in the Tower. In that document he had given some directions about matters still in contention with Meere of Sherborne, and with Pine of Mogelie. He also expressed certain wishes about the arrangement of claims arising out of the Guiana expedition.

THE TESTAMENTARY NOTES.

See Vol. II. pp. 493–495.

In the final note he made a brief epitome of his answers to the accusations of Ferne, Stukeley, and Manourie. He took measures for its sure preservation, so that it might eventually be published, should he be prevented from speaking freely.

Very early in the morning he received the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. His manner was very devout, and also very cheerful. After it, Dr. Tounson had again much earnest conversation with him. "Your assertion of innocency," said Tounson, "is an oblique taxing of the justice of the realm." "Nay," said Ralegh, "I confess that by course of law I must justly die; but you must give me leave to stand upon my innocency in the fact."

Before he left the Gate-house a cup of sack was

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brought to him. The bearer asked if the wine was to his liking. "I will answer you," said Sir Walter, "as did the fellow who drank of St. Giles's bowl, as he went to Tyburn: 'It is good drink, if a man might but tarry by it.'"

THE LAST SCENE.

Ralegh was ushered to the scaffold by the two sheriffs, and attended by the Dean of Westminster. The space, it would seem, had been narrowed by barriers, and, for its artificial limits, the throng of spectators seemed a considerable one. At all events, there were people enough to induce a bystander to speak afterwards of the crowd as a 'great multitude.' Sir Walter, as he passed along, noticed a venerable-looking man standing uncovered, and with a very bald head. He spoke to him. Taking from his own head a nightcap of cut lace, which he wore beneath his hat, he threw it to the aged man with the words, "You need this, my friend, more than I do." There was a good deal of movement in the crowd, and all the arrangements had been hurried. Ralegh himself was somewhat pressed upon, and when he had ascended the scaffold he was for an instant nearly breathless; but he bore himself erectly, and his face was smiling.

1618. Oct. 29.

If James and his advisers had really intended to hinder their victim from free speech, the attempt was foiled, without effort of his. The grand old peerage of England was now far from being what Ralegh, even in his time, had known it to be. But it still included men who were not mere courtiers. And some of them were there. The Earls of Arundel, Oxford, and Northampton (the Lord Compton of former days, just raised to that earldom) stood in a balcony. Other peers sat on horseback. Amongst the commoners who were present was

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a descendant of the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, and a grandson of the Lord Treasurer Burghley. There was also present a more notable Englishman than any who has yet been named. To his dying day John Eliot never forgot, or forgave, the death he now witnessed. He, too, was to die the death of a pioneer of English freedom, victorious in defeat. And it was to be his fate to die in that "Tower darkness," for his delivery from which he now heard Ralegh thank God so earnestly.

When he began to speak, Ralegh found difficulty in so raising his voice as to satisfy himself that he could be heard in the balcony in which his old friends Arundel and Compton stood. "I have had fits of ague," he said, "for these two days. If, therefore, you perceive any weakness in me, ascribe it to my sickness, rather than to myself. I am infinitely bound to God that He hath vouchsafed me to die in the sight of so noble an assembly, and not in darkness, in that Tower where I have suffered so much adversity, and a long sickness. I thank God that my fever hath not taken me at this time, as I prayed to God it might not." Having proceeded thus far, he explained to the Lords in Sir Randolph Carew's balcony his fear about the audibleness of his voice; and was answered, "We will come down to you." Then they came upon the scaffold, and, after many hand-shakings, Sir Walter resumed:—

Sancroft's transcript of a contemporary account, in MS. Tanner (Oxford).

THE SPEECH ON THE SCAFFOLD.

"There are two main points which, as I conceive, have hastened my coming hither, of which his Majesty hath been informed against me. The first, that I had some practice with France. And the reason which his Majesty had so to believe was, first, for that, when I came to Plymouth,[1] I had a desire in a small barque to

1 Sancroft's MS. reads: "when I first arrived at Plymouth." But it is evidently a corrupt reading. The reader has seen, in the last chapter, the

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have passed to Rochelle; and after, because the French Agent came to my house here in London. But, as ever I hope to see God, or to have any benefit or comfort by the Passion of my Saviour, I never had any practice with the French King, or his Ambassador or Agent; neither had I any intelligence from thence; neither did I ever see the French King's hand or seal, as some report, [asserting that] I had a commission from him at sea. Neither, as I have a soul to save, did I know of the French Agent's coming to my house, till I saw him in my gallery. It is not now a time either to fear or to flatter kings. I am now the subject of Death, and the great God of Heaven is my Sovereign, before whose tribunal-seat I am shortly to appear. And therefore have a charitable conceit of me. To swear [falsely] is an offence; to swear falsely—at any time—is a great sin. So to call God to witness an untruth is a sin above measure sinful. But to do it, at the hour of one's death, in the presence of Almighty God, before whom one is forthwith to appear, were the greatest madness and sin that could be possible.

"The other matter alleged against me," continued Ralegh, "is that I should have spoken some disloyal, dishonest, and dishonourable words of the King. Mine accuser is a runagate Frenchman, who, having run over the face of the earth, hath no abiding place. This fellow, because he had a merry wit, and some small skill in chemical medicine, I entertained, rather for his taste

evidence of King, which fixes the date of the hiring of the French barque. And the very construction of this sentence itself, towards its end, shows that the scribe has erred. The words '*and after*' are in antithesis to the word '*first*:'—"*first*, for that when I was at Plymouth," &c.; "*and after*, because the Agent," &c. Another report reads thus:—"When I came back from Guiana, being come to Plymouth, I endeavoured to go to Rochelle," &c.

than his judgment. He perjured himself at Salisbury;[1] revealing that, the next day, the contrary of which he vowed to me the day before. But by the same protestation I have already made, and as I hope for my inheritance in heaven, I did never speak any disloyal, dishonourable, or dishonest words of the King. If I did, the Lord blot me out of the Book of Life. Nay, I will now protest further that I never thought such evil of him in my heart; and therefore it seemeth somewhat strange that such a base fellow should receive credit.

"Touching Sir Lewis Stukeley, he is my countryman and kinsman; and I have this morning taken the Sacrament with Master Dean, and I have forgiven both Stukeley and the Frenchman. Yet thus much, I think, I am bound in charity to speak of it, that others may take warning how they trust such men. Sir Lewis Stukeley hath justified before the Lords that I told him my Lord Carew sent me word to get me gone, when I first landed. I protest, upon my salvation, neither did my Lord Carew send me any such word, neither did I tell Stukeley any such matter. He accused me, again, that I should tell him that my Lord Carew and my Lord Doncaster would meet me in France, which was never my speech nor my thought. Thirdly, he accused me that I showed him, in a letter, that I would give him £10,000 for my escape. I never made him offer of £10,000 or £1000. If I had had half so much, I could have done better with it. I did show him in a letter that if he would go with me his debts should be paid when he was gone. For as to my seeking escape, I cannot

[1] Sancroft's MS. here reads: "at Winchester, *in my former troubles*." Obviously, the reporter or the original scribe, having first miswritten 'Winchester' for 'Salisbury,' supplied the added words to give apparent coherence. Manourie's name is not mentioned in any account of the trials at Winchester.

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deny it. I had advertisement that it would go hard with me. I desired to save my life. And as for that I did feign myself sick at Salisbury, and by art made my body full of blisters, to put off the time of coming before the Council, I hope it was no sin. The prophet David, a man after God's own heart, did feign himself mad, and let the spittle fall down upon his beard. I find not that recorded as a fault in David; and I hope God will never lay it to my charge. I hoped by delay to gain time for obtaining my pardon.

"But Sir Lewis Stukeley did me a further injury, which I am very sensible of, howsoever it seem not much to concern myself. In my going up to London we lodged at Sir Edward Parham's house. He is an ancient friend and follower of mine, whose lady is my cousin-german. There Stukeley made it to be suggested unto me, and himself told me, he thought I had some poison given me. I know it grieves the gentleman there should be such a conceit held. And as for the cook who was suspected, having been once my servant, I know he would go a thousand miles to do me good.

"For my going to Guiana, many thought I never intended it, but intended only to gain my liberty,—which I would I had been so wise as to have kept. But, as I shall answer it before the same God before whom I am shortly to appear, I endeavoured, and I hoped, to have enriched the King, myself, and my partners. But I was undone by Keymis, a wilful fellow, who seeing my son slain, and myself unpardoned, would not open the Mine; and killed himself.

"It was also told the King that I was brought by force into England, and that I did not intend to come back again. I protest that when the voyage succeeded not, and that I resolved to come home, my company

mutinied against me. They fortified the gunroom against me, and kept me within my own cabin; and would not be satisfied except I would take a corporal oath not to bring them into England, until I had gotten the pardons of four of them,—there being four men unpardoned. So I took that oath. And we came into Ireland, where they would have landed in the north parts. But I would not, because there the inhabitants were all Redshanks. So we came to the south; hoping from thence to write to his Majesty for their pardons. In the meantime, I offered to send them to places in Devon and Cornwall, to lie safe till they had been pardoned."

RALEGH AND LORD ARUNDEL.

At this point of the speech Sir Walter turned towards Lord Arundel, who stood upon the scaffold, and then resumed: "I am glad that my Lord of Arundel is here. For when I went down to my ship, his Lordship and divers others were with me. At the parting salutation, his Lordship took me aside, and desired me freely and faithfully to resolve him in one request, which was, *Whether I made a good voyage, or a bad, yet I should return again into England.* I made you a promise, and gave you my faith, that I would."

Lord Arundel here answered: "And so you did. It is true that they were the last words I spake unto you."

THE SPEECH RESUMED.

Ralegh then proceeded to say: "Other reports are raised of me, touching that voyage, which I value not." [Here he said a few words on some minor points, and then concluded:] "I will yet borrow a little time of Master Sheriffs to speak of one thing more. It doth make my heart bleed to hear such an imputation laid upon me. It was said that I was a persecutor of my Lord of Essex, and that I stood in a window over against him when he suffered, and puffed out tobacco in disdain

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of him. I take God to witness that my eyes shed tears for him when he died. And, as I hope to look in the face of God hereafter, my Lord of Essex did not see my face when he suffered. I was afar off, in the Armoury, where I saw him, but he saw not me. And my soul hath been many times grieved that I was not near unto him when he died, because I understood [afterwards] that he asked for me, at his death, to be reconciled to me. I confess I was of a contrary faction. But I knew that my Lord of Essex was a noble gentleman, and that it would be worse with me when he was gone. For those that set me up against him, did afterwards set themselves against me."[1]

This question about Essex had been pressed on Ralegh, in the course of the conversations at the Gatehouse, by the Dean of Westminster.

Having thus spoken, he addressed himself to prayer, and, in a very earnest manner, begged for the prayers of all who heard him. "I have many, many sins for which to beseech God's pardon," he said. "Of a long time, my course was a course of vanity. I have been a seafaring man, a soldier, and a courtier, and in the temptations of the least of these there is enough to overthrow a good mind, and a good man." "I die," he presently added, "in the faith professed by the Church of England. I hope to be saved, and to have my sins washed away, by the precious blood and merits of our Saviour Christ."

RALEGH'S LAST WORDS.

The executioner then kneeled to him for the forgiveness of his office. Ralegh placed both his hands on the man's shoulders, and assured him that he forgave him with all

[1] In this speech I have very much followed Archbishop Sancroft's transcript, preserved amongst the Tanner MSS., but have collated it with other reports. No known report can, I think, be trusted exclusively.

his heart. "Show me the axe," he added. He had to repeat the request before the man obeyed it. Touching its edge with his finger, to feel its keenness, and then kissing the blade, he said: "This gives me no fear. It is a sharp and fair medicine, to cure me of all my diseases." And presently he added: "When I stretch forth my hands, despatch me."

Once more he turned to the right and to the left of the scaffold, with a parting salutation, and said again: "Give me heartily your prayers." At this moment the executioner cast down his own cloak (with which he had concealed the axe), so that the victim might kneel on that, after taking off his own velvet robe. Then Ralegh knelt, finally, for his parting prayer, and awaited the death-stroke that was to follow it. There was something, it seems, in the scene that moved the headsman beyond the wont of his craft. When Ralegh extended his hands, the man forbore to strike. He stretched them forth again. The man still hesitated. "What dost thou fear?" said Ralegh. "Strike, man, strike!" So he spake; but it was noticed that his prostrate body remained as motionless as a statue. His lips were seen to move in prayer. And then the head fell. There were two blows, but the first was mortal.

The head was then shown to the people, on both sides of the scaffold. The crowd had long stood in breathless silence. And its general shudder was perceptible. One man in the throng was heard to say, almost instantly, "We have not such another head to be cut off." Another rejoined: "I wish such an one were on Master Secretary's shoulders,"[1]—alluding to Buckingham's poor tool

[1] According to another report, this saying was uttered, at a later hour of the same day, in St. Paul's Church, by a goldsmith named Edmund Wiemark. But the version in the text seems more probable.

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THE BURIAL AT ST. MARGARET'S.

Naunton, who was well known not to have owed his place to his brains.

The head was then put into a red bag, and with the body (wrapped in the robe which it had worn on the scaffold) was carried to Lady Ralegh. What it was which caused her to alter her first intention, for the burial at Beddington, is unknown. There is no evidence that her request was refused. But she interred her husband's body near the altar in the chancel of St. Margaret's Church, in sight of which he died. She caused the head to be embalmed, and never parted with it whilst she survived. Bishop Goodman tells us, in his *Memoirs*, that during Lady Ralegh's lifetime he had many times kissed it. Nor did their only son, it is said, permit its burial, until he was himself carried to his own grave beside his father.

There is a tradition that at length the head was interred at West Horsley Church, in Surrey. But the fact is more than doubtful. As will be seen hereafter, it is against probability.

For a long time no inscription was placed above the grave of Ralegh. The spot was marked, I believe, by the armorial bearings of its tenant. In after years a wooden tablet was erected. This was eventually replaced by a tablet of brass. Its inscription reads thus: "*Within the Chancel of this Church was interred the body of the great Sir* WALTER RALEIGH, *on the day he was beheaded, in Old Palace Yard, Westminster, October* 29, 1618. *Reader, should you reflect on his errors, remember his many virtues; and that he was a Mortal.*" The tablet thus inscribed is of a date so recent as 1845. Whether this new inscription repeats an older one, or is of the composition of the restorer, I have failed to discover.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CONQUESTS AFTER DEATH.—CHANGES IN ENGLISH OPINION CONCERNING RALEGH.

Cottington's Report at Madrid of the Execution in London.—Resolution of the Spanish Council of State in acknowledgment of the Obligation conferred on them. — Reception of the News in France. — Instructions to Sir William Becher.—The public Feeling in London.—The Omissions of Ralegh's dying Speech.—Bacon's Apology for King James.—Ralegh's former Unpopularity, and its Causes. — People and Populace.—The Contrast in the Demeanour of the London Crowd in October 1603 and in October 1618.—Ralegh and *The Monarchy of Man*.—Stukeley and his Successor in the Vice-Admiralty of Devon. — The Spanish Match and Journey of 1623. — Ralegh and Hampden.—Ralegh's Posthumous Share in the Debates of the Carolinian Parliaments.—Ralegh on the Stage of the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre.—Jacobite Views of Ralegh's Character and Career.—Misstatements of David Hume.—Their Sources and Influence. — Ralegh and some modern Romanist Historians. — Ralegh's Influence on Maritime Enterprise and Colonization.

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REPORT OF RALEGH'S EXECUTION TO THE COURT OF SPAIN.

GONDOMAR was at the Spanish Court at the time of the execution in Old Palace Yard. He was so impatient for an announcement to the King of the crowning proof of his successes in England, that he importuned Sir Francis Cottington to wait for no formal despatch from Naunton or from Buckingham. Defying for the moment the etiquette of diplomacy, he induced Cottington to carry the news to Court, as soon as it had been received from Matthew de Quester, the 'Reuter' of that day. "I told the King of Spain," writes the English Ambassador to Buckingham, "of the justice which the King my master had commanded to be done,

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and expressed, in the best terms I could, the great demonstration his Majesty had therein made." It was, indeed, a conclusive demonstration of James' desire to do pleasure to Spain, and to confirm the alliance of the Crowns, at any cost. And although, in the Ambassador's eagerness to please Gondomar, he had acted hastily—with something, perhaps, of the zeal of a convert, for Cottington had not always shown himself so supple—he had not said too much. When the despatches came, he found that he was instructed to lay stress on Ralegh's eminence, and on his capacity for public service, expressly in order to bring out, as in strong relief, James' obsequious readiness to go all lengths in gratifying Spain, and in establishing a claim to be gratified in turn. Gondomar knew his man when he said to the King, at his departure from England, "Serve us in this; we will serve you, by and by."

Digest of Spanish Corresp., 1618; in *Dom. Cor.* JAMES I., vol. civ. § 33, fol. 3. (R. H.)

Philip the Third showed, both in his answers and in his manner, a great deal of "contentment," says Cottington, "with the hearing of what I told him." And presently the matter was discussed in the Spanish Council of State. "It was resolved," reports the Ambassador, "that his Spanish Majesty should, in a letter to the King my master, take notice of the obligation he hath unto him."

Ibid.

Some Spaniards, however, were not of that mind: amongst the dissenters was a Dominican monk, who took a different view of the obligation from that entertained by Gondomar and by Philip. He had come to London on a political errand, and he watched the indications of public feeling with an observant eye. Before Ralegh's head was off, this monk predicted that the execution would tend rather to frustrate Spanish policy, than to aid it. He was heard to say that he feared "it

would much alienate the hearts of Englishmen." This man saw that eventually, and in its results, the act of vengeance so ardently desired by Spain might prove to have marked a turning point in British policy. And his mind was busy with the future, before the axe had fallen. James' mind, at the same moment, was also busy. Most of his hours, at this time, were shared between hunting and horseracing. But a few of them were spent differently. To promote a match abhorrent to the affections and the faith of his people, James had devoted the greatest of living Englishmen to the block. And he had directed that the eminence and capacity for service of the man he had sacrificed should be pressed on the attention of the Court of Spain, as a measure of his eagerness to gratify it. Between the resolve and the execution, King James spent some of the hours unoccupied by field sports in writing *Meditations on the Lord's Prayer.*

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Chamberlain to Carleton; 31 Oct. 1618. (R. H.)

THE RECEPTION OF THE NEWS OF RALEGH'S DEATH IN FRANCE.

In France there was also some perception that the event of October would have consequences. At this epoch the national jealousy proper to near neighbours notoriously found more vent towards Spain, than towards England. It was in this connection, chiefly, that Ralegh's death was noticed by French publicists. But, for the time, the political significance of the fact was overborne[1] by the anger which had arisen at the

[1] I do not mean to assert that this was so with all Frenchmen. Men exceptionally great perceived something of the greatness of Ralegh. The reader of Peiresc's correspondence, for example, may remember some remarkable expressions about him there. Speaking generally, however, Ralegh forms no exception—early or late—to the ordinary fate of English worthies in the literature of our neighbours. Englishmen can point to scores of sympathetic, appreciative, and grateful literary portraits of the men who have made France so emphatically a leader among the nations, alike great in arts and in arms. But it is only now and then—with long

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Registers of Privy Council, JAMES I., vol. iii. p. 542. (C. O.)

INSTRUCTIONS TO SIR W. BECHER.

Buckingham to Naunton, Oct. 30, 1618; *Dom. Cor.* vol. ciii. § 54. (R. H.)

treatment of their Resident, Le Clerc. The suspension of his functions and his restraint to his house excited great resentment. Le Clerc's subordinate, Novion de la Chesnaye, had been kept in custody until the very day before Sir Walter Ralegh's execution.

Those of Ralegh's dying words which related to the conduct of Le Clerc were copied out by Buckingham himself. Naunton was instructed to send a transcript of them to Sir William Becher, in Paris, and to direct its delivery to the French Government. Becher was also told to have several other transcripts made at the Embassy, and to circulate them amongst his confidents and elsewhere, at his discretion. Buckingham seems to have been so intent upon the little personalities of this diplomatic squabble, as to spare himself all alarms about the ulterior consequences of a judicial murder which he, personally, had urged on with no less vehemence than that displayed by Bacon.

Bacon was already busied about the rhetorical embellishment of the deed he had counselled. There is no known evidence that in this matter his vast intellect saw into the future half so discerningly as the obscure Spanish Dominican had seen. But the report of the impression made by the circumstances of Ralegh's death on the people who witnessed it must have confirmed his first impression that the appearance of some official

intervals—that we find the service returned (as, for instance, and in a very noble way, it has lately been by M. de Montalembert). As respects Ralegh, the most elaborate French attempt at a portrait is, I believe, that which came out many years ago in the *Revue des deux Mondes*. And it is of the sort which, to a competently informed reader, moves derision. Yet it came from the pen of a man far more than usually familiar with English literature. And, characteristically enough, the intensity of its ignorance concerning the Englishman Ralegh is not atoned for by the least scintilla of new information about his career in France, or about his correspondence with French statesmen.

account of the act, and its motives, would be essential to the King's service.

No man living could possibly discern the full extent of the impression created by the scaffold of the 29th of October. Part of its depth and strength resulted, eventually, not from Ralegh's words, but from words which he left unsaid. To a visitor familiar with Venetian history that famous blank panel in the Council Hall at Venice which broke the long line of ducal portraits was wont to speak more powerfully than the pencil of Titian could have spoken. So it came to be with an omission in Ralegh's dying declaration.

Why had no word been publicly said about that foreign influence the exertion of which had brought Ralegh to the block? Why had no allusion whatever been made to the conviction of 1603, for which he was professedly put to death? The dependence in which he had to leave wife and child supplies but a partial answer. The immediate cause of his hurried execution must have been as clear to his mind as if, after reading the King of Spain's despatch of 1617 to Palomeque de Acuña, he had also read that King's despatch of 1618 to Sanchez de Ulloa. And in this very sense he had spoken, to the Judges of the King's Bench, but the day before.

Ralegh knew that there was *that* in men's minds about Spain, and about Spanish policy in Europe, which events already seen to be approaching were certain to fan, by and by, into flame. He knew that the writings he had left behind him would some day serve as fuel to that flame, just as certainly as if in prophetic vision he had seen the printing press at its work on them. He was willing to wait.

The Chancellor's glozing *Declaration of the Demeanour*

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BACON'S APOLOGY FOR KING JAMES.

and Carriage of Sir Walter Raleigh failed of its desired effect. Bacon, when he wrote it, was under the brief intoxication of his personal felicity. It was with him as if he had thought to find a sure word of prophecy in the poetic compliment of Ben Jonson—

> "*Thine* even thread the Fates spin, round and full,
> Out of their choicest and their whitest wool;"

and believed that, for him, Time would bring no revenges.

Bacon's genius at this moment was so far under a partial eclipse that he allowed himself to publish such words as these: "The King permitted Sir Walter Ralegh to go to Guiana to search for gold, though his Majesty utterly disbelieved in the existence of gold there." He began his manifesto by the assertion: "Kings are not bound to give account of their actions to any but God alone." He ended it by describing the King of Spain as "his Majesty's *dearest* brother." Having regard to those only of the signs of the times which were already visible, to all open eyes, at the close of 1618, human speech could hardly supply three propositions more directly fatal to the object avowedly aimed at, or to the real needs of the occasion. Yet the hand that wrote them was the hand of the greatest penman, as well as the greatest philosopher, then living.

The feeling of commiseration for Ralegh's fate, and of admiring wonder at the way in which he met his death, spread through all classes of the people. It was shown in conversations at the family hearth, on the Exchange, and in the public streets. It found expression in private letters, in a shower of poetical tributes, and in pamphlets that passed from hand to hand, though no printer would have dared to put them to press. The writers, both

of poetry and prose, included men of all ranks in the State.

Yet he of whom so much eulogy was now penned and spoken had, not very long before, been described, and described truly, as an unpopular man. And his unpopularity had lasted during many years.

The fact is patent, but one of its causes has rarely been noticed. In Elizabeth's time, the odium had grown very much out of obscure acts, not done by Ralegh, but done in his name; and often without his knowledge. A main source of the unpopularity had been the monopoly of wine licences.

With the origination of that monopoly its patentee from 1584 to 1603 had had nothing to do. Its administration after his term had ceased was far more stringent than it had ever been under Ralegh. It then became truly oppressive. But the fact that his engrossment in other pursuits precluded personal attention to the exercise of a trust so open to abuses involves a certainty that the abuses must have been many. They fell upon men always inclined to turbulent and exaggerated speech, and always talking in public. They were co-extensive with the kingdom. Where Ralegh was known for what he was, his arrival had been hailed with shouts of welcome, such as those which had excited Robert Cecil's wonder at Dartmouth in 1592. Where Ralegh was known chiefly through his underlings in the wine patent, he was probably looked upon much as Sir Giles Mompesson came to be regarded at the end of James' reign.

And, from the day on which he left Oriel to the day on which he left the Gate-house, he was noted by all who knew him for a habit of marking very plainly his sense of a weighty difference between the people of England and the populace of England. Some instances

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of the exercise of this habit have been noted in these pages already. Confusion between things so unlike, in the degree with which we have all become familiar in latter days, was unknown to the subjects of Queen Elizabeth. But the confusion existed in kind. And Ralegh's way of detecting and exposing it was far too free and sturdy, to be consistent with popularity.

To causes so potent as these there came to be added the long and keen rivalry with the popular Earl of Essex. Essex himself had too much intellect, and too much refinement, not to be able to divaricate populace from people quite as sharply as did Ralegh. But he shunned outward expression on that head. Essex was, as Ralegh said of him with dying breath, "a right noble gentleman." But he was wont to welcome, cap in hand, homage of a sort for which Ralegh showed open contempt.

THE CONTRAST IN THE LONDON CROWDS OF OCT. 1603 AND OCT. 1618.

The natural result upon the populace of such a bearing as had become habitual with Ralegh was shown in their demeanour when he passed along the London 'Strand,' on his way to his trial at Winchester, in October 1603. And then, as is well known, he returned scorn for scorn.

Between that scene and the aspect of the crowd which had gathered in Old Palace Yard, in the October of 1618, there was a contrast which it would scarcely have been possible to heighten. For in Old Palace Yard there was a great admixture of ranks. But even the mere populace had by that time come to know Ralegh, in some measure. Very ill-educated men had learnt something of the differences, at home and abroad, between the England of Elizabeth and the England of James, and of what had caused them. The throwing up of caps at the change of rulers was now a thing to be remem-

bered with shame. They had learnt something of the battles which Walter Ralegh had fought for his country in the time of the Queen, and something of his efforts to create a New England beyond seas. Some of them had even heard of his labours in the Tower, and of his sufferings, as well as of his 'crimes,' in the voyage to Guiana.

Adversity had also done its proper work upon Ralegh. The old haughtiness of bearing had been greatly softened. His death is less remarkable for its conspicuous courage than for its Christian humility. In 1618 the wit was as keen, the thoughts were as racy, as ever. But now the wit and the intellect were employed to give light, not to give pain. No man has spoken more truly than Ralegh of the ruinous effect of words too sharply incisive. Once he instanced his warning, on that point, in the fate of Essex, and in the fate of Sir John Perrot. He might have instanced in his own personal experience.[1] All that had undergone a change.

Ralegh's death was witnessed by more than one man who had in him a capacity of emulation, as well as of admiring wonder. John Eliot thought that in all history there was scarcely a parallel to "the fortitude of our Ralegh. All preparations that are terrible were presented to his eye. Guards and officers were about him, the scaffold and the executioner, the axe, and the more cruel expectation of his enemies. And what did all this work on the resolution of Ralegh? Did it make an impression of fear, or distract his reason? Nothing so little did that great soul suffer. His mind became the clearer, as if already it had been freed from the cloud

1 Some of Ralegh's sharp sayings are carefully recorded by his old enemy, Father Parsons. Parsons,—besides his enmity,—would be disqualified, by his notorious unscrupulousness, as a witness to Ralegh's acts. But one or two of the epigrams he has preserved carry a certain touch of internal evidence with them.

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and oppression of the body. Such was his unmoved courage and placid temper that, while it changed the affection of the enemies who had come to witness it, and turned their joy to sorrow, it filled all men else with emotion and admiration; leaving with them only this doubt,—whether death were more acceptable to him or he more welcome unto death."[1]

STUKELEY AND HIS SUCCESSOR IN THE VICE-ADMIRALTY OF DEVON.

It was the singular fate of the writer of these lines to enter public life as the successor of Lewis Stukeley, and to leave it as the successor, in a twofold sense, of Walter Ralegh. Eliot followed Stukeley in the Vice-Admiralty of Devon. He followed Ralegh as a prisoner in the Tower. He also followed him as a martyr for the liberties of England. When he stood in Old Palace Yard, to witness a sight never to be forgotten, he had before him only fourteen years of life. They were years crowded with work. Several of them were years of close imprisonment. But in nearly all of those years time was found to study Ralegh's writings. And in that study the seed sown in Palace Yard fast ripened.

Stukeley enjoyed his 'thirty pieces' during very few weeks. As Vice-Admiral of Devon he once ventured to show himself to the Lord Admiral Nottingham. The old Admiral warned him that, if he ever dared to repeat an insult so intolerable, the lackeys of Nottingham House would be ordered to thrust him into the street Much humbler courtiers ventured to take their cue from Nottingham. But in the royal presence he was freely permitted. It was, indeed, a congenial presence. One day Stukeley complained to James of some cutting words spoken by a Court underling, and asked for the man's punishment. Even James made the incision a

[1] *Monarchy of Man*, MS. Harl. 2228 (B. M.). See Forster's *Life of Eliot*, vol. i. pp. 34, 604.

little deeper. "Were I disposed," said the King, "to hang every man that speaks ill of thee, there would not be trees enough in all my kingdom to hang them on." A few months passed, and Stukeley was a convict. He had coined and uttered base money, with the aid of his French comrade, Manourie, of the Western journey.

THE SPANISH MATCH AND JOURNEY OF 1623.

The Spanish match and the Spanish pilgrimage of Prince Charles and Buckingham, in 1623, supplied a light by which those that ran could read, in its fulness, the political lesson that lay in Ralegh's death. No man learnt it more perfectly than did Sir John Eliot. On no man had Ralegh's mantle fallen so visibly as upon him. Just five years had passed since the tragedy in Old Palace Yard. In the October of 1623 Ralegh's sayings about Spain and about Spanish alliances were in all men's mouths. Ralegh's teaching was then illustrated by open-house rejoicings across the breadth of England, by street bonfires such as even Londoners had not seen before, and by public thanksgivings to Almighty God in the churches of the land.

RALEGH AND HAMPDEN.

It is probable, though unproved, that the death of Ralegh was witnessed by Hampden as well as by Eliot. Hampden was then in his twenty-fifth year; Eliot in his twenty-eighth. The remarkable manner in which the Buckinghamshire patriot testified his gratitude to Ralegh's writings has been mentioned elsewhere. The parallelisms of argument, of illustration, and of aim, between the political tracts of Ralegh and the political speeches of Hampden and Eliot, are more remarkable still.

The saying, uttered by a famous man on a famous occasion, which asserts that in our English Parliament there have been members who are always present, has had no apter instance than that of Ralegh. And in him

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RALEGH'S POSTHUMOUS APPEARANCES IN THE PARLIAMENTS OF CHARLES I.

there is a proof of the felicitous truth of Mr. Disraeli's saying, in more than one of its senses. During the great debates of the Carolinian Parliaments Ralegh made many a posthumous speech. In the 'Grand Remonstrances,' and 'Petitions of Right,' he helped in the framing of many an important clause.

And his presence in Parliament has been shown on occasions long subsequent to the stirring times of Eliot and Pym, of Hampden and Cromwell. It has been his eminent fortune to be appealed to not less frequently by leaders who have wisely and patriotically resisted the excesses of politicians who claimed to be followers of the Eliots and the Hampdens, whilst they struck at the root of the institutions which to Eliot and to Hampden were dearer than life.

When the vigour of debate passed from Parliament to the Press, no deceased writer rendered truer service to Britain than did Ralegh in supporting and lighting up the policy which is truly liberal, just because it builds upon old foundations, appeals to old instincts, and brings out what is true and vital in the national traditions. A passionate and untiring energy is not more characteristic of Ralegh the man, than a clinging to political development, rather than political construction, is the distinctive mark of Ralegh the publicist. Hence it is, as I believe, that his name figures so saliently and so continually in the political literature of the eighteenth century. In the seventeenth, his deeds and his endeavours were continually rising before the minds of men who were still fighting under the same banner and against the same enemies. Not a few of them had been the contemporaries of his closing years. In the eighteenth, all the outward circumstances of the political conflict had changed. New men are seen in the arena. The party

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combinations are new. The impulses and the aims of the strife are new. Yet Ralegh's writings are even more frequently appealed to. A large volume might be made of the quotations which were pressed into service during the bitter contests of the Georgian reigns, and of the commentaries which grew out of the quotations.

RALEGH ON THE STAGE OF THE LINCOLN'S INN THEATRE.

In December 1718 his character and fate were brought from the political stage to the dramatic. A very poor play excited a popular enthusiasm. '*Ralegh, a tragedy*,' performed at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, was the production of a writer who did not give himself the trouble to master even the easily accessible outlines of his hero's career, or the real position in which he stood to his most conspicuous contemporaries. The political pamphleteers had already brought Ralegh's name so much before the public, that Dr. Jewell, as it seems, thought abundant praise of the hero would atone for slender study. He has the most amusingly false conceptions of the Salisburys, Gondomars, Carews, and Waads, who supply the by-play and protasis of the piece. The diction is forcibly feeble. He gets his love-story out of the passion of little Carew Ralegh for Robert Cecil's daughter. The abounding anachronisms are never atoned for by breadth of view. Yet, in spite of all these defects, so potent were the name of Ralegh, the laudation of Jewell, and the seasonableness of production, that the play took the town. It had a run, and a revival.[1] Half a dozen editions of it found buyers and readers.

At the hands of our most current historians Ralegh's fame, for a long period, had but scant justice. To those

[1] The edition I have consulted bears the date 1722. It has a dedication to Mr. Secretary Craggs, the friend of Addison.

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JACOBITE VIEWS OF RALEGH'S CHARACTER AND CAREER.

of the thorough-paced Jacobite school his very name came to be wormwood. To those of an opposite party, who meant licence when crying liberty, his writings were a standing reproach. The breadth, moderation, and self-control which mark Ralegh's political works, deepen the scandal of his fate, and make the task of the apologists of James a very hard task. The ablest of them all felt the difficulty so keenly as presently to abandon argument, and betake himself to invective. Hume begins his treatment of this question with the elaborate airs of a philosophical critic, and ends it with a gush of abusive epithets which would do credit to a scold.

THE MISSTATEMENTS OF DAVID HUME.

Nor can Hume be acquitted for his misstatements of fact by the undeniable inaccessibility, in his day, of much of the evidence. Several of his leading assertions are inconsistent and self-contradictory. Others of them are expressly in the teeth of testimony which, in its measure, is conclusive, and which was just as attainable a century ago as it is to-day.

Take, for example, Hume's astounding assertions that James' commission empowered Ralegh "only to *settle* upon a coast inhabited by savages:" whereas, he continues, Ralegh's own intention, from the first, was "*never to settle, but only to plunder.*" There is here no escape from the conviction that this eminent historian did not even take the trouble to read the commission upon which he professes to ground his charge. He had simply glanced at its preamble. The commission gives no power to settle. It is simply a Commission for a voyage of mercantile adventure, "to discover some commodities and merchandise," and to "return therewith." On the other hand, an English settlement in Guiana had been the longing, the favourite day-dream, and the persistent effort of Ralegh during twenty years. He had sought it

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by every available channel, and had been continually foiled.

When Hume said of the *Discovery of Guiana*, published in 1596, that "it is full of the grossest and most palpable lies that were ever attempted to be imposed on the credulity of mankind," he had so much excuse as lies in intense, and to some extent necessary, ignorance of the subject of which he was speaking. No Humboldts or Schomburgks had then travelled in Ralegh's footsteps, to return with vindications of his truthfulness in all that he records as of his own experience.

There is no such excuse for the historian's distortion of the leading fact in the adventure of 1618.

SOURCE AND INFLUENCE OF HUME'S MISSTATEMENTS.

Happily, the influence of Hume's calumnies has long been an expiring influence. But one of their sources is likely to be perennial. It was not mere Jacobitism which made David Hume distort so perseveringly the career and character of Walter Ralegh. Fire and water are not more antipathetic than were the natures of Ralegh and of Hume. Amongst men of genius, it would be hard to find in more salient contrast breadth and narrowness. The sage who finds that Ralegh is "a most impudent impostor," and "a man extremely defective either in solid understanding or in morals, or in both," is the same who finds that "a reasonable propriety of thought is a thing which Shakespeare cannot, for any time, uphold." Ralegh, like Shakespeare, was an enthusiast.

RALEGH AND MODERN ROMANIST HISTORIANS.

To some modern historians of the Roman Catholic faith Hume's grosser accusations appear plainly untenable. From such mire-casting they stand aloof. But to them his whole career as the antagonist of Spanish and Papal policy is usually so repugnant, as to induce a

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suppression of evidence scarcely less adverse to a truthful verdict, than are the suppressions, distortions, and revilings of Hume. Dr. Lingard, for instance, pronounces Ralegh's execution to have been an act "of punishment not undeserved." He justifies James' decision by asserting, that "if discovery gave right to Guiana, the Spaniards were the first discoverers; if possession gave right, they had been *in possession* upwards of twenty years."

RALEGH'S INFLUENCE ON MARITIME ENTERPRISE AND COLONIZATION.

Had Ralegh's life-long struggle against such 'possession,' and what was involved in it, engrossed all his energies, his strivings would still have been grandly productive. The impulse they gave to the maritime and colonial enterprise of Englishmen is scarcely calculable. His efforts in that channel extended over half a century. Men who began their training under Ralegh were amongst the foremost promoters of the American plantations.

The opposition which retarded, and many times crippled, their efforts was identical with that to which Ralegh fell a victim. And its result was not merely delay. Tares, in more than the inevitable proportion, were sown among the wheat. The carrying out, betimes, of wisely-framed plans of colonization, such as were counselled by Ralegh, would manifestly have abridged human suffering, and augmented human progress. It would have altered, for the better, some of the primary conditions of the weightiest and most productive enterprise ever opened to English ambition.

There may have been something that was visionary, as well as something that was overweening, in the other great aim of Ralegh's public life. When he longed so ardently to see the leading-staff of European progress put into the hands of England, he may have thought both too highly and too exclusively of his country. In

his ambition to lay the bases of a true colonial empire, great enough to dwarf the 'possessions' of Spain, he was always within the bounds of sober reason.

His faults were racy of that soil in which his best qualities had grown. Gifted with unusual capacities for the most refined enjoyments of life, no man, even in that age of exertion, can have lived a life of more constant toil. Accidents of time and position brought within his reach more than ordinary facilities to gather wealth as well as to win power. He turned them all eagerly to account. But he made, in a very unusual measure, his own gains the seedplots of future gain to his countrymen at large.

No doubt we have had Englishmen who have outstripped Ralegh in more than one of his several paths of effort. We have had many Englishmen who have excelled him in the prudential virtues of self-restraint and self-denial. But we can point to none who has achieved so much, in so many paths. And no man has ever trod our English ground whose heart panted more ardently for the greatness and the honour of his country.

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